THE HISTORY OF THE PASSION

BELSER

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HISTORY OF THE PASSION,

DEATH, AND GLORIFICATION OF OUR SAVIOUR, JESUS CHRIST

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AN EXEGETICAL COMMENTARY

BY

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FREELY ADAPTED INTO ENGLISH BY

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

This translation of the late Dr. Belser's *Geschichte des Leidens und Sterbens, der Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt des Herrn nach den vier Evangelien ausgelegt,* is based upon the first edition of that excellent work, which appeared in 1903. The editor has revised it with the second edition (1913) at his elbow, and has incorporated into the English text all important changes and modifications made by the Reverend author.

The Rev. F. A. Marks, who has translated this work into English, deserves great credit for devoting the few leisure hours which the administration of a large parish leaves him, to the enrichment of our English Catholic literature. This present work, I trust, will add to the good name he has made for himself by the adaptation of Dr. B. Kurtscheid's *History of the Seal of Confession,* which has been well received by the critics. May the *History of the Passion* meet with an equally favorable reception!

ARTHUR PREUSS

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INTRODUCTION

The four Gospels were composed for believing Christians, and hence presuppose a knowledge of the life of Christ. They were written for special occasions and concrete purposes, and, at least partly, under circumstances which demanded caution. Therefore, we cannot expect that they should furnish us with a complete account of the life of Our Divine Saviour. The incompleteness of the first three Gospels becomes apparent if we collate them with that of St. John, and, no matter how much one may insist on the supplementary character of the latter, the idea that it exhausted the available historical material is expressly refuted by the fourth Evangelist himself (Jn. XX, 30 and XXI, 25).

As regards the history of the Passion and Glorification of Jesus none of the four Evangelists give an exhaustive account of His death and the events which preceded, accompanied, and immediately followed it; but each selected from the copious material what suited his particular purpose.

St. Matthew, whose object was to strengthen and comfort the Judeo-Christians of Palestine by proving that Christ, whom the Jews rejected, was the Messias, shows in the third section of his Gospel that the Saviour's Messianic character was proved also by His suffering and death, and that the Jewish people, through their official representatives, put Jesus to death maliciously and unjustly (though not against His will), and thus incurred an immense guilt.

St. Mark, who wrote to convince the neophytes in Rome of the divine Sonship of Jesus, in his history of the Passion dwells more on the innocence and voluntary suffering of Jesus.

St. Luke intended to fortify the pagan converts of St. Paul in the faith which had been implanted in them by oral instruc-

tion, and in his story of the Passion endeavors to place in the brightest light the complete innocence of Jesus, in whom neither Pilate nor Herod could detect the least crime deserving of punishment. At the same time he weaves into his story many traits which illustrate the infinite love of Jesus for sinners and all who were in misery.

St. John wishes to demonstrate that Jesus is the Messias and true Son of God, who came down from Heaven, and furnishes in his history of the Passion and Resurrection a splendid supplement to the three Synoptics. In comparison with the latter he offers much new material. True, he passes over some significant events, *e. g.*, the institution of the Holy Eucharist, as described by the Synoptics, though he briefly mentions the fact (XIII, 1) of the institution, and emphasizes its sacrificial character more strongly than the Synoptics. In the parting discourses of Jesus he records some precious and unique gems, notably the prophecies concerning His Passion. St. John wrote for the Christians of Asia Minor, who for the most part were converts from paganism, and as a crucified God was foolishness unto the gentiles, as it was a stumbling-block unto the Jews (1 Cor. I, 23), St. John had to take into consideration this prejudice as well as the fact that the Jews at that time pursued the Christian religion with hatred and many Jewish converts relapsed. By demonstrating that Christ's death on the cross had been foretold with all its details, St. John furnished very strong evidence of His divinity and Messiahship.

In the following exposition we shall, by combining the accounts of all four Evangelists, try to obtain an adequate picture of the Passion and Glorification of Christ. We shall divide the entire subject-matter into three parts, of which the first comprises the events preceding the Passion from the resolution of the Sanhedrin decreeing the death of Jesus to the Last Supper, while the second tells the story of the Passion from the Last Supper to the burial of Christ, and the third describes His career from the Resurrection to the Ascension.

PART I

THE EVENTS PRECEDING THE PASSION

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CHAPTER I

THE FORMAL RESOLUTION OF THE SANHEDRIN DECREEING THE DEATH OF JESUS, IN FEBRUARY, 783

(Jn. XI, 45–57)

The Judeans, *i. e.*, the adversaries of Jesus, the representatives of unbelieving Jewry, the hierarchs and Sanhedrists in Jerusalem, as early as the feast of the Tabernacles, again on the Sabbatical Exhodion feast, and finally on the feast of the Dedication of the Temple (Dec., 782), had made various attempts to seize Jesus, the hated Galilean, and to stone him to death (Jn. VII, 44 ff.; VIII, 59; X, 31, 39). However, their schemes were not attended by success because the Master's time had not yet come (VII, 6). After the feast of the Dedication Jesus withdrew to the country beyond the Jordan, to the region where John the Baptist had begun his activities (X, 39 f.; cfr. I, 19 ff.). On receipt of the news that Lazarus had died in Bethania, the Saviour started for that place for the purpose of raising His friend to life. [Note 1.] He did so on the Purim feast. [Note 2.] This miracle, performed so to speak before the very gates of Jerusalem, augmented in an extraordinary manner the respect for, and the belief in, Jesus among his adherents in Judea, and for the same reason increased the fear of His enemies to the highest pitch of consternation. Some of His enemies who were present at the miracle, belonged to the class of those who will not believe even if a man rises from the dead (cfr. Lk. XVI, 31); they left the scene of the miracle and with denunciatory intent reported what they had seen to the sacerdotal rulers in

Jerusalem. [Note 3.] The Sanhedrin now called a meeting for the purpose of coming to a final decision regarding the measures to be taken against Jesus (Jn. XI, 47). During the session the adversaries of Jesus demanded that He be silenced; for, if things were permitted to go on, Jesus would soon have all the people on His side, and would try to bring about a change in the existing state of affairs, so that the Romans would intervene and, by abolishing the vestiges of Jewish autonomy, set up a direct and complete protectorate over city and nation. Some of them, however, probably called attention to the notoriety of the miracles of Jesus and the difficulty of proceeding against Him, since He was revered as a prophet. The result was that a certain perplexity momentarily reigned in the Sanhedrin. To this perplexity the high priest of that memorable year (782–783), Joseph Caiphas, put an end by declaring that the irresoluteness of the Sanhedrists was due to a want of reflection and that the only way to attain their purpose was by killing Jesus, who was a menace to the existence of the Jewish nation (XI, 49–50). In order to understand the attitude of Caiphas, two things must be borne in mind. Caiphas, like his father-in-law Annas (XVIII, 13), belonged to the party of the Sadducees,[1] who denied the resurrection of the body and therefore were exceedingly alarmed by the resuscitation of Lazarus. This latter event in a way produced a change of rôles, because the Sadducees were now more or less forced into the defensive and thenceforth manifested almost greater animosity toward Jesus than the Pharisees. Again, Caiphas by his conduct in the Sanhedrin showed that he was influenced by the idea underlying the Jewish feast celebrated at the time of the awakening of Lazarus. The Judeans who had gone to Bethania to express their sympathy to Mary and Martha, were for the greater part pilgrims who had come for the celebration of the feast from the province of Judea. Their presence must be connected with the feast of Purim, because this alone lay be-

[1] Josephus, *Antiqu.*, XI, 6, 5 sqq.

tween the feast of the Dedication of the Temple mentioned in Jn. X, 22, and Easter, mentioned XI, 55 ff. The purpose of the Purim festival was to celebrate the delivery of the Israelites from the machinations of Aman the Amalecite. Caiphas places Jesus on a level with Aman, who was cursed on the Jewish Purim, and, alluding to an expression used by Mardochai in reference to the plot of Aman (*αἴρεται ἔθνος μηδὲν ἠδικηκός*),[2] he says: *ὑμεῖς οὐκ οἴδατε οὐδέν, οὐδὲ λογίζεσθε ὅτι συμφέρει ὑμῖν, ἵνα εἷς ἄνθροπος ἀποθάνῃ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ μὴ ὅλον τὸ ἔθνος ἀπόληται* (Jn. XI, 50). The Evangelist cannot prevail on himself to record the comparison of Jesus with Aman made by Caiphas; for this reason he does not expressly mention the Purim and the pilgrims; on the other hand, he calls attention to the great significance of the words of Caiphas, seeing in them a prophecy of the death of Our Lord on the cross and its consequences, so rich in blessings (XI, 51–52).

Thus, upon motion of Caiphas, the death of Jesus was decreed in due form by the Great Council.

Jesus Himself on this occasion evidently did not enter the capital, but left Bethania for Ephrem, a town in Judea about twenty-four miles northeast of Jerusalem (XI, 54). The Sanhedrin thereupon issued orders that if any man knew where He was, he should report it to the authorities, that they might apprehend Him (XI, 57).

1. When did Lazarus die? When did Jesus set out from Perea for Bethania? When did the raising of Lazarus take place? In answering these questions there has been and still is a great diversity of opinion among commentators. The Evangelist gives us no definite information as to the time when Jesus set out from Perea and what route He took to Bethania; nor does he expressly state the time when Lazarus died. Nevertheless we are able to establish the time of his resuscitation by a close scrutiny of the Gospel. When the messengers departed from Bethania, Lazarus was still alive; but he died soon after their departure and was buried on the same day (cfr. Acts V, 6) and, according to Jewish custom, the embalming of the corpse, customary in noble families,

[2] Josephus, *op. cit.*, XI, 6, 7.

did not take place in this case, as we must conclude from Jn. XI, 39. Martha expresses the hope of a resuscitation of Lazarus (XI, 22), and we may surmise that this hope to see her brother restored to life was inspired by the presence of Jesus. It cannot be doubted that she and her sister, who were on such intimate terms with the Lord, knew the case of the daughter of Jairus and the young man of Naim. This being so, a ray of hope must necessarily have lit up the mind of the afflicted sisters at the death of their brother. Four days after hearing the news of Lazarus's demise, Jesus started for Bethania, travelled the distance of twenty-seven miles in one day and most probably arrived in Bethania towards evening. On this fourth day after Lazarus's death, his corpse had not yet been embalmed, although the tomb had been opened, as the words of Martha (XI, 39) indicate. ἤδη ὄζει is certainly not a mere guess; if it were, we should read ὀζήσει. But why did the sisters omit to embalm the corpse? Probably because they believed that Jesus had postponed the resuscitation of Lazarus in order to connect it with His journey to the approaching feast of Purim. This explains, too, why Jesus did not enter the town where the house and tomb of Lazarus were (XI, 30), but sent for Mary (XI, 28). Entering into the idea of the sisters, He gave Himself the appearance (cfr. Lk. XXIV, 28) as if not Bethania, but Jerusalem was the real and direct goal of His journey. That it was His intention to keep the sisters in suspense to the last moment, is manifest from His entire behavior.

2. That Lazarus was restored to life on the festival of Purim is clear not only from the αἴρειν in the address of Caiphas (Jn. XI, 48), but also and especially from the conversation of Jesus with His disciples. When He said: "Let us go into Judea again" (XI, 7), they by no means thought only of crossing the Jordan, or of Bethania and the sick Lazarus, whom they certainly had forgotten long ago, but of Jerusalem, the seat of the hierarchs (XI, 8: οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι). This can be explained most naturally if a feast was near at hand in that city. Purim followed the feast of the Dedication (X, 22), and Jesus was in the habit of going to Jerusalem only on festival days. Even when He expressly declared that the purpose of the journey was the raising of Lazarus from the dead, Thomas (and with him, no doubt, the other disciples) nevertheless adhered to the idea that they were going with the Master to meet certain death (XI, 16). This apprehension appears sufficiently motivated only if the feast of Purim was near at hand and the hierarchs, in the expectation that Jesus would come to the feast and put up at His customary stopping place, Bethania (cfr. XI, 11: ὁ φίλος ἡμῶν, and Lk. X, 38 ff.), might be expected to lay in wait for Him near there. Of

decisive weight in settling this question is the presence mentioned in the Johannine account of "many of the Jews" at the awakening of Lazarus.

3. The opinion, maintained to the present day, that in Jn. XI, 19 and 45 οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι means the rulers of the people, who were inimical to Jesus, *i. e.*, the scribes, Pharisees, Sanhedrists, is untenable.[3] It is preposterous to assume that the sacerdotal rulers and Sanhedrists, who had antagonized Jesus from the first Easter festival, should have showed friendship and tender sympathy to the inmates of that home in nearby Bethania, which for a long time had been known in Jerusalem as the stopping-place of the hated Galilean (cfr. Lk. X, 38 ff.). According to John (XI, 19), the Judeans who went out to Bethania from Jerusalem, manifested sincere sympathy with the two sisters of the deceased Lazarus. Furthermore, as early as the feast of the Tabernacles, the Sanhedrists and hierarchs had adopted a measure of effective significance, namely, that if any man should confess Jesus to be the Messias, he should be expelled from the synagogue (IX, 22). If such was their attitude towards the followers and admirers of Jesus, they would surely not be likely to express condolence to the sisters of Lazarus. But neither must the Ἰουδαῖοι mentioned in Jn. XI, 19 and 45 be interpreted simply as Jerusalemites. The inhabitants of the capital were for the greater part dominated by the hierarchs and would not have dared to visit a family so closely connected with Jesus: "they feared the Judeans," *i. e.*, the hierarchs (IX, 22). The Evangelist in XI, 19 and 45 has in mind other "Judeans," namely followers of Jesus from the province of Judea, who had professed their faith in the Messias on the feast of the Tabernacles (VIII, 31). Jesus had on that occasion prepared them for the awakening of Lazarus by asking them to believe, as he asked Martha before the awakening, that he who believed in Him would not see death (VIII, 51, cfr. XI, 26). These Judeans indirectly give expression to their belief in Jesus and their attachment to His doctrine by manifesting their sympathy for the family of Lazarus and by their entire attitude at the episode in Bethania (XI, 31, 33). The miracle wrought by the Master confirmed them in their belief that He was the Messias (XI, 45). If the question is raised, why these inhabitants of the province of Judea were in Bethania or Jerusalem at the time when Lazarus was restored to life, we have only one answer, namely, they had come to the capital to celebrate the feast of Purim. Personal attendance at this feast was, it is true, not obligatory upon the Israelites;

[3] See my article on this passage in the *Theol. Quartalschrift,* Tübingen, 1902, pp. 168 sqq.

but one easily understands why the inhabitants of the province of Judea, which surrounded Jerusalem, had a special reason for visiting the Temple and city on this particular feast. Moreover, in 783, there was an additional motive for such a visit. It was generally expected that Jesus would appear in Jerusalem for the celebration of Purim, because He had been there on the feast of the Dedication of the Temple, in December 782.

CHAPTER II

THE JOURNEY FROM EPHREM TO BETHANIA

(Jn. XI, 54–XII, 1.—Mt. XV, 21 ff.; XIX, 1 and XX, 17–34.—Mk. VII, 24 ff. and X, 32–52.—Lk. XVII, 77 ff. and XVIII, 31–XIX, 28)

In Ephrem Jesus stayed for some time (Jn. XI, 54^b). From there he most likely went through Samaria to Galilee. [Note 1.] From Galilee, it seems, He journeyed to the confines of Tyre and Sidon (Mk. VII, 24 ff.; Mt. XV, 21 ff.). By a long circuitous route He returned at first to the eastern shore of the lake and then, after the second miraculous multiplication of loaves, to the western shore (Mk. VII, 41 to VIII, 10). Then followed the solemn declaration of St. Peter concerning the Messianic office and the divinity of Jesus and the first announcement of His Passion (Mt. XVI, 13 ff.), the transfiguration on Mt. Thabor (Mt. XVII, 1–13), the healing of the lunatic (Mt. XVII, 14–21), the second solemn announcement of the Passion, the paying of the temple-tax, and a few other episodes (Mt. XVII, 22–XVIII, 35; cfr. Mk. IX, 2 ff.). From Galilee, through which he passed incognito (Mk. IX, 30), He started for Judea, not, however, through Samaria, but on the other caravan route east of the Jordan (Mt. XIX; 1. Mk. X, 1).

Besides several other events and discourses (Mt. XIX, 1–XX, 16; Mk. X, 2–31) the third solemn prophecy of Jesus regarding His impending Passion and death occurred on the way to Judea (Mt. XX, 17–19; Mk. X, 32–34; Lk. XVIII, 31–34). The evangelists are in complete agreement in recording these prophecies except that St. Luke, according to his custom, omits

the part referring to the Sanhedrists or rather to their great guilt. By recording this and the two preceding prophecies of the Passion, the Synoptics wish to show that Jesus was not an unwilling victim of the Jewish machinations, but went to meet his Passion and death with a clear knowledge of what was in store for Him, and with complete freedom. The disciples again display their usual want of understanding of a prophecy so diametrically opposed to all their desires and hopes. In proportion as their faith in Jesus increases [Note 2], His defeat in the contest with His adversaries and His violent death appear to them more and more impossible (cfr. Jn. XII, 34). The only thing for which they had an ear was perhaps the prophecy of the Resurrection, which diverted their thoughts from suffering, crucifixion, and death to the revelation of the glory of the Messias.

When Jesus, on his way to Jerusalem, arrived near Jericho, Salome, the mother of James and John, with surprising confidence, approached Him in the name of her sons, who were not altogether free from ambition, and asked Him to give them the places of honor on His right and left hand in the Messianic kingdom which He was to establish (Mt. XX, 20–28; Mk. X, 35–45). The variations in the accounts of Matthew and Mark of this incident have only a formal significance, but are characteristic of the attitude of these two writers. Whereas Matthew takes for granted that the names of the sons of Zebedee are known to his Judeo-Christian readers, and therefore does not record them (XX, 20), Mark believes it necessary to mention them for the benefit of his Roman readers (X, 35). Moreover, Mark, following the Roman principle, *"quod quis per alium facit, id ipse fecisse videtur,"* represents the sons of Zebedee as addressing the petition personally to Jesus. That James and John entertained the ambitious hope and merely employed their mother as an intermediary, is indicated by the fact that according to St. Matthew (XX, 22) Jesus addressed His answer

directly to the sons. This answer contains a definite prediction of His Passion and death. Through suffering and death to glory, that is the road mapped out for the Master, and also for the disciples. [Note 3.] The discourse addressed to all the Apostles also contains a prophecy concerning His death (Mt. XX, 28); in fact, it was most likely on account of this allusion that SS. Matthew and Mark received the narrative into their text. Our Lord at the same time makes use of the opportunity to formulate the law of humility, so necessary in the new kingdom, by saying: "Whosoever will be the greater among you, let him be your servant; and he that will be first among you, shall be your servant" (Mt. XX, 26 ff.).

Jesus now approached Jericho. During His sojourn in and near this city three important events occurred according to the Synoptics: He restored sight to the blind men, visited Zacheus, and related the parable of the pounds.

Regarding the first of these episodes there is some difficulty because of the not inconsiderable discrepancies in the respective accounts of the Synoptics. True, all three narrate a healing of blindness. However, the cure related by St. Luke (XVIII, 35–43) occurred, as it appears, before Christ's entry into Jericho; the one reported by St. Matthew (XX, 29–34) and St. Mark (X, 46–52) after He left the city, though in its immediate vicinity. The other noteworthy difference is that, according to St. Matthew, two blind men were healed, whilst St. Mark and St. Luke mention only one. This latter difference does not militate against the identity of the three parallel accounts. Mark names one of the blind men, Bartimeus, who was a well-known person, but neglects the other; Luke follows his example; Matthew, however, mentions both. We have a similar case in the account of the episode in the Gerasenian district, where Jesus healed two men possessed by evil spirits, according to Mt. VIII, 28 ff., whereas Mark (V, 1 ff.) and Luke (VIII, 26 ff.) mention only one. The difference regarding

the place of the healing of the blind men has not yet been satisfactorily adjusted. Probably the incident occurred as Jesus entered the city, near the gate. It is likely that St. Luke has the same episode in mind as St. Matthew and St. Mark; for it seems incredible that in two different episodes the same conversation should have taken place. St. Luke's reason for describing the episode as he does is quite comprehensible: he intended to receive into his account and center the whole attention of his readers upon the story of Zacheus. Now, this story began in the city, and was finished only after the healing of the blind men. In order to tell the story of Zacheus without interruption, he finished the account of the healing before describing Christ's entry into the city. [Note 4.]

The gracious visit paid by Jesus to the home of the chief publican, Zacheus (Lk. XIX, 1–10), is recorded only by St. Luke. In the crowd which surrounded Our Lord when He entered Jericho was a man by the name of Zacheus. The name alone (which means in Aramaic: *the clean, the pure*) characterizes him as a born Jew [Note 5]; but on account of his position as chief of the publicans, he was regarded by Jews of the Pharisee stamp as a heathen and a public sinner (cfr. Lk. XIX, 9: he is a son of Abraham in spite of his profession). The tax collectors and their subordinates were an object of contempt and hatred to the Jews, and especially to the Pharisees, first, because of their dishonesty and fraudulent practices (cfr. Lk. III, 12 f.), and, secondly, because of their connection with the Roman government (those in Palestine were attached to the main office in Caesarea). Jesus takes an interest also in this class of sinners if they show a receptive mind for the new gospel, as was the case with Zacheus. He satisfies the ardent desire of the tax-collector, calls him down from the sycamore tree, invites Himself to his house, and His presence completely changes the character of the despised publican, who now confesses with a contrite heart his unjust deeds and proclaims his willingness to do penance. St. Luke bestows extraordinary

attention on this episode, because it throws a strong light on the infinite love and mercy of the Redeemer (cfr. 1 Cor. I, 25).

The parable of the pounds (Lk. XIX, 11–27) likewise occurs only in the third Gospel. True, it has a parallel in the parable related in Mt. XXV, 14–30, but it must not be confounded with the latter; because the situation in which both were spoken was altogether different. The parable of the pounds, as recorded in St. Luke, was spoken right after Christ's visit with Zacheus (XIX, 11: *προσθεὶς εἶπεν παραβολήν*), and the audience is the festal caravan which followed Jesus from there to Jerusalem (XVIII, 43; XIX, 1). The parable of the pounds in St. Matthew was addressed to the disciples in Jerusalem. The fundamental idea of both parables is also different: according to St. Luke the nobleman gave ten pounds (a part of his fortune) to all of his (ten) servants, to each an equal sum; according to St. Matthew he gave all of his possessions in unequal sums to three of his servants. The parable in St. Luke symbolizes the endowment of Christians in as much as it is uniform, that in St. Matthew the same endowment, in as much as it is varied. A final diversity is noticeable between the two regarding the aim of each: the purpose of the one in St. Luke is to refute the erroneous notion of the establishment of a glorious Messianic Kingdom simultaneously with Christ's entry into Jerusalem (Lk. XIX, 11), whilst the parable in Matthew is intended to inculcate the duty of watching in view of the uncertainty of the time of the second advent of Christ (*παρουσία*). The nobleman in our parable is Jesus Himself, who, after finishing His work on earth, goes into a far country, *i. e.,* to Heaven, to receive there as the glorified Godman the sovereignty of the Christian Church. He will return from Heaven, and this coming will be in royal majesty and glory. During the interval between His Ascension into Heaven and his second coming His servants, *i. e.,* the Apostles and their successors, should diligently administer the Apostolic office entrusted to

them, and the faithful should zealously use the graces given to them; so that at the return of Christ they may receive an exceeding great reward. The parable is based on the conditions existing at that time in the Orient. The rulers, as also the Herodian pretenders to the crown, were obliged to journey to the far-distant city of Rome to receive their jurisdiction from the hands of the emperor.

It is, however, altogether improbable that an allusion is intended to Archelaus, the son of Herod the Great, who, in spite of a Jewish counter petition, had received royal dominion over Palestine.[1]

Worthy of note are the threats which the parable hurls against the fellow-citizens of the nobleman, *i. e.*, the Jews, who refused to let this king reign over them: the time will come when they shall feel the anger of the Son of man because they failed to recognize His divine right, abused His goodness and love, and ill-treated Him. The retribution begins already in this world, witness the divine judgment on Jerusalem, carried out by the Romans, the tools of Him who, clothed in the power and glory of the Father, awaits the hour of complete triumph.

After a sojourn of one day (Lk. XIX, 7: εἰσῆλθεν καταλῦσαι) Jesus set out from Jericho and traveled on the well-known caravan road in the direction of the Jewish capital, accompanied by a large retinue of Galilean pilgrims and the two blind men whom He had healed. According to the account of the Synoptics (Mt. XXI, 1; Mk. XI, 1; Lk. XIX, 29) one might suppose that He went directly and without a stop from Jericho to Jerusalem and entered Jerusalem on the evening of the day of His departure from Jericho (cfr. Mk. XI, 11), so that the journey terminated directly in the Temple. This presentation is easily understood from the purpose pursued by the first three Evangelists, because they intend to speak only of the final great events at Jerusalem. St. Matthew mentions the arrival of Jesus in Bethphage (XXI, 1); St. Mark, at least ac-

[1] Josephus, *Antiqu.*, XVII, 11, 1.

cording to the best attested reading (XI, 1), names the two towns of Bethphage and Bethania; likewise St. Luke (XIX, 29). Probably such mention is made by them only because the preparations for the solemn entry into Jerusalem were begun and the cortège started from there. The mention of Bethphage, which was situated less than two miles from Jerusalem, on the slope of Mount Olivet, before Bethania, which lay about three miles from the capital, is explained by the fact that Bethphage was closer to Jerusalem, the real aim of the journey, and that the disciples were sent there to fetch the ass. According to St. John (XII, 1), Jesus did not merely tarry long enough in the village of Bethania to organize the solemn cortège to Jerusalem, as He did a little later in Bethphage, but stayed there two days, so that Bethania was the terminus of the journey which had been begun in Ephrem. He arrived at the house of Lazarus on the afternoon of the eighth Nisan (XII, 1: six days before Easter, *i. e.,* before the afternoon of the fourteenth Nisan). It is not improbable that John was induced by certain misrepresentations spread by Jewish calumniators to make these exact chronological statements and write his supplementary account; at least we have knowledge of a fable, which passed into the Talmud, to the effect that Jesus fell into the hands of the Sanhedrin forty days before His crucifixion and that the council pronounced sentence of death and carried it out only after nobody had answered a public summons inviting whomsoever wished to defend Jesus.

1. I have waived the right to cite Lk. XVII, 11 as evidence. Even today I prefer to adhere to my view of this much mooted passage, according to which the third Evangelist reports: Jesus journeyed on the line between Samaria and Galilee from west to east, and, crossing the Jordan near Scythopolis into Perea, travelled southward to Jerusalem. However, this problem has not yet received its final solution. The reading of the text is not certain. Whilst Zahn considers μέσον (without διά) the original reading, Nestle favors διὰ μέσον. Brandscheid and Hetzenauer on the other hand adopt διὰ μέσου, which can mean only: "through the midst of Samaria and Galilee." It cannot be denied that

there is some justification for this reading, because in Lk. IV, 30, διὰ μέσου is also found, in connection with the same verb (διέρχεσθαι), used in the sense of *through the midst of* (genitive case). Zahn rejects the account of this route as preposterous, remarking that a journey through the midst of Samaria and Galilee would necessarily have been in the direction of the northern boundary of Galilee. I find nothing absurd in this view because I am of the opinion that Our Lord on His last journey from Judea to Galilee not only touched the northern boundary of Galilee, but after crossing this boundary, went as far as Tyre and Sidon. Neither can one perceive a reason why a journey from south to north, *i. e.*, from Ephrem in northern Judea to Galilee and Perea, should not find a place within the scope of the so-called Lucan account (IX, 51–XVIII, 30), since several journeys in the reverse direction, from Galilee to Judea, are indicated in a definite form: in XIII, 1 the journey to the feast of the Tabernacles, in XIII, 32 f. the journey to the feast of the Dedication (December, 782) and to that of Purim. Note the σήμερον, αὔριον, and τῇ τρίτῃ and ἐχομένῃ = on each of the feasts of Dedication, Purim, and Easter I must journey to Jerusalem. Of course, in trying to understand the account we must not underrate the difficulties in detail. For us the main difficulty lies in the circumstance that Luke in IX, 51 mentions the passah of the Passion, as is plain from the phrase, "when the days of his assumption (into Heaven) were accomplished," and from the preceding accounts of the confession of Peter, the Transfiguration on the mount, the cure of the man possessed by the devil, and the prophecy of the Passion (IX, 18–50),—all events which but shortly preceded the departure of Jesus from Galilee to Jerusalem for the Passion passah, according to Matthew (XVI, 13–XVII, 21) and Mark (VIII, 27–33; IX, 16–29). According to this the account of St. Luke, it is true, proves to be a supplement which partly reaches far back and here and there (*e. g.*, X, 25 ff.) assembles deeds and discourses connected by internal relation, but not by time and place. Although we must exercise great caution in using the account of the journey in determining the chronology, and a direct collation of Lk. XVII, 11 with Jn. XI, 54 may appear useless, because the account in Luke shows a steadily progressive movement only from XVIII, 31 onward, we nevertheless shall endeavor to establish in detail the circumstances regarding the journey from Ephrem to Bethania. SS. Matthew and Mark report plainly that Our Lord started for Jerusalem for the Passion passah from Galilee, that his route took Him by way of Perea in a southerly direction, and that Jericho was the last stopping place (Mt. XIX, 1; XX, 29; Mk. X, 1, 32, 40). Equally definite are these two Evangelists in naming Caphar-

naum in Galilee as the town where Jesus tarried for a while before starting on His final journey to Jerusalem (Mt. XVII, 22; 24; Mk. IX, 33). There occurred the event recorded in Mt. XVI, 22–27. We are able to fix the time of this event. It was in the spring, not very long before Easter; because at that time the double drachm or half-shekel had to be paid.[2] There also occurred the instruction on the need and the great value of true humility (Mt. XVIII, 1–14; Mk. IX, 33–37; Lk. IX, 46–48) as also that which is narrated in Mk. IX, 38–41 and Lk. IX, 49–50. Finally the warning against scandal (Mt. XVIII, 6–9; Mk. IX, 42–50; Lk. XVII, 1–2). The last journey of Jesus through Galilee to the confines of Tyre and Sidon as also His subsequent wanderings in Galilee, were all made incognito (Mk. VII, 24; IX, 30) and served as an opportunity of instructing His disciples. The question is only how to connect Jn. XI, 54 with the first two Synoptics. St. John gives no direct indication in this matter. However, as everywhere in his account, so also here (XI, 54) he took cognizance of the account of the Synoptics. The first readers of his gospel certainly were not in doubt where and how the account of John concerning the journey from Ephrem to Jerusalem squared with that of the Synoptics; they knew the details from oral tradition. The matter is undoubtedly similar to the activity of Jesus at the beginning of His public ministry. The events recorded in Jn. II, 1–IV, 54 occurred before the Galilean activity mentioned in Mt. IV, 12 ff. and parallel passages, as the fourth Evangelist gives his readers to understand, by pointing, so to speak, his finger at it. By his account of the journeys of Jesus to the feasts of the Tabernacles, the Dedication, and the Purim, St. John fills a large gap in the Synoptic account, and although he does not indicate the points in the Synoptics where their account comes in contact with his, nevertheless the reader of his Gospel is not left in the dark, because he perceives that John (XI, 54 ff.) has in view the last journey of Jesus to Jerusalem immediately before the beginning of the Passion. Thus attention is directed to the final journey of Jesus to the Passion passah, recorded by the Synoptics. But Matthew (XIX, 1) and Mark (X, 1) plainly report the departure of Jesus from Galilee to Jerusalem for His Passion and say that He reached Jerusalem, or rather Bethania, by way of Jericho; hence one may expect of the reader of St. John's Gospel that he connect Jn. XI, 54 with the statements of the Synoptics, and thus conceive the idea of a journey of Jesus from Ephrem in a northerly direction (through Samaria) to Galilee; Lk. XVII, 11 may be taken as the link uniting both accounts. Moreover, the attentive reader of the first two Gospels cannot fail to notice that the events

[2] Josephus, *Antiqu.*, XVIII, 9, 1; *Bell. Iud.*, VII, 6, 6.

narrated in the section immediately preceeding Mt. XIX, 1 and Mk. X, 1 occurred during Christ's journey from Ephrem by way of Galilee and Perea to Jerusalem. These two Evangelists, by mentioning Christ's very definite predictions of His death (Mt. XVI, 21; Mk. VIII, 31), have given their readers indications by which they know that Our Lord was already on His way to the Passion. With the best of reasons we may designate Mt. XV, 21 and Mk. VII, 24, so to speak, as the uppermost limit of the account concerning Christ's journey from Galilee to Jerusalem: it led from Ephrem through Samaria to the northern boundary of Galilee, from thence to the confines of Tyre and Sidon. The situation, altered completely in its relation to the former activity in Galilee and Perea, St. Mark relates in VII, 24[b] (cfr. IX, 30). The attitude of Jesus described in Mt. XV, 24 forbids us to view this journey as an excursion into a pagan country; evidently it was the intention of Jesus to complete His mission to the scattered sheep of Israel. From that Phoenician country He did not return at once to the northern or western shore of the sea of Galilee, but, on the contrary, descended into the Leontas valley, and by a circuitous route reached Perea from the east (Mk. VII, 31), there performed the second miracle of the multiplication of loaves (VIII, 1–9), and then came again into the plain of Genesareth (Mk. VIII, 10) to the western shore of the lake, and for a short while was active there, especially in instructing His disciples (Mt. XVI, 1–18, 38; Mk. VIII, 11–IX, 50). Then He journeyed to Jerusalem via Perea and Jericho. What induces us to place all events, beginning with the visit to the confines of Sidon and Tyre, in the last sojourn of Jesus in Galilee immediately preceding His departure for the Passion passah, is chiefly the remark in Mk. VII, 24 (cfr. IX, 29) about the incognito: this Our Lord evidently observed only since the feast of Purim (cfr. XI, 54, as also the definite predictions of His Passion recorded in the indicated passages, especially Mk. VIII, 32).

2. The disciples believed in the Messianic character of Jesus from the time of their first call (Jn. I, 42 ff.). In the course of His activity this faith was strengthened (cfr. Jn. II, 11; VI, 69; Mt. XVI, 16). At the time of Our Lord it was a well-established dogma among the Jews that the Messias would be the son, *i. e.*, a descendant, of David; cfr. Mt. XXII, 41 ff.; Jn. VII, 40 ff. From the latter passage we see that the people of Jerusalem had no knowledge either of the birth of Jesus in Bethlehem or of His Davidical extraction. However, the "some of the multitude" mentioned by the Evangelist merely meant to say: Jesus comes from Nazareth, not from Bethlehem; therefore He cannot be the Messias. The Davidical character of the family (Joseph and

Mary) was also unknown in Jerusalem; Christ's genealogical table evidently remained a family secret until His death. It is nowhere recorded that the hierarchs ever seriously disputed the descent of Our Lord from David. Although this was considered an indispensable attribute of the promised Messias, nevertheless it did not mean that the fact must be capable of being proved by documents. What was demanded was that there be no contradictory evidence. Jesus, on His part, in His controversies with the educated Jews in Jerusalem, did not stress His Davidical descent nor did He proclaim Himself *in so many words* as the Messias. The belief in Him had to rest on other foundations. The hierarchs contented themselves with designating Jesus on every occasion as the Nazarene, in order to emphasize the absence of the chief condition of Messiahship, namely, birth in Bethlehem. It is worthy of note that at first many believed John the Baptist to be the Messias (Jn. I, 19 ff.), from which fact it may be concluded that John's *levitical* extraction was unknown, owing probably to his early departure from home into the solitude of the desert. The Judeans in Jerusalem, however, saw an obstacle to his Messiahship, not only in the fact that Jesus was a native of Nazareth, but also in His supposed descent from Joseph the carpenter. They believed that when the true Messias would appear, nobody would know his immediate extraction (father, mother, brothers, sisters) (Jn. VII, 27; cfr. Mt. XIII, 55 f.). The disciples and even the "brothers" of Jesus believed in His Messianic character, although, like the hierarchs, they supposed Him to be the son of Joseph (Jn. I, 42 ff.; VII, 3–4). The fact that Jesus had no human father, but was supernaturally conceived by a virgin, was a secret which Joseph and Mary were not permitted to reveal, not even to the "brothers" of Jesus, and which Mary endeavored to guard even under the most trying circumstances, as we see from Mk. III, 21, 31. It was only after the Ascension and the feast of Pentecost that the Apostles and the other disciples of Jesus were initiated into the secret of His birth. That Our Lord was at times (cfr. Mt. XX, 30 and parallel passages) addressed by the Jews as "Son of David," is explained not by the fact that they had a real knowledge of His Davidical extraction, but by this syllogism: The Messias foretold by the prophets is the son (*i. e.,* a descendant) of David; Jesus of Nazareth is this promised Messias; therefore, he is the son (*i. e.,* a descendant) of David. Inspired by a like faith, Philip had immediately believed in and professed the Messianic dignity of Jesus, despite the fact that he looked upon Him as a son of Joseph (Jn. I, 46). Did the Apostles and disciples regard Jesus, the Messias, as the Son of God? Yes, at least during the latter part of their association with Jesus (cfr. Mt. XVI, 16; Jn. XVI, 28–31; cfr. Jn. XX, 28). The

confession of Nathanael (Jn. I, 50) was not yet an acknowledgment of His divinity. Nathanael (= Bartholomew) called Jesus the Messias, "Son of God," in the same manner in which the Jews of his time spoke of the Messias as the Son of God in allusion to Ps. II, 7. Whether even so much as one from among the people used the word in its metaphysical sense, appears to be more than doubtful. The Jews generally imagined it to mean a mere man, though, of course, one highly favored (ἐκλεκτός), who, by anointment (χρῖσμα) was made the adopted son of God (cfr. Mt. XXII, 41 ff.). If the more intimate disciples of Jesus, despite the progress of their faith in his Messianic character and His divinity, did not understand the prophecies concerning His Passion, the reason for this lies in their conception of the glory of the Messianic king and kingdom, which differed very little from that of the great majority of the Jews. It must indeed be admitted that these prophecies were to a great extent shrouded in obscurity and could therefore be fully understood only after their fulfilment; at least this is the case with a number of the prophecies which St. John (II, 19; VII, 33; VIII, 28; IX, 4; X, 15, 17, 18; XI, 10; XII, 7, 24, 32) has transmitted to us. The prophecies recorded by the Synoptics are more definite (cfr. Mt. XVI, 21), inasmuch as they expressly speak of πολλὰ παθεῖν, ἀποκτανθῆναι, and ἐγερθῆναι; however, the disciples were blind and unable to grasp the sense and scope of the Messianic prophecies.

3. Christ's prediction that the petitioners would, like Himself, have to undergo much suffering in order to obtain the leading places in the Messianic Kingdom (Mt. XX, 22 f.; Mk. X, 38 f.), was fulfilled in St. James before Easter 42 (Acts XII, 1–2). This Apostle actually drained the cup of suffering by his cruel death. St. John died a natural death at Ephesus at an advanced age, probably in the year 100. According to Georgius Hamartolus (about 860) Papias in the second book of his treatise said of St. John: ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀνῃρέθη, by which, it is said, were fulfilled in him, as in his brother James, Christ's words recorded in Mk. X, 39. However, Zahn is probably right when he says that in a certain sense the treatise of Papias is the source of this statement as well as of the words found by de Boor in a collection of excerpts: Παπίας ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ λόγῳ λέγει, ὅτι Ἰωάννης ὁ θεολόγος καὶ Ἰάκωβος ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀνῃρέθησαν, where, however, undoubtedly were found only the words: Ἰωάννης ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀνῃρέθη, which do not refer to the Apostle John, but to John the Baptist, and that, therefore, we have here a case of mistaken identity. Of greater interest is the Latin fragment of St. Polycarp of Smyrna which Zahn himself has edited. According to this fragment, Polycarp is said to have commented on Mt.

XX, 22 and Mk. X, 38 as follows: *"per huiusmodi potum significat passionem; et Iacobum quidem novimus martyrio consummandum, fratrem vero eius Ioannem transiturum absque martyrio, quamvis et afflictiones plurimas et exilia toleraverit; sed praeparatam martyrio mentem Christus martyrem iudicavit."* This fragment contains nothing that could in any way be interpreted against its own authenticity, and in view of its contents we may unhesitatingly ascribe it to St. Polycarp, who was a pupil of St. John. Probably Polycarp thus expressed his view in answer to the question what he thought of the last moments of the Apostle John in their relation to the prediction of Jesus (Mt. XX, 23). That in doing so he had in mind the banishment of St. John to Patmos and the suffering and afflictions [3] which preceded and were connected with it, may be regarded as certain. (Cfr. Apoc. I, 2, 9 and the Acts of S. John).

4. A complete adjustment of the discrepancy between Matthew-Mark on the one hand and Luke on the other in regard to the site of the healing of the blind men, I believe to be impossible. If, like Ambrose and Maldonatus, we try to harmonize the accounts by assuming that Bartimeus met Our Lord when the latter entered the town, petitioned him without being heard or receiving a favorable answer, and then, hurrying ahead to the other end of town, met the second blind beggar and was healed together with him, we do violence to the text. For according to Matthew and Mark the blind man, or rather the two blind men, sat by the wayside begging when Our Lord came out of the town; at that moment they asked Jesus to cure them, and their prayer was heard. According to Luke, one blind man sat by the wayside begging when Jesus drew nigh to Jericho, and learning that Jesus was passing by, he cried for help and was healed. The above explanation of Ambrose appears therefore as forced and the result of embarrassment. The attempt made by Nösgen and others to adjust the difference between Luke and Matthew-Mark by taking the words ἐν τῷ ἐγγίζειν αὐτοῦ εἰς Ἰεριχώ in the sense of: whilst Jesus was near Jericho, sojourned in the neighborhood of the town, a blind man sat by the wayside, must be considered a failure. For ἐγγίζειν in Luke does not mean: to be nigh, but to approach, and this sense is to be retained in XVIII, 35, so much the more, because soon after, in XIX, 29, we meet with this verb again and also in construction with εἰς (cfr. XXIV, 28; Mt. XXI, 1; Mk. XI, 1). Other attempts at an adjustment are still less satisfactory and apt to bring discredit on exegesis; especially the one which is based on the hypothesis that there were two towns named Jericho, an old and a new town, and Jesus performed the miracle when he left the old and entered the new.

[3] Tertullian, *De Praescr.*, 36.

The discrepancy regarding the locality therefore remains. The healing was evidently performed when Jesus left the town, as SS. Matthew and Mark expressly record: the two blind men sat by the wayside when Jesus, accompanied by a large crowd of people, departed from Jericho; when they heard that Jesus of Nazareth was passing by, they cried to Him to have pity on them, and were healed. The calling of Zacheus must have occurred soon thereafter. When Our Lord had entered the town, the chief of the publicans sought to get a glimpse of Him, in which he did not succeed because he was low of stature. To attain his purpose, he ran ahead and climbed into a sycamore tree that he might observe Jesus without being seen. Jesus called him down and went to his house. The reason for this proceeding is easily divined. The story of Zacheus, so momentous for the purpose of the Evangelist Luke, began in the town itself; it was interrupted by the healing of the blind men when Jesus came out, and it reached a preliminary close outside of town. The sycamore tree outside of the town, but close to it, is mentioned by the Pilgrim of Placentia (*Itinerarium,* in the *Corp. Script. Eccl. Latin.,* XXXIX, 202; cfr. the *Itinerarium Burdigalense,* § 596, p. 23 sq.) Since Luke wished to relate the story of Zacheus *καθεξής, i. e.,* connectedly, without interruption, he places the healing of the blind men according to locality and time before the entrance of Jesus into Jericho. Such anticipation in no wise altered the fact itself and facilitated the understanding of the narrative of the vocation of Zacheus.

5. Grimm in his *Leben Jesu* endeavored to show that Zacheus was of pagan extraction; however, his effort was in vain, for Zacheus was undoubtedly a Jew by birth. As the first point in favor of his thesis, Grimm cites the strong language which Zacheus used in the presence of Jesus (XIX, 8); as an Israelite he should have formulated a totally different self-accusation and have promised Christ that he would renounce the iniquitous trade of tax collector. However, on this point the learned writer judged incorrectly. True, many Jews, especially the Pharisees, called those "brethren after the flesh" who acted as tax-farmers or as their subordinate officials, renegade Israelites, traitors to their own people, accomplices and spies of the pagans, and looked upon them more or less as heathens. However, this was a one-sided and unfounded view, which not even all the Jews accepted as their own, much less did Our Lord share it. Very interesting in this respect is a story related by Josephus.[4] Before the outbreak of the Jewish war (about 65), the Jews of

[4] *De Bello Iudaico,* II, 14, 4.

Caesarea were prevented from using their synagogue by the intrigues of a pagan; the wealthy Jews joined in collecting a large sum of money and gave it to Florus, who was procurator at the time, that he might intervene in their favor. In this "pious work" "the tax-collector John" participated. This man, also a Jew, was gladly permitted by the other Jews in Caesarea to take part in the above-mentioned service and was not treated as an apostate and heathen or excluded from participation. Christ expressed His views on the political conditions of those times, on the right and duty of paying tribute, etc., in unequivocal terms (Lk. XX, 20–26); He did not see in the office and task of a tax-gatherer anything reprehensible in itself. If He called Levi (= Matthew) away from the custom house, He did this not to remove him "from an iniquitous occupation" (Grimm), but because he wished to invite him to follow Him and to make him a member of the Apostolic college. In regard to this point the action of John the Baptist, the forerunner of Jesus, is worthy of notice. When some publicans came to the Jordan and, impressed with his sermons, asked John to be baptized, he said to them: "Do [exact] nothing more than that which is appointed you" (Lk. III, 13), *i. e.*, when exercising your office abstain from injustice and from violating the rights of those who are bound to pay taxes. The Baptist is far from declaring the trade of a tax-gatherer itself as sinful, or as treason to the Jewish nation, and in this regard he shows himself a genuine and true forerunner of Jesus, who acknowledges customs and taxes as a legitimate institution and thereby *ipso facto* recognizes the persons entrusted with their collection as lawful agents. The second argument which Grimm cites in favor of his view regarding the pagan extraction of Zacheus, namely, the saying of Jesus (Lk. XIX, 9): "This day is salvation come to this house, because he also is a son of Abraham," cannot be considered as convincing. True, Our Lord means the Messianic salvation, the work of grace which induced the "master of the house" to follow Him into the Messianic kingdom. But it does not follow that by designating Zacheus as a son of Abraham, He meant he was a son by "faith," which makes the pagan tax-gatherer an heir of the promise. On the contrary, Jesus designates Zacheus as a son of Abraham precisely because of the Jewish, or rather Pharisaic, prejudices, by saying as it were: Although "many of the Jews" look upon Zacheus, the publican, as an apostate and put him on a level with pagans and public sinners, he is nevertheless a descendant of Abraham and as such has an equal claim on the Messianic salvation (cfr. Rom. I, 16). Since he, moreover, manifests a desire to be saved, salvation shall be his share. Therefore the fact that Jesus calls Zacheus a son of Abraham does not prove him a pagan, but a Jew. This assumption is

confirmed by his name (= *insons*) and by the complaint of the Jews: He has accepted the hospitality of a man who is a sinner (= a publican) (Lk. XIX, 7), and finally, by the allusion to the Mosaic law contained in the words of Zacheus (cfr. Lk. V, 16; Numb. V, 7; Ex. XXII, 5).

CHAPTER III

THE ANOINTMENT OF JESUS IN BETHANIA

(Mt. XXVI, 6–13; Mk. XIV, 3–9; Jn. XII, 2–8)

Jesus set out from Jericho on the morning of the 8th Nisan and arrived in Bethania in the afternoon of the same day. According to St. John (XII, 2) a supper was given there in His honor. This account of the supper in Bethania and the honor shown Him by the anointment performed by Mary, refers to the same event which Matthew and Mark have in mind in the passages cited at the head of this chapter. The two Synoptics, it is true, do not mention the name of the woman who did the anointing. In Matthew this is easily accounted for, because he could assume a knowledge of the incident on the part of the Judeo-Christians of Palestine. Perhaps, too, he intentionally omitted the name on account of the opposition of the Jews against the followers of Jesus at the time when He wrote his gospel. Mark surely knew the name of the woman as well as Matthew, and *per se* had no reason to conceal it; but, as so often, he follows Matthew, and may have been the more inclined to do so because the matter itself was of greater importance for his readers than the name of the woman. John gives his own account of the episode, together with the name of the woman who did the anointing, for an easily discernible motive (cfr. the account of the miracle of the loaves and fishes, Jn. VI, 5 ff.). The Synoptics mention the promise given by Jesus to the woman: Wheresoever the gospel shall be preached, that which she had done should be told in memory of her. A complete fulfilment of this prediction demanded that the name

of the woman be mentioned in connection with her deed. How important this appeared to St. John, he shows by a remark in his account of the raising of Lazarus (XI, 2 ff.), *viz.*: that Mary, the sister of Lazarus, was the one who afterwards anointed Jesus. Furthermore, by recording the deed of Mary, John wished to remove a misunderstanding which could easily arise from the narrative of the Synoptics, and no doubt actually did arise at a very early date, namely, that the episode occurred two days before the Passion. Finally, John by his supplementary account of the kind act of the woman wished to stigmatize the low character of Judas and pave the way for an understanding of the chief motive of his treason.

For the rest, the account of the fourth Evangelist is in full accord with that of the Synoptics regarding the motive of the action (grateful love), the place, and the participants. True, he does not expressly name Simon the leper as the host, but by mentioning Lazarus as one of the invited guests, he positively excludes the notion that the house of Lazarus was the scene of the anointing and confirms the suggestion of the Synoptics that a relation of close friendship or consanguinity existed between the host and the happy trio. In view of which Simon invited Lazarus to table and asked Martha to help in serving. Also in regard to the time there is really no discrepancy between the different accounts. According to St. John, Jesus arrived in Bethania "six days before the passah," which, as the passah celebration began in the afternoon of the 14th Nisan, meant Friday the 8th Nisan. The supper took place on the same day. [Note 1.] The two Synoptics insert the incident into their narrative of the events which occurred later in the Passion week, but do not give the exact date of the anointment, using merely the general phrase: "when Jesus was in Bethania." We discern the reason for this order in Matthew and Mark. Since, according to Christ's own declaration, the anointment must be viewed in the sense of an embalming of His body, the proper place for the account thereof seemed to them to be before the state-

ment regarding the traitorous machinations of Judas, by which the death of Jesus was directly inaugurated. The Synoptics speak of a pouring out of precious spikenard on His head; John also mentions His feet. The addition is not without significance. This very trait shows the overflowing love of Mary in a bright light. [Note 2.] Also from another point of view St. John's statement appears to us quite comprehensible. For the anointing of the head alone the quantity (one pound) mentioned by the Evangelist would appear too large. The fact that Judas found fault with the action of Mary (XII, 4 ff.) was certainly recorded intentionally by John to supplement the account of the Synoptics, who represent the disciples (Mt. XXVI, 8), or rather some of the disciples (Mk. XIV, 4), as taking scandal at and criticising Mary's conduct. [Note 3.]

1. Van Bebber holds that Jesus was invited to supper by Simon on the day of His arrival in Bethania, and on this occasion was anointed by Mary. As regards the date of His arrival in Bethania, great credit is due to Van Bebber for having cleared up this problem. The sense of Jn. XII, 1 is: τῇ ἕκτῃ ἡμέρᾳ πρὸ τοῦ πάσχα (cfr. 2 Mach., XV, 36), on the sixth day before the passah-feast Jesus arrived in Bethania. The *terminus ad quem* is excluded, for the reason that in St. John's parlance τὸ πάσχα never denotes a single day, but invariably the entire festal season of eight days. It began with the slaughtering of the lambs on the afternoon of the 14th Nisan. Counting backwards, Jesus arrived in Bethania in the afternoon of the 8th. What day of the week was this? If Jesus died on Friday the 15th Nisan, as all the Evangelists report, then the 8th Nisan must also have been a Friday. But if He died on the 14th Nisan and this was a Friday, then the 8th Nisan, on which he arrived in Bethania, must necessarily have been a Sabbath. Now since Jesus surely did not journey on a Sabbath, the statement in Jn. XII, 1 points to Friday the 8th Nisan as the day of His arrival in Bethania and to Friday the 15th Nisan as the day of His death. His arrival in the house of Lazarus probably occurred in the first or second hour of the afternoon. Even if He started from Jericho as late as 7 o'clock A. M., He could have rested one hour on the way and nevertheless been in Bethania by 2 o'clock P. M. At what time did the supper and the anointment of Jesus take place in Bethania? It is commonly said: on the 9th Nisan, a Sabbath. No special reasons for this assumption are

given; however, the motive for fixing this date is discernible. The sequence of events in the latter part of the week preceding the Passion and the early part of the Passion week is usually assumed to have been the following: Jesus arrives in Bethania on Friday the 8th Nisan; He enters Jerusalem on Sunday the 10th Nisan; He closes His activity in Jerusalem on the 11th and 12th; on the 12th, in the evening, He says farewell to the Jews. In view of the remark in Jn. XII, 12, that He entered the city on the day after the supper, we naturally arrive at the 9th Nisan, a Sabbath, as the day of the supper and anointment in Bethania.[1] If it is assumed that the preparations for the supper could easily have been made during the afternoon of the 8th Nisan, before the beginning of the Sabbath rest, because Jesus no doubt arrived in Bethania early in the afternoon of that day, hardly any objection can be raised against this assumption. But why not say: preparations for a supper to take place late in the afternoon of the 8th Nisan could have been made after the early arrival of Jesus on the same day? For, according to John's account, it seems almost necessary to assume that the anointment and the supper occurred on the 8th Nisan, some time after the arrival of Jesus. The Evangelist states the time of His arrival, and immediately after speaks of the supper without naming a new date. It will not do to object, as Zahn does, that St. John did not intend to write a diary with no day omitted. Precisely in the significant passage XII, 1 ff., the Evangelist, it cannot be seriously doubted, intends to fix the *χρόνοι καὶ καιροί*, in order to prevent any misunderstanding which might arise from the Synoptic account. If, then, he mentions (XII, 1) the 8th Nisan as the day of the arrival of Jesus in Bethania and later in XII, 12 the following day, *i. e.*, Saturday the 9th Nisan, as the day of the solemn entry of Jesus, he plainly indicates the 8th Nisan as the time of the supper described in XII, 2 ff. A banquet in honor of Jesus soon after his arrival in Bethania, and an anointment (also of the feet) as an introduction to that banquet, is surely quite comprehensible, and the words recorded by the fourth Evangelist, with which Jesus defended the conduct of Mary against unjust criticism (XII, 7), appear in their full significance only by assuming the 8th Nisan as the day of the anointment. I am obliged to reject as untenable the translation and interpretation of the words: *ἄφες αὐτὴν, ἵνα εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ ἐνταφιασμοῦ μου τηρήσῃ αὐτό*, a reading attested also by the Vulgate: let her alone, that she may by anticipation observe (*τηρεῖν* = observe) solemnly the anointing. *Τηρεῖν* in this context (contrast *πραθῆναι*, v. 5) can be taken only in the sense of *to preserve, to keep,* and *αὐτό* only as referring to

[1] Cfr. Zahn, *Einleitung,* Vol. II, p. 524.

the oil or ointment, and the subjunctive aorist only in a preterital sense: Let her alone, Judas, for having preserved the oil for the day of my burial.[2] Mary, who probably had bought the precious ointment on account of the death of her brother, had preserved it after the raising of Lazarus with the intention of showing, on the first favorable occasion, her gratitude to Jesus for having recalled her brother to life. The banquet given to Jesus by Simon after His return from Galilee furnished the desired opportunity. By the anointment of His head and feet Jesus was vividly reminded of His approaching death and burial, and for this reason, in reply to the fault-finding Judas, the chief author of His death, who criticised the action of Mary, He uttered the words: Let her alone, do not prevent her from completing her deed; I accept the anointment performed by her as the embalming of my body for burial; let her complete her work unmolested; it is in conformity with the divine will that she kept the precious ointment for the day of my burial. Zahn is mistaken when he asserts that Jesus by these words (XII, 7) intended to prevent the words of Judas from influencing the future conduct of Mary and of His disciples, presuming that Mary would gladly use the remainder of the spikenard to anoint His body when it would be buried. This view implies the incorrect assumption that Mary retained, or intended to retain, a portion of the oil in her vase when Jesus spoke the words intended for Judas. Her love for Jesus impelled her from the start to pour out the entire contents of the vase in honor of the Benefactor of her brother. That the anointing of the body with spikenard was omitted at the burial of Jesus, cannot be doubted in view of the account given by the Evangelists (more of this later). The saying of Jesus recorded in Matthew XXVI, 12; *πρὸς τὸ ἐνταφιάσαι με ἐποίησεν* agrees perfectly with His words in John XII, 7. For according to the first Evangelist Jesus emphasizes the prophetic and symbolical character of the act. Mary, He wishes to say, has performed the anointment in consequence of an inspiration from above, since it symbolizes the embalming of my body for burial. That Mary on her part intended to prepare His body for the coming burial, Jesus does not say. To understand the words of Jesus in John XII, 7, we may say: Jesus considers the day of His anointment by Mary as the day of His burial; but the memorable saying is fully understood only if we interpret it thus: My burial will be performed according to the Jewish rite in a solemn manner (although without the embalming process) on the same day of the week and at the same hour of the day as to-day's anointing by Mary,—hence on next Friday evening between 4 and 5

[2] On this use of the aorist cfr. 1 Pet. IV, 6.

o'clock. It follows that the banquet took place in Bethania on Friday the 8th Nisan at about 4 o'clock P. M.

2. The identity of the anointment recorded by Matthew, Mark, and John with that described in Luke VII, 36–50 was asserted formerly and is repeated in our day; but the claim is erroneous; the two anointments are separate and distinct. That mentioned by Luke occurred in Galilee during Christ's activity in that province, in the house of Simon the Pharisee. Moreover,—and this is the main point,—the character of the narrative in John is altogether different. For whilst in the former the principal point is the mercy of God shown to the sinful woman, in the latter it is the act of charity performed by Mary towards Jesus. The woman who, on Friday the 8th Nisan, 783 (= A. D. 30) honored the Saviour by an extraordinary act of homage in Bethania, is identical with the Mary in Lk. X, 38 ff. Whether she is identical also with the repentant sinner in Lk. VII, 36 ff. is uncertain. The controversy on this point could be easily decided if the remark in Jn. XI, 2 (ἡ ἀλείψασα) had to be explained by a reference to the scene in Lk. VII, 36 ff.; but this is commonly denied by exegetes, and with good reason. At any rate, the identity of the Mary mentioned in Jn. XII, 2–8 with the one mentioned in Lk. X, 38–42 cannot be shaken. The description of the character of the two sisters in both places agrees accurately: faith, loyalty, attachment to Jesus and His cause are the traits which distinguish both; but Mary occupies the foremost place by her clear and believing perception and her exceedingly noble and perfect love.

The story of the anointment of Our Lord, as told by SS. Matthew (XXVI, 6 ff.) and Mark (XIV, 3 ff.), is supplemented in a remarkable manner by St. John, who not only gives the chronological date of the event and the name of the woman involved, but also describes the conduct of Judas. Yet we must beware of underestimating the account of the two Synoptics. Of particular interest in that account is the prophetic utterance of Jesus concerning the future preaching of the Gospel throughout the world with which the fame of Mary's noble deed was to be inseparably connected (Mt. XXVI, 13; Mk. XIV, 9). SS. Matthew (XXVI, 7) and Mark (XIV, 3) report that Mary anointed our Saviour's head, whereas St. John says that she anointed His feet (XII, 3). Are we to regard this as a correction of the Synoptic narrative on the part of the Fourth Evangelist,—a correction involving an inaccuracy on the part of SS. Matthew and Mark? St. Augustine solved the problem by assuming that both accounts are correct. We are inclined to agree with him, though we cannot fully approve his argument that the fact that the woman broke the alabaster vessel con-

taining the ointment indicates that she first anointed Christ's feet and then His head.[3] It is more natural to suppose that Mary used up the entire contents of the vessel by anointing not only His feet, but also His head, in order to demonstrate her profound love and gratitude. Note Mk. XIV, 8: "she is come to anoint my body for the burial." A mere anointment of His head the Saviour would hardly have referred to in this broad manner. But our principal reason is the criticism of "the disciples" (Mt. XXVI, 8–9) or "some" of the disciples, as St. Mark has it (Mk. XIV, 4–5). St. John mentions Judas as the dissatisfied critic. St. Augustine noticed this difference and explains it by saying that, besides Judas, no doubt some of the other disciples or Apostles were also indignant at Mary's conduct and expressed their disapproval, perhaps at the instigation of Judas, though their real motive was concern for the poor, whereas Judas was inspired by greed and the Fourth Evangelist seized this opportunity to describe him as a thief.[4] We find nothing objectionable in this interpretation. The incident once more illustrates the old saying: *"Duo si faciunt idem, non est idem."*

The phrase "the disciples" employed by St. Matthew can be explained by his tendency to generalize and is probably less accurate than the "some" of St. Mark. St. John does not wish to correct a possible error, but merely to make the subsequent treason of Judas more intelligible. He indicates the connection between the anointment of Jesus in Bethania and the treason of Judas by adding the note: "he that was about to betray him" (Jn. XII, 4). Judas, stung by the reprimand of the Master, was angry at Him and in his rage conceived the plan of betraying Him, in the execution of which plan money again played a part.

The words of St. Mark: "Some that had indignation within themselves . . . said: Why was this waste of the ointment made? . . . and they murmured against her [Mary]," undoubtedly echo the testimony of St. Peter, who was an eye-witness of the event.

What induced SS. Matthew and Mark to deviate from the chronological order in assigning to the anointment of Jesus by Mary its peculiar place in their Gospels? St. Matthew endeavored to describe objectively related events in their proper connection, and the same is true of St. Mark. The description of the incident in the first two Gospels shows a certain mastery by its contrasts. Then again, while St. Matthew endeavors to point out the approximate simultaneousness of the departure of Judas to consult with Christ's enemies and the decree of the latter to arrest and execute Him, St. Mark, by connecting the story of the

[3] *De Consensu Evang.*, II, 79, 155.
[4] *Op. cit.*, II, 79, 156.

anointment with the departure of Judas by means of a simple καί (XIV, 10), indicates the close connection between the two events. Even had St. John not made a special note of the fact, we should be inclined to conclude that Judas was one of those who criticized the conduct of Mary Magdalen and that his going forth to confer with the Sanhedrists concerning the betrayal of Jesus was an act of revenge for the reprimand received. Thus it can be seen that the account of the incident given by St. John illuminates the obscurities in the Synoptic account, and how neatly the Gospels dovetail into one another.

3. The story of the anointment of Jesus by Mary Magdalen lends itself to an interesting comparison between the first two Evangelists. Both assign to the incident the same position, immediately before the departure of Judas to the Sanhedrists. It has been asserted that St. Matthew was of the opinion that the account of the anointment had its proper chronological place in this context, *i. e.*, following the discourses of Christ reported in the preceding chapters. There is no reason whatever for this assumption. St. Matthew by employing the word τότε in XXVI, 14, gives the reader a plain hint that the negotiations of Judas with the Sanhedrists did not concur with the anointment of Jesus by Mary Magdalen, but with the meeting of the Sanhedrin mentioned in XXVI, 3 (*i. e.*, on the 12th Nisan); for τότε has nothing to do with XXVI, 13, but refers back to XXVI, 3.

As for the anointment itself, it is evident that St. Matthew's account is the older and more original, and that St. Mark merely adds explanatory details, such as the value of the ointment (Mk. XIV, 5 as against Mt. XXVI, 9), the συντρίψασα of Mk. XIV, 3 as against Mt. XXVI, 7, the καὶ ἐνεβριμῶντο αὐτῇ of Mk. XIV, 5 as against Mt. XXVI, 9, and the ἀλάβαστρον μύρου νάρδου πιστικῆς πολυτελοῦς of Mk. XIV, 3 as against the ἀλάβαστρον μύρου βαρυτίμου of Mt. XXVI, 7. Significant is the exact reproduction of the words of Jesus in Mt. XXVI, 12 as compared with Mk. XIV, 8. Mark evidently tries to clear up the somewhat obscure wording of Matthew. Literally the words of Jesus might be interpreted as meaning that Mary had intended to perform an act for which no opportunity might be offered her at the burial of the Master.

Whether the question of identity of the sinner mentioned in St. Luke, *i. e.*, Mary Magdalen (Lk. VII, 36 ff; VIII, 2) with Mary, the sister of Martha, will ever find a satisfactory solution appears more than doubtful. What inclines us to regard the two women as identical, is that the assumption that Mary of Bethania should have been absent from Jerusalem on the 15th Nisan, 783, appears almost inconceivable. Some of the disciples, after the seizure of Jesus, no doubt

fled to nearby Bethania and were the first to bring the news of the event to the family of Lazarus. Now, if Mary was informed of the seizure of Christ, she would have been untrue to her former behavior had she stayed away from Jerusalem during the hours of the 15th Nisan; because previous to this she knew no fear and did not hesitate to manifest her sentiments openly before others (Jn. XII, 2 ff.). Now, it is worthy of note that the Evangelists speak of a woman free from all human fear, by the name of Mary, who with the mother of Jesus and the "disciple whom the Lord loved" boldly stood under the cross of Jesus and again, on the day of the Resurrection, showed a bravery eclipsing even that of St. John (Jn. XX, 1 ff.). True, this woman is called Mary Magdalen; but often simply Mary. The picture drawn by the fourth Evangelist in the closing paragraphs is capable of being harmonized with his presentation in chapters XI and XII and with that of Luke X, 38–42. Here as there Mary is the same loving, sincere, zealous, fearless soul. However, the remark in Lk. XXIII, 55 (cfr. Mt. XXVII, 61) cannot be used in support of the non-identity. For it is not at all improbable that Mary, the sister of Martha, after the resuscitation of her brother Lazarus, followed Jesus to Ephrem, and from there to Galilee, and accompanied Him on His last journey to Jericho and Bethania. The opinion held or at least suggested by some, that a former public sinner would hardly have such a distinguished place in the heart of Jesus, and that this place belonged exclusively to his Virgin Mother, does not carry any weight. The conversion of Mary Magdalen was quite as much a miracle of grace as that of the penitent thief on the cross, no less marvellous than the splitting of the rock on the great day of the redemption. Even if Mary Magdalen is not identical with Mary of Bethania, Mary of Magdala, the great sinner, will always be an ideal model for converts. The conversion of this woman has been put on a level with that of Saul of Tarsus, in fact it is an even more wonderful work of grace. Saul was a sinner (1 Tim. I, 15) and had persecuted the Church; but he committed these evil deeds as ἀγνοῶν ἐν ἀπιστίᾳ (1 Tim. I, 13); he had always served God with a clear conscience (2 Tim. I, 3). I will not follow this thought further; my purpose was merely to counteract a certain undue confidence with which the problem concerning the identity of Mary Magdalen is decided. Not even the circumstance that a Mary from Bethania must have spent a part of her life in Galilee (Magdala), can seriously be urged, because it is not at all unlikely to assume that Mary withdrew from the protecting influence of her family in Bethania in order to lead a life κατὰ σάρκα undisturbed and unmolested by remonstrances (cfr. the parable of the Prodigal Son).

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CHAPTER IV

CHRIST'S TRIUMPHAL ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM AND THE SUBSEQUENT EVENTS IN THE TEMPLE

(Mt. XXI 1–11; Mk. XI, 1–11; Lk. XIX, 28–44; Jn. XII, 12–36)

Jesus set out from Bethania on the day following the banquet and the anointment, *i. e.*, on Saturday the 9th Nisan, or 1st of April, 783. The fourth Evangelist gives some important data concerning this journey. He shows that even before Jesus started from Bethania, Judeans in large numbers came from Jerusalem to Bethania for the purpose of seeing not only Him, but also the resuscitated Lazarus (Jn. XII, 9). The puzzling part of this remark has now been cleared up. By "a great multitude of Judeans" the Evangelist means the pilgrims who had come to Jerusalem from the province of Judea to celebrate the Pasch (XI, 55). They had arrived in Jerusalem on the afternoon of the 8th Nisan, the same day on which Jesus reached Bethania. They had joined the caravan which had accompanied Our Lord from Jericho and after separating from Him in Bethania had continued their journey to Jerusalem; when they learned that Jesus was in Bethania, they went there before the beginning of the Sabbath to see Him and the resuscitated Lazarus. They were principally "Judeans" who had not personally witnessed the resuscitation of Lazarus, but had heard of it from their fellow-countrymen and, like those fortunate eyewitnesses (XI, 45), were already followers of Jesus. At what time they set out from Jerusalem for Bethania, St. John does not expressly say; but by his presentation of the matter (XII,

1 ff.) he indicates that it was on the day of the arrival of Jesus and the banquet in Bethania, *i. e.,* Friday the 8th Nisan, before the Sabbath began, about 5 o'clock P. M. They spent the night and the following Sabbath in Bethania. The departure of Jesus and His disciples for Jerusalem occurred the day after the banquet, *i. e.,* on the Sabbath the 9th Nisan. In view of the character of the day we must regard the period immediately following sunset as the καιρός (time) of the departure, which assumption fully agrees with Mk. XI, 11. [Note 1.] The number of the participants in the journey from Bethania to Jerusalem was quite considerable from the start. Mark (XI, 8) says there were "many." Luke, when describing the arrival of the caravan on the slope of Mount Olivet, uses the elastic expression ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν μαθητῶν (XIX, 37). Matthew unequivocally testifies to the large number of the participants (XXI, 8 and 9). It is the fourth Evangelist who helps us to form a clear conception of the genesis and subsequent growth of the caravan. Its nucleus were the disciples who regularly accompanied the Master. To these was added the ὄχλος of Judean pilgrims from Jerusalem, who had spent the night in Bethania (Jn. XII, 9). The crowd was considerably increased by the ὄχλος πολύς which, after hearing the news of Christ's journey to Jerusalem, went out to meet him on the road to Bethania (Jn. XII, 12 ff.) [Note 2.] Some of those assembled on the road between Bethania (Bethphage) and Jerusalem could testify to the resuscitation of Lazarus as eye-witnesses. These were the Jews mentioned in Jn. XI, 31, chiefly inhabitants of the province of Judea, who believed in Jesus as the Messias since the feast of the Tabernacles (Jn. VIII, 30 f.) and had been present at the resuscitation of Lazarus on the feast Purim. Others had met Jesus in Jerusalem, but had not been in Bethania, and only heard from eye-witnesses of the wonderful miracle after their arrival in Jerusalem for the celebration of Easter and the performance of the seven days' lustration which commonly preceded Easter, and while visit-

ing in Bethania had seen Lazarus and talked with him (XII, 9). These also joined in testifying to the resuscitation of Lazarus (Jn. XII, 17, 18), because they had with their own eyes seen alive him whose death, burial, and resuscitation had been attested by hundreds of persons. The crowd which followed Jesus from Bethania was from the outset quite considerable, and the ovation given Him all the way into the city was grand; nevertheless we must admit that side by side with the true and beautiful there was much that was insincere and ignoble, inasmuch as the enthusiastic crowd, like the Apostles, gave vent to their belief in the Messiaship of Jesus by loud acclamations and cries of hosanna [Note 3], and at the same time expected of Jesus the immediate establishment of the Messianic kingdom and glory, which the people expected for some time; note Mark XI, 10: "Blessed the kingdom of our father David that cometh." In as far as the enthusiasm manifested in the ovation contained an element of truth, Our Lord did not refuse it; however, He signified in an unmistakable manner what kind of a king He was: he chose, or rather borrowed for His entry, not a horse, but an ass, and by His bearing proclaimed that He was not an earthly ruler or a military hero, but the humble Prince of Peace ("meek and humble"; cfr. Mt. XXI, 5). As regards the ass, Matthew alone records that Jesus borrowed not only the colt, but also its dam (XXI, 2, 7), without saying on which of the two animals He rode. According to the three other Evangelists (Mk. XI, 2, 4, 5, 7; Lk. XIX, 30, 33, 35; Jn. XII, 14) He rode on the colt of an ass, which latter was taken along to quiet and guide the young. Matthew makes the statement quoted in view of the Scripture (Zach IX, 9; cfr. Is. LXII, 11), where an ass and her colt are predicted as the mount of the Messias-King when He enters Jerusalem. John cites the same passage as Matthew, though more freely, and adds that the disciples, when actually fulfilling the prophecy on the 9th Nisan (*τὸ πρῶτον*), did not perceive the fact, but became aware of it only after the Ascension of Christ and the descent of the Holy Ghost (Jn. XII,

16; cfr. XIV, 26). His account of the whole episode is notable for its emphasis on the spontaneity of the ovation. The participation of the disciples is mentioned only where there is question of procuring the colt (XII, 16: *ταῦτα ἐποίησαν αὐτῷ*). The apologetic tendency of the fourth Evangelist is unmistakable. He wishes to counteract certain false interpretations of the facts spread abroad by Christ's antagonists, to the effect, perhaps, that the disciples played the leading part in the affair, stirred the ignorant populace to enthusiasm, and purposely staged the entry into Jerusalem to bring about the fulfilment of the Old Testament prophecy (Zach. IX, 9). In refutation of these insinuations John plainly emphasizes the divine disposition. Note the passage XII, 14, which does not contradict the account of the Synoptics regarding the mission of the two disciples, but presents the facts from a different point of view: by means of the two disciples, and by a divine intervention, Jesus found the colt of an ass ready to serve His purpose. Regarding the locality from which the animal was brought, he gives no particulars, and therefore has no occasion to supplement the Synoptics. According to them the facts were as follows: When Jesus with His retinue was on the way from Bethania to Bethphage, and the caravan approached the latter place, the two disciples who had been sent out before, met Him with the two animals, and He mounted the colt. Bethphage itself, situated not far from Bethania, more in the direction of Bethlehem, was not touched by Jesus and His retinue, but passed a little to the left. Undoubtedly, however, not a few from this place joined the cortège when their attention was called to it by the fetching of the animals. From the very start the awakening of Lazarus was no doubt the chief subject of conversation and the reason for the existing enthusiasm. When the cortège reached the declivity of Mount Olivet, *i. e.,* the point where Jerusalem came in sight, the homage, until then quiet, burst into loud applause, in which the accompanying multitude joined. Calling to mind all His mighty works and miracles, which many of them

had witnessed, they loudly praised God, who had done such wonderful deeds through Jesus, and exclaimed: "Blessed be the king who cometh in the name of the Lord; peace in heaven and glory on high!" (Lk. XIX, 37–38). Their enthusiasm manifested itself, moreover, in the spreading of garments, breaking branches from the trees, strewing fresh foliage on the road and in jubilant hosannas. Jesus accepts the homage; the triumph of one hour was in accordance with the decrees of God (cfr. the prophetic announcement).

Luke (XIX, 39 sq.) says that some of the Pharisees in the crowd asked Him to put a stop to the shouting of the multitude, but Jesus replied: "If these shall hold their peace, the stones will cry out." The "rulers of the nation" at this juncture felt that they were powerless and appealed to Jesus to interfere: You yourself, they meant to say, cannot approve of such an ovation, because the people are saluting you as the Messias, which you are not. Jesus refuses to comply with their insinuation saying (according to the sense): The proclamation of my Messiaship by the multitude was decreed by God for this moment; sooner would the very stones cry out than that the divine decree should remain unfulfilled. By this proverbial expression (about the stones crying out) He emphasizes the necessity of the homage and clearly gives them to understand that He is the true Messias. At the same time He returns an answer to their demand: "If thou be the Christ, tell us plainly" (Jn. X, 24). He told them plainly, but they believed it not (cfr. Jn. X, 25), and it was the knowledge of the complete unbelief of the Pharisees, hierarchs, and Sanhedrists as well as of the people of Jerusalem in general, which caused Jesus to weep when He saw the city before Him. Grief at their blindness brought tears to His eyes when He said: If thou [the representative of Israel] also hadst known [like these my disciples] and that in this thy day, the things that are to thy peace! But now they are hidden from thy eyes" (Lk. XIX, 42), as was clearly manifest from the behavior of the rulers, who even at

this moment refused to believe in His Messiaship and were indignant at the homage paid to Him. Their attitude was symptomatic of the hardness of heart of the inhabitants of Jerusalem; the punishment was to follow (Lk. XIX, 43 sq.). Thus the opposition of Christ's enemies to the ovation of the populace was in vain (Jn. XII, 19), and in Jerusalem itself a mighty movement seized the people when the Messias-King made His entry. According to St. Matthew (XXI, 10), however, the inhabitants of the Jewish capital, influenced by the ἄρχοντες, were set in commotion (ἐσείσθη; cfr. XXVIII, 4) and seized by fear. The sentiment of the majority of the inhabitants resembled that which arose at the coming of the Magi (Mt. II, 3). This is indicated by the question: τίς ἐστιν οὗτος? Note the οὗτος! Again on this occasion the inhabitants of the capital were true to themselves.

A noteworthy contrast to their attitude is the behavior of the gentiles recorded by St. John (XII, 20 ff.). True, exegetes differ regarding the time of this incident. Some place it on Tuesday the 12th Nisan, the last day of Christ's public activity, citing in favor of this view His words (Jn. XII, 23 ff.) that the hour of suffering and glorification had come, and also the words with which the Fourth Evangelist closes his account of the entire scene: "These things Jesus spoke; and he went away, and hid himself from them" (Jn. XII, 36). We should prefer to understand this passage of His final departure from the Temple for Mount Olivet (and Bethania) on the afternoon of the 12th Nisan; however, the expression ἀπελθὼν ἐκρύβη ἀπ' αὐτῶν as a matter of fact may be equally well applied to the day of His entry as to any of the following (three) days. For according to Jn. XVIII, 2, Jesus often met His disciples in the garden of Gethsemani, *i. e.*, He went there at night from the city, not in their company, but alone, whilst they had to go there each by a different route, in order not to betray His whereabouts. Two points speak positively in favor of the evening of the day of entry as the time of this incident. One is the saying

of Jesus (Jn. XII, 35 f.): "Yet a little while, the light is among you; walk whilst you have the light, that the darkness overtake you not . . . ; whilst you have the light, believe in the light." This exhortation can be understood only if addressed to the inhabitants of the city some time before His departure from the Temple district, that is, on Saturday evening, so that the phrase "a little while" means Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday. Moreover, St. John, who is strictly chronological in his narrative, and joins the incident to the events connected with the day of entry without giving a new date, by recording various sayings of Jesus (XII, 44 ff.) shows that he knows of another teaching activity of His, following the first day (Saturday, 9th Nisan). True, he does not fix in detail the time of these sayings; but by his manner of presenting the matter (mark well the ἔκραξεν, XII, 44) he shows that Jesus uttered these sayings publicly in the Temple after His retirement (XII, 36), hence after the day of His entry into Jerusalem. The reason why the Evangelist records these addresses of Jesus without chronological dates and outside of the context, is plainly discernible. St. John is anxious to reach the story of the Last Supper as soon as possible; hence the fragmentary character of his account of Christ's activity during the last days of His sojourn in Jerusalem before the beginning of His Passion. By his account in chapter VI John shows the importance which he attaches to the Master's promise of the Bread of Life (see especially VI, 59); and hence in chapter XII he hastens to relate the fulfilment of this important promise.

The Evangelist relates (XII, 20) that "among them who came up [to Jerusalem] to adore on the festival day" were certain Gentiles (Ἕλληνες). Some exegetists have understood this term as signifying Jews who lived among the Gentiles in the diaspora and spoke the Greek language. It is not worth the trouble to refute this view. According to the context, the Evangelist means pagans who had abandoned polytheism and turned to the God of Israel, *i. e.*, had become proselytes. They were

men of the type of the chamberlain of Queen Candace, who, though born pagans, had read the Septuagint and come to Jerusalem to worship God (cfr. Acts VIII, 27). Such converts, like the Jews of Palestine and the diaspora, were wont to come to Jerusalem in large numbers on the chief festivals of the year (Easter, Pentecost, and Tabernacles) to "adore" the true God there. What is meant by προσκυνεῖν (Jn. XII, 20; Acts VIII, 27)? The Gentiles desired to manifest their respect for the true God in Jerusalem. Very true; but this does not exhaust the meaning of the expression προσκυνεῖν. The Jew and the proselyte could pray (προσεύχεσθαι) anywhere, especially at places appointed for this purpose (προσευχαί; cfr. Acts XVI, 13). The word προσκυνεῖν comprises the whole external worship offered not only by the priests, but also by the laity. For this reason every adult Jew had to visit Jerusalem three times a year on the high festivals, for the purpose of offering sacrifice (Dt. XVI, 16). Accordingly the "Hellenes" on the feast of the Pasch, 783, desired to pray together with the loyal Israelites in Jerusalem and to offer sacrifice according to the customary rites. [Note 4.] In Isaias we read: "Set not the son of the stranger, that adhereth to Yahveh, to worship him and to love his name, that doth not profane the sabbath and holds fast to my covenant, I will bring him into my holy mount, and will make him joyful in my house of prayer; their holocausts and their victims shall please me upon my altar; for my house shall be called a house of prayer for all nations" (Is. LVI. 3–7; cfr. 3 Kings VIII, 41 ff.). St. John does not make special mention of the excellent disposition of the Hellenes, but his narrative leaves no room for doubt regarding it (XII, 20 f.): only because they were imbued with pious sentiments and impressed by the personality of Jesus, they naturally wished to see the Lord, *i. e.*, become acquainted with him (cfr. ἰδεῖν with ἱστορῆσαι in Gal. I, 18) and out of deference to the Master they address His disciple by a title of honor: κύριε, θέλομεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἰδεῖν (XII, 21). Philip, who was thus addressed, consulted with Andrew, and both in-

formed Jesus of the petition of the pagans. Was the petition heard? We have to answer no; not because the Evangelist is silent, but because if Jesus (XII, 23 ff.) had admitted the Gentiles to His presence and addressed them, He would probably have referred to the reception of the pagans into His Kingdom, and the Evangelist would have utilized this fact for his purpose. As it is, Jesus merely calls the attention of His disciples to His approaching death on the Cross and to the ultimate fate of these same two Apostles, Philip and Andrew, among the Hellenes in Asia Minor and Achaia (XII, 24–26). True, the thought of His own impending death, as St. John goes on to say, powerfully excited the human soul of Jesus, but completely submitting His human will to the divine will, He prayed: "Father, glorify thy name," *i. e.,* let me finish my appointed work, in order that, by the manifestation of divine love and mercy, and of divine justice, Thy name be glorified. And the Father heard His prayer: I have glorified the Son and will glorify him; the work begun by the Son shall be completed and brought to a triumphant issue (cfr. XII, 27–28). Jesus, regarding His approaching death, to which the voice from Heaven had alluded, as already accomplished, speaks of its effects by saying: Now the hour of judgment has come, *i. e.,* the condemnation of the world. By ὁ κόσμος in this place is meant primarily the Jewish nation steeped in unbelief, which appeared to triumph on the day of Christ's crucifixion, but saw itself judged and defeated on the day of His Resurrection. By the redeeming death of Jesus, the devil shall be cast out of his present dominion, and instead of the kingdom of darkness there shall be established the kingdom of light (XII, 31). Jesus adds: "And I [in opposition to the devil], if I be lifted up from the earth [unto the cross, and thence into Heaven], I will draw all things to myself," implying that all who respond to this prompting and believe in Him, will have life everlasting (XII, 32–33; cfr. III, 14–16). In these words we may see an indirect answer to the petition of the Gentiles. Christ means to say: This is not the "hour" to devote

myself to you, but to shed my blood for the life of the world; the fruits of the atonement shall be bestowed upon all men, including pagans, who are "of good will"; lifted up to the right hand of the Father, I will rule my kingdom on earth, which will consist of Jews and Gentiles. It is easily seen that He wishes to mitigate a direct refusal by a promise concerning the future of paganism. No doubt, these well-disposed souls, although they did not grasp His full meaning for the moment, took the refusal of their petition good-naturedly, whilst the Jews were displeased. The announcement of the departure of the Messias appeared to them to contradict the general opinion (based on certain O. T. passages concerning an everlasting reign of the Messias on earth), and hence they said: We have learned from the Scriptures that the Messias will abide here forever (cfr. Acts I, 6) and do not understand what you say about His being lifted from the earth. Who is this Son of man of whom you speak? (XII, 34). Knowing that this question was not meant honestly, Jesus answered by a resolute exhortation to profit by the light as long as He, the personal light and the source of all light, remained among them and co-operated with them, so that they might not experience the dire consequences of unbelief.

Regarding this unbelief of the Jews and its causes, the Evangelist proceeds to make some brief observations (XII, 37–43). The Saviour, he says, has performed many miracles before the very eyes of the Jews, yet they obstinately refused to believe in him as the Messias and the Son of God. This unbelief and its causes has been foretold by Isaias (VI, 9 sq.), or rather, God foresaw the unbelief of the Jews as a free act of theirs and foretold it by the mouth of His prophet. This prophecy, coming from the unerring knowledge of God, was bound to be realized in course of time. That the Jews would not accept the teaching of Jesus, would show no appreciation of His works, and consequently would be overwhelmed by complete blindness, the prophet foretold because he was permitted to foresee in spirit the glory of the Messias, and because he was

commissioned to speak of him (Jn. XII, 41). The prophecy itself is very remarkable. It does not merely say: The people of Israel, and above all their rulers, had ears and heard not, had eyes and saw not; but God has blinded their eyes and hardened their hearts so that they may not see nor understand and be not converted. Hence the Jews *could* not believe (XII, 39–40) because they persistently closed their eyes to the light and refused to accept the testimony of the Father, who had attested Jesus Christ as the Messias and His consubstantial Son (V, 31 ff.). God had permitted them to sink into complete spiritual blindness as a punishment. In conclusion the Evangelist qualifies his general statement regarding the unbelief of the Jews by saying: "However, many of the chief men also believed in him, but because of the Pharisees they did not confess him" (XII, 42 sq.). [Note 5.]

1. That Saturday, the 9th Nisan, was the day of Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem appears from the following considerations:

a) St. John (XII, 1 ff.) specifies Friday the 8th Nisan as the day of the supper in Bethania and the day of Christ's arrival in Jerusalem; hence the following Saturday, the 9th Nisan, must have been the day of His solemn entry. To assume that the Fourth Evangelist made a mistake in determining the time, is prohibited by the tendency manifested precisely in this section to give to his readers definite and unequivocal facts for the proper understanding of the situation, in view of the somewhat inexact account of the Synoptics.

b) John XII, 9 contains strong evidence for our thesis. The Judeans mentioned there were pilgrims from the province of Judea (cfr. Jn. XI, 55). They had come to the city from their homes early on Friday, the 8th Nisan, and heard from the pilgrims who had come with Jesus from Jericho, of His arrival in Bethania. Their veneration for Jesus, which was increased still more by the awakening of Lazarus, caused them to start for Bethania on the same day. Now if they arrived there before the beginning of the Sabbath, and remained there during the Sabbath, Christ's departure in their company from Bethania for Jerusalem immediately after the close of the Sabbath, hence in the evening after the close of the prescribed Sabbath-rest, appears quite comprehensible.

c) The Johannine account points to the 9th Nisan as the day of Christ's triumphant entry into Jerusalem; still more so the account of St. Mark.

According to this Evangelist, Jesus visited the Temple immediately after His solemn entry into the city, but stayed there only a short time, and then proceeded from Jerusalem to Bethania, "as it was now late" (Mk. XI, 11: ὀψίας ἤδη οὔσης τῆς ὥρας). Had He chosen an ordinary weekday for His entry, He would have arrived in Jerusalem in the morning, or at the latest, at noon, which would have given him ample time to teach in the Temple. If it was a Sabbath, as John reports, all is clear: Jesus started from Bethania about 6 o'clock in the evening, arrived in Jerusalem about 7 or 7.30 (the journey therefore took place in the moonlight), and hence His return to Bethania must have taken place at a late hour.

d) St. Luke says concerning Christ's final activity in Jerusalem after His triumphant entry: "He was teaching daily in the temple" (XIX, 47). He taught in the Temple during the day and retired at night to Mt. Olivet (cfr. Lk. XXI, 37 sq.; cfr. XXII, 53). Now, all interpreters are pretty well agreed that Jesus took leave of Jerusalem on Tuesday evening; if His triumphant entry occurred on Sunday the 10th Nisan, we should be obliged to restrict "the days" of his teaching activity to Monday the 11th and Tuesday the 12th Nisan, which interpretation St. Luke's ordinary style of expression will not permit. If the Evangelist had conceived the closing time of Christ's activity as a period of only two days, the phrase (XX, 1) ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν (on one of these days) would be unintelligible. St. Luke in that case would have written: on one of these two days; he assumes at least *three* days! St. Mark, it is true, expressly mentions only two days between the day of the triumphant entry and the beginning of the Passion (XI, 11, 12, 19, 20, 27; XIII, 1; XIV, 1); however, this cannot be decisive, because this Evangelist, while he intends to fix the time in regard to the clearing of the Temple and the cursing of the fig tree, does not intend to record, any more than does St. Matthew, the length of time between the triumphant entry and the Passion. We must here follow SS. Luke and John, and they compel us to accept an interval of three days.

2. St. John's distinction of a double ὄχλος (crowd of festival pilgrims) is essential for the correct interpretation of the story of the Passion. The first ὄχλος, coming with Jesus from Bethania and testifying to the resurrection of Lazarus (Jn. XII, 17 f.), is identical with the ὄχλος mentioned in Jn. XII, 9. I know that most exegetes prefer to interpret Jn. XII, 17 differently. Taking ὅτε for the basis, they interpret ἐμαρτύρει absolutely ("The crowd that was with Jesus when He raised Lazarus from the dead, gave testimony to the historical reality of that miracle.") The whole passage is referred to Jn. XI, 31 ff. The more I meditate on

the passage, however, the less inclined am I to accept this interpretation. Tischendorf is probably right in reading ὅτι instead of ὅτε, as the particle is designed to introduce the event which the crowd accompanying Jesus (ὁ ὢν μετ' αὐτοῦ) on the way to Jerusalem testified to. The constant refrain of their song, therefore, was: "He has called Lazarus forth from the grave and raised him from the dead!" Special weight attaches to the word ἐφώνησεν. In his account of the Resurrection St. John stresses the fact that Jesus cried with a loud voice (φωνῇ μεγάλῃ, XI, 43), no doubt for the reason that he wished to have this fact regarded as the fulfilment of the prophecy of the Saviour recorded in Jn. V, 25. The Jewish pilgrims, too, with their refrain: τὸν Λάζαρον ἐφώνησεν, wished to hint at the same prophecy (Jn. V, 25), and that they were correct in their interpretation of it is confirmed by St. John when he records the wording of their μαρτυρία.

The second ὄχλος also consisted of pilgrims who had come to Jerusalem for the festival; they came from the city to meet Jesus (Jn. XII, 12 f.) and improvised the Messianic procession of the tabernacles, the only procession known to the Temple liturgy (Jn. XII, 13).

3. Hosanna (ὡσαννά; Mt. XXI, 9, 15; Mk. XI, 9, 10; Jn. XII, 13) is a Greek rendering of the Hebrew "give help." The Septuagint translates the phrase by σῶσον δή = "bring him help." The expression is borrowed from Ps. CXVIII, 25 sq., which the Jews were in the habit of singing at the passah banquet, and at an early date was received into the Eucharistic liturgy.[1]

However, the cry was in vogue among the Jews also on other occasions, especially on the feast of the Tabernacles. The multitude which accompanied Jesus from Bethania and Bethphage had in mind this use of Hosanna on the feast of the Tabernacles, as is evident from the use of palm-branches, a characteristic feature of this feast. According to Mt. XXI, 9, the multitude who accompanied Jesus cried: "Hosanna to the son of David," *i. e.*, "Give help and glory to the Messias!" Considering the etymological meaning of the word, one may see in it a prayer to God for help for the Messias, because the latter now enters the capital city for the purpose of establishing the Messianic Kingdom (Mk. XI, 10). Probably at the time of Our Lord the expression had already assumed the meaning of a doxology of homage and was used in this sense by the multitude on the 9th Nisan. According to Hegesippus, in the year 62, when James, bishop of Jerusalem, was placed on the pinnacle of the Temple and with a loud voice spoke: "Why

[1] Cfr. Eusebius, *E. H.*, II, 23, 14. *Const. Apost.*, VIII, 13; *Didache*, X, 16.

do you ask me about Jesus, the Son of man? He is in Heaven, sitting at the right hand of the great power and shall come again on the clouds of Heaven," many Jewish converts were strengthened in their faith and, bursting forth into praise of Jesus, exclaimed: "Hosanna to the Son of David!" Not long before the Saviour had made a prophetic allusion to the shouts of jubilation at His entry. This was on the feast of the Dedication (Lk. XIII, 31–35). Having been warned by some of the Pharisees to depart from Perea, which was Herodian territory, Jesus declared that He intended to go to Jerusalem on three succeeding feasts: the Dedication, Purim, and Passah, and on the third of these (Passah, 783) He would be put to death there. St. Luke in this place indicates a journey of Jesus from Perea to the feast of the Dedication in December, 782 (cfr. Jn. X, 22 and X, 40; Jesus was in Perea also before this journey; cfr. πάλιν ἀπῆλθεν πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου). Luke records His words: "Jerusalem, Jerusalem," etc. (Lk. XIII, 34 ff.). It is a mistake to refer the utterance recorded in Lk. XIII, 35: "I say to you, that you shall not see me till the time come, when you shall say: Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord," to the return of Christ at the end of the world. During His visit to Jerusalem on the feast of the Dedication, He announced that He would never again enter the Temple and the city until the jubilant cry would be raised: "Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord!" This was done during His triumphant entry on the 9th Nisan. Although the citizenry in general, as we saw above, did not take part in the homage rendered to Him, some of them were carried away by the enthusiasm of the multitude, and thus His prediction was fulfilled. According to Matthew XXVI, 37–39 Jesus took leave of the inhabitants with the same words on Tuesday of the Passion week. The return which at the time he had in mind occurred on the evening of the 14th (Thursday), when He reëntered the city. The hierarchs actually saw Him only on Mt. Olivet when they made Him a prisoner, after they had eaten the Passah banquet and recited the prophecy regarding the coming Messias, and thereby had given expression to their longing for him, whilst they failed to acknowledge and repudiated and seized the "Son of David" who had actually appeared among them.

4. In order to appreciate the meaning of the verb προσκυνεῖν, we must consult Jn. IV, 23 ff. What sort of worship and adoration is it that Jesus enjoins upon the members of His Kingdom when He says: "The hour cometh, and now is, when the true adorers shall adore the Father in spirit and in truth"? Christian worship is here contrasted with that restricted to a definite locality, like the Jewish and the Samaritan.

But this is expressed by Our Lord in IV, 21, not, as is commonly asserted, simultaneously by the phrase ἐν πνεύματι. Neither does the ordinary explanation of the words ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ, given by Catholic exegetes, satisfy us. They say: to adore in spirit means a worship which consists not merely in external acts, but in the spiritual adoration of God, performed by the soul of man, devoting the entire man to God in thought, word, and deed. But Our Lord requires the προσκυνεῖν in the same degree of the Christians as Jehovah demanded it of the Jews. The Christians also were to worship God by *sacrifices,* only that the θυσίαι σαρκικαί (heifers, sheep, goats, doves) were to be replaced by θυσίαι πνευματικαί, or rather one θυσία πνευματική, *i. e.,* the Eucharistic Sacrifice which He promised at Capharnaum and instituted on the evening of the 14th Nisan (XIII, 1). This sacrifice, it is true, consists of the flesh and blood of the Godman; but the σάρξ is not the crude, material flesh of His slaughtered body, which cannot give or maintain life (ζωή; Jn. VI, 63), but the glorified σάρξ, His spiritual and living flesh, glorified by the Divine Spirit and imbued with divine life, as it was after, and in consequence of, His Ascension (VI, 63: πνεῦμα καὶ ζωή = that which I promised in my discourse is spirit and life in the designated sense). In briefly designating this sacrifice as πνεῦμα (IV, 23, 24) Christ means, as the context shows: God is spirit (πνεῦμα), therefore only a spiritual sacrifice can correspond to His essence, and this is the Eucharistic Sacrifice, which is perfectly adequate to the πνεῦμα of the Father and of equal value with it, because the πνεῦμα of Christ (the Divine Nature), which makes his Eucharistic body a σῶμα πνευματικόν, is not merely similar to the πνεῦμα of God, but identical with it (cfr. XIV, 19, 20). Thus the subject-matter of the New Testament sacrificial worship is something infinite, something having life within itself, something divine. In adding to ἐν πνεύματι the noun ἀληθείᾳ, without repeating the preposition ἐν, Jesus wishes to contrast the προσκύνησις ἐν πνεύματι, as the true prototype of the perfect worship of God (προσκύνησις ἀληθινή), with that merely relative, imperfect, and shadowy worship (Hebr. X, 1) which was in vogue among the Jews.

This reference of the words προσκυνεῖν ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ to the Eucharistic sacrifice agrees fully with the utterance of Jesus regarding the time when the new προσκύησις (IV, 23) was to begin. "The hour cometh, and now is, when the true adorers shall adore the Father in spirit and in truth." The word ἔρχεται and the future tense in the time-sentence (προσκυνήσουσι) express the idea that the adoration of the Father would occur in the future, but was not yet in vogue at the moment when He was speaking to the Samaritan woman. By the addition of καὶ νῦν ἐστι to ἔρχεται ὥρα He suggests the close proximity of that *future.*

The Messianic Kingdom had begun at Easter, 782, when Jesus baptized His first disciples; but the adoration of the Father in spirit and in truth, announced at the well of Jacob, was not put into practice by the baptized disciples during the earthly life of Jesus. Our Lord introduced it in a solemn manner in connection with His death, Resurrection and Ascension, on the evening of the 14th Nisan, *i.e.*, reckoning about 11 months from the day at the well of Jacob. The relative *νῦν* does not militate against this view, but may well be made to harmonize with it. The reference of the words of Jesus in Jn. IV, 23 and 24 and Eucharist, this most perfect sacrifice of adoration, praise, and thanksgiving, receives a noteworthy confirmation from a fragment ascribed to Irenaeus,[2] where we read: *διά τι καὶ ἡ προσφορὰ τῆς εὐχαριστίας οὐκ ἔστι σαρκική, ἀλλὰ πνευματικὴ καὶ ἐν τούτῳ καθαρά* (Mal. I, 11). *προσφέρομεν γὰρ τῷ θεῷ τὸν ἄρτον καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας εὐχαριστοῦντες αὐτῷ.*

5. In Jn. XII, 37 the narrative of the Evangelist is interrupted for the purpose of answering a question which naturally forces itself on every reader, namely, what success had Jesus with His teaching and miracles? For this proceeding of the Evangelist we have analogies in the two sections III, 13–21 and III, 31–36. In III, 13 ff. many commentators see a continuation of the discourse of Jesus, not a remark made by the Evangelist.[3] However, this view can be maintained only by doing considerable violence to the text. *Ἀναβέβηκεν εἰς τὸν οὐνανόν* (III, 13), they say, must not be understood of the Ascension of Christ, because at the time when He spoke to Nicodemus on this subject, His Ascension, as the finale of His sojourn on earth, was an event of the future, not of the past. By the expression "hath ascended," they continue, Jesus calls the attention of Nicodemus to His eternal pre-existence in Heaven and His knowledge of the celestial mysteries; the words *ὁ ὢν τῷ οὐρανῷ* are intended to define the expression "Son of man." The Son of man is the Messias, who, as such, is in constant communication with Heaven. This interpretation of the verb *ἀναβαίνειν*, however, is incompatible with Johannine usage, according to which *ἀναβαίνειν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν* is a technical term for the return of Jesus to the Father by the Ascension (note especially VI, 62; XX, 17; cfr. Eph. IX, 8 ff.) True, Jesus commonly designated himself as *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*; but Acts VII, 56 shows that His disciples unhesitatingly used this expression whenever they spoke of His glorification in Heaven. Daniel's prophecy (Dn. VII, 13) of the Ascension and glorification of the Son of man justified them in doing

[2] Cfr. Hilgenfeld, *Nov. Testam. extr. Can.*, p. 83.
[3] Cfr. Pölzl, *Zu Johannes*, 80.

so. St. John, however, had a special reason for using the term "Son of man." In III, 13 ff. he had in mind the sayings of Our Lord recorded in VI, 27, 53, 63; VIII, 28; XII, 32, 44. These contain the idea of the "Son of man." Accordingly, everything is in order if the words in III, 13 are taken as words of the Evangelist; attributed to Jesus, they cause offence, which was felt in Christian antiquity, for the words *ὁ ὢν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ* were eliminated from the text and are missing in Cod. Aleph, B. L. Jesus said to Nicodemus, and through him to his associates: When I shall speak to you of heavenly things, you will surely not believe me (III, 12). He had in mind mainly His later discourse on the Bread of Life (VI, 27). The Evangelist, in recording Christ's conversation with Nicodemus, touches upon the *ἐπουράνια* discourse delivered in Capharnaum (III, 12), and interrupts his narrative to assert, in the face of Jewish unbelief, the truth of what Our Lord said concerning Himself and what He promised. "And yet, though the Jews would not believe it," no man hath ascended (bodily) into heaven, but he that descended from heaven, the Son of man who is in heaven. And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the desert, so must the Son of man be lifted up (on the cross and into heaven): that whosoever believeth in him, may have life everlasting." The relation of these words to Christ's Eucharistic discourse in contents and form is apparent. The Ascension (III, 13) is closely connected with the mystery of the Holy Eucharist, inasmuch as the flesh or the body of Christ, which He, at Capharnaum, had promised as a food for man and actually gave to his Apostles in the Cenacle in Jerusalem, was not dead, raw, material flesh, but living and glorified flesh imbued with the Divine Spirit, as was the flesh or body of Christ at the Ascension (VI, 62). By *ὑψωθῆναι* (III, 14) the Evangelist means the exaltation of Jesus on the Cross, hence His sacrificial death, as is manifest from the words *καθὼς Μωϋσῆς ὕψωσεν τὴν ὄφιν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ*. However, in using the word *ὑψωθῆναι*, he at the same time is thinking of the perpetual dedication or immolation of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharistic sacrifice. This follows from the use of *δεῖ* (not *ἔδει*), and *ἔδωκεν*, in the argumentative sentence III, 16, the same term which He used at Capharnaum (VI, 32). The Evangelist is absorbed in the contemplation of the superhuman love which induced the Father to give to the world His only-begotten and dearly beloved Son, not merely to lay down His life in a sacrificial death, but also to give His flesh as a sacrificial food in the Holy Eucharist. The purpose of this sacrifice is to confer true, eternal life on the world, *i. e.*, on those men who would believe in Him (VI, 33, 39, 40, 51, 53, 57, 58). Also in XIII, 1 the Evangelist traces the institution of the Eucharistic sacrifice to the will of the Father as an act of the greatest conceivable love towards

all who, at any time, shall be His own (cfr. XV, 10). III, 17–21 coincides perfectly with the utterances of Jesus recorded in V, 29 f. and XII, 44–50. Whoever studies and compares these texts must reach the conclusion that in III, 17–21, as in III, 13–16, we have a reflection of the Evangelist based on a declaration of Jesus or flowing from it. The same may be said with regard to Jn. III, 31–36. III, 33 alone is decisive: the thought expressed in this verse flows from the recollection of Christ's discourse in Jerusalem (see Jn. V, especially 32–38), and what is written in 1 Jn. V, 9 f. appears as a commentary on this discourse and on Jn. III, 33. Accordingly, we need not be surprised if in XII, 37 ff. we again meet with such a reflection interrupting the course of the historical narrative. The only question is, where does this reflection end? It ends at XII, 43, whilst XII, 44–50 is an account by the Evangelist of the final activity of Jesus in the Temple. Many ancient and modern exegetes see in this section a compilation of former sayings of Christ. They translate the ἔκραξεν καὶ εἶπεν at the beginning by, "Jesus had cried and said," and continue: the Evangelist by this introductory remark merely intended to say that Jesus during His public career with great emphasis announced the doctrines here compiled. Moreover, they hold it as quite evident that the verses of this section are a summary of the doctrines contained in His former discourses. Regarding the latter assertion, it must be admitted that the utterances of Jesus reported in Jn. XII, 44–50 are also contained in the discourses recorded in chapters V, VII, VIII, IX, and X, according to the sense, and often even verbatim. (Compare in particular XII, 44–47 with VII, 16 ff.; VII, 29; VIII, 12, 15, 19, 42; cfr. IX, 5; XII, 35; XIV, 9). Regarding the highly significant words in XII, 48–50, attention may be called to VIII, 24, 26, 40, and especially to V, 29 and 30. The underlying idea in both places is: while I have not come to judge the world, I shall sit in judgment on the last day, and my judgment shall be rendered according to the word and doctrine which, as the pre-existing Logos, I have heard from my Father and have announced to the world; *i. e.*, I shall condemn all those to eternal death who did not believe and exemplify in their lives the doctrine which the Father commissioned me to teach; on the other hand, I shall give eternal life to those who have made the truth, which the Father communicated to me and which I preached to the world, their rule of life. Consequently, though the perfect identity of the ideas expressed in XII, 44–50 with the former discourses of Jesus recorded by St. John is incontestable, we must nevertheless adhere to the opinion that the Evangelist in XII, 44–50 records a discourse delivered by Christ in the Temple probably on the last day of His public ministry. It need not surprise us that this discourse closely resembles others de-

livered before. Jesus wished to express Himself once more and very definitely on the purpose of His sojourn on earth, the divine character of His revelation, and the consequences of unbelief, as He had repeatedly done before. That the Evangelist in XII, 44–50 does not present a summary of former discourses, but a new discourse delivered by the Saviour before His final departure from the Temple, follows with absolute certainty from the introductory remark: "But Jesus cried and said." With this phrase, as with other similar ones (*e. g.,* "Jesus answered and said") St. John invariably introduces the discourses of Jesus. From a linguistic point of view it is altogether unjustifiable to interpret the aorist ἔκραξεν in the sense of a pluperfect. We, therefore, assign this discourse to the last day of Christ's teaching activity, induced by its contents, aside from the fact that, for the reasons discussed above, it cannot be assigned to the day of His triumphal entry into Jerusalem.

CHAPTER V

THE CURSING OF THE FIG TREE AND THE CLEARING OF THE TEMPLE

(Mt. XXI, 12–22; Mk. XI, 12–25; Lk. XIX, 45–48)

If we considered solely the account of St. Matthew, we would be inclined to view the clearing of the Temple as the termination of Christ's activity on the day of His triumphal entry into Jerusalem. True, this Evangelist does not definitely state: "This was done on the same day;" but the context (XXI, 10–12) directly suggests the idea. St. Mark, by his presentation of the episode, enables us to see that Jesus, after a thorough inspection of the Temple, went with his Apostles to Bethania and took lodging with His friend Lazarus (cfr. Mt. XXI, 17). According to the third Gospel, the departure from Jerusalem took place on the 9th Nisan, late in the evening. We must not infer from St. Matthew's story that he was not an eye-witness. The difference in the accounts, or rather the greater precision of St. Mark, is easily explained. St. Matthew in this entire section betrays only *one* tendency, namely, that of furnishing his Judeo-Christian readers with evidence to prove that Jesus publicly and solemnly proclaimed Himself the Messias in Jerusalem and that, in consequence of His truly Messianic activity, He was acknowledged as such by a considerable portion of the Jewish nation when He solemnly entered the capital city and while He sojourned there (XXI, 12–14). Hence there was no reason why the first Evangelist should give a precise chronology of Christ's entry into Jerusalem and of His Messianic activity

there; while St. Mark, on the other hand, wished to demonstrate to his Roman readers that Jesus, while in the Jewish capital, acted with great calmness and objectivity and avoided even the appearance of interfering with the established order without urgent necessity. Therefore, this Evangelist, contrary to his usual custom, makes a very precise statement regarding the time and emphatically says: On the first day Jesus, after having entered the Temple, only made a thorough inspection of it. St. Mark does not record the result of this inspection in words, but suggests the idea that on account of the conditions existing in the holy places, Jesus reserved active interference for the following day, on which, accompanied by the twelve, He returned from Bethania to Jerusalem. [Note 1.]

This return, on the 10th Nisan, was characterized by a mysterious episode, namely, the cursing of the fig tree. If we consider that Matthew and Mark directly associated the two actions of Jesus, the cursing of the fig tree and the clearing of the Temple, we may assume as the motive of the Saviour's early departure on that day the intention of punishing once more the abominations in the Temple and of establishing in due form the fact that the desecration continued unabated (Mk. XI, 11, 15). On this early trip He became hungry [Note 2], and when He saw a fig tree standing close by the road with luxuriant foliage but no fruit, He cursed it, saying that it should wither and never bear fruit again. This is a unique event in the life of Christ. The fig tree is the only creature which perished by His direct action. Jesus had often spoken of His power to give and take away life (cfr. Jn. V, 21). It was necessary that He should demonstrate this power, but He wished to do only good to men during His public career. He spared the wicked and demonstrated His power of destruction only on this fig tree devoid of fruit. On the following morning the sight of the tree, which had withered in consequence of the curse, aroused in the disciples merely the idea of power, and hence they enquire only regarding the *how,* not the *why* (Mt. XXI,

20). However, it is impossible, after a close scrutiny of the gospel accounts, to view the cursing of the fig tree simply as a miracle of power, because the use of power for the sole purpose of destroying would appear as an abuse. It is more to the point to explain the episode as a miracle bearing the character of punishment; only we must not stop with this, because Jesus manifested His punitive power on an unfree creature which, properly speaking, could not be an object of punishment. The significance of this miracle was recognized already by Origen and St. Jerome. The fig tree is a symbol of the Chosen People, whom God had planted in a select soil. At the preappointed time Jesus came, sent by the Father, and preached penance, like His forerunner, and by His works gave evidence that he was the Son of the Heavenly Father (Jn. V, 17 ff.). After a considerable activity He looks for fruits of penance and faith, for good works performed in a truly penitential spirit and genuine faith. For such fruits He had a craving, and would gladly have gathered them; but as He did not find them, because the tree of luxuriant foliage (*i. e.*, the people of Israel endowed with excellent gifts and privileges) abused the love and mercy of God and disappointed Him in His expectations, their condemnation and rejection was bound to follow. They lost their salvation, and the destruction of Jerusalem and of the Temple exhibited their rejection before the whole world. When Jesus in the course of the 10th Nisan said in the Temple that the house which was intended to be a house of prayer had been made a den of thieves, the disciples could discover in His words nothing but a condemnation, and must certainly have perceived the force of that rejection and, so to speak, must have felt it, when they saw the condemned fig tree wither before their eyes. (Mk. XI, 20 f.)

Here the question will no doubt arise: Could the readers of the Gospels perceive the symbolical meaning of this episode without an explanation? The first readers of St. Matthew's Gospel certainly could. For as born Jews, the Judeo-Christians

of Palestine were familiar with the symbolical language of the Old Testament, in which the Israelites were frequently compared to the vine or the fig tree (Is. V, 1–10; Jer. XXIV, 1–10; Os. IX, 10). The case was different, of course, with the original readers of Mark. Such symbolical prophecies were foreign to the mind of these believers, who for the most part were converts from paganism. For this reason the second Evangelist indicates the meaning of the episode by the words: "for it was not the time for figs" (XI, 13). For the rest he restricts himself to describing the episode as a miracle, and is more prolix in his description and lays great stress on the lesson inculcated in XI, 22 ff. Jesus instructed His disciples that the withering of the fig tree was an effect of His divine power, which they also, if they remained in living union with Him, would be able to exercise in a similar manner. To set forth more clearly the purpose of this instruction, Mark separates the instruction of the disciples from the act of cursing, by stating definitely that the disciples did not perceive the withering of the fig tree at once, but only on the following morning, when the Master explained the incident (XI, 20 ff.). St. Luke passes over the episode in silence.

After His arrival in Jerusalem, on the 10th Nisan, Jesus betook himself to the Temple (Mt. XXI, 12). In the so-called outer court, or Court of the Gentiles, He found men selling objects used for the sacrifices, especially sacrificial animals, and money-changers who for a premium (*agio*, κόλλυβος, hence κερματισταί, κολλυβισταί, τραπεζῖται), exchanged ordinary coins bearing the image of the emperor or of animals, for "clean" coin, which was needed in paying the Temple tax (δίδραχμον; Mt. XVII, 24). The coins were of copper, minted in Jerusalem, and did not bear the picture of the emperor. Filled with indignation at the profane and sordid traffic carried on in these sacred precincts, Jesus drove out the buyers and sellers, upset the tables of the money-changers and the chairs of them that sold pigeons, and said in holy anger: It is written: my house shall be called

the house of prayer for all nations (Mk. XI, 17), but you have made it a den of thieves. Opinions differ about the relation of the Synoptic account (Mt. XXI, 12–17; Mk. XI, 15–10; Lk. XIX, 45–48) to the Johannean (II, 13–21). Some hold that Christ cleared the Temple only once, at the beginning of His public ministry, shortly before Easter, 782, and that St. John's account is an emendation of the Synoptic story. But there are good reasons for assuming that there were two clearings of the temple,—one at the beginning and another at the close of Christ's activity in Jerusalem.

a) The difference in time and circumstances of the two events is clearly recognizable. St. John specifies Easter, 782, or rather the time immediately preceding Easter, while the Synoptics mention the beginning of the Passion-week after Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem. It needs hardly be emphasized that, according to St. John (II, 13 ff.), Jesus entered Jerusalem before Easter, accompanied only by the disciples whom He had won over to his cause.

b) When He cleared the Temple for the first time, the Saviour used a scourge, spoke to "them that sold doves," declared that the Temple was the house of His Father, and rebuked its desecration by trafficking (Jn. II, 16; cfr. Lk. II, 49); on the 10th Nisan, 783, He quotes the prophets, speaking of the purpose of the Temple (Is. LVI, 7), which the Jews had turned into a den of thieves (Jer. VII, 11), and threatened them with judgment.

c) In the Synoptics as well as in St. John we read of a controversy arising from the incident. According to St. John, the Sanhedrists (*οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι*) *at once* demanded His authority for clearing the Temple, and Jesus replied: "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up," an enigmatical saying which at the moment neither friend nor foe understood. According to the Synoptics, the Sanhedrists made their interpellation on the following day, and Jesus countered with another question regarding the character of the activity of John the

Baptist (Mk. XI, 27–33; Mt. XXI, 23–27; Lk. XX, 1–8).

Thus Jesus began and closed His activity in Jerusalem by a genuine Messianic deed. For the prophet Malachy (III, 1, 3) had foretold that the Messias would come to his temple and purify the sons of Levi. In view of this prophecy, the disciples of Jesus looked upon the clearing of the Temple at Easter, 782, as a Messianic deed and applied to their Master the words of the Messianic Psalm (LXIX, 10): "The zeal of thy house hath eaten me up." The ominous presentiment of the disciples, which was hid behind these words, is noteworthy. Nevertheless, also in this second clearing of the Temple,—as Matthew gives us to understand by joining this event to the entry into Jerusalem,—Jesus manifested Himself as the Messias to the inhabitants of the Jewish metropolis and to all who sojourned there. Because at His entry the multitude acclaimed Him as the promised Messias, Jesus manifested before the eyes of all His Messianic dignity and power; in the other two Synoptics Jesus appears to us more as a teacher of the people, who by word as well as by deed combatted existing abuses. [Note 3.]

In still another manner Jesus manifested his Messiaship on that day (10th Nisan), namely, by the miraculous cures which He performed (Mt. XXI, 14–17; cfr. Mt. XI, 5). Therefore, too, He consented to accept the homage of the multitude, because it was intended for His Messianic office, and He justified it by applying to Himself Ps. VIII, 3. That the children also cried hosanna to the Son of David need not surprise us, because they had heard this exclamation on the day of Christ's solemn entry into the city. The custodians of the Temple, whose neglect of duty He had shortly before exposed, as well as the scribes and Pharisees, on the other hand saw in this cry of hosanna within the sacred precincts an opportunity of accusing Jesus of profaning the Temple, and hence approached Him and said: Do you not hear what they say? But He remained calm and put His adversaries to shame with a word. Yes, I hear them, He said, but you, have you never read the words of

the Psalmist: Out of the mouth of infants and sucklings thou hast perfected praise, O my God? Although this passage is not prophetic, Jesus gives it a prophetic application, quite in accordance with the exegetical practice of those days. He meant to say that what David foresaw in spirit had now come to pass; *i. e.,* little children acknowledging His Messianic dignity and proclaiming this truth for the glory of God. [Note 4.]

1. St. Matthew relates the two episodes separately: the clearing of the Temple he narrates immediately after the triumphant entry of Christ into Jerusalem; the cursing of the fig tree he places positively on the following day. It is by no means his intention to assign the two events to the same day; he merely wishes to place them side by side (XXI, 18–22). By introducing the cursing of the fig tree (XXI, 18) with πρωΐ δέ, he merely states the time of the day when the departure from Bethania took place, but not its relation to the incident recorded in XXI, 12–17. The method of St. Matthew is such that events and discourses dealing with the same subject, though not synchronous, are grouped together. In the present instance the writer's purpose is to prove and to instruct, not to narrate in chronological order. It was this objective point of view which induced the Evangelist to place in juxtaposition Christ's entry into Jerusalem and His clearing of the Temple. By the one action as well as by the other Jesus manifested Himself before all the people and before the hierarchs as the theocratic king. As regards the entry, St. Matthew purposely emphasizes the fact that the initiative of the journey, and hence also of the homage, proceeded from Jesus Himself; for it was He who sent out the disciples to fetch the colt and who ordered them to justify the taking of the animal by the Master's right of requisition; and He also made the disciples prepare the beast for the ride. The multitude, consisting for the greater part of followers of Jesus, understood the importance of the moment, and having already been aroused to enthusiasm by the sight of the risen Lazarus, this living witness of the Saviour's power, they entered into His idea and by their hosanna and the accompanying homage, borrowed from the Passah and Tabernacle solemnities, extolled the great prophet of Galilee as the Messias and hailed in the solemn entry of the Son of David the dawn of the Kingdom of God and the Redemption. By clearing the Temple Jesus demonstrated His Messianity especially to the hierarchs, exhibiting Himself as the Lord of the Temple, as Yahveh, who had come into His

temple (Mal. III, 1). For this very reason He chose the Temple as the place for working His wonderful cures, and justified the enthusiasm of the multitude, including the children, by applying to Himself what is said of God in Ps. VIII, 3. To the disciples He proved his Messianic power and sovereignty by cursing the fig tree.

In this section of St. Matthew's Gospel, therefore, there is design and order, though the order is not chronological, but objective. The Evangelist describes the manifestation of Jesus as the Messias-King before the people, the hierarchs, and the disciples.

2. After His entry into Jerusalem and the Temple, Jesus returned to Bethania, where He spent the following night. To assume, as some exegetes do (with reference to Jn. XVIII, 2; Lk. XXI, 37 and XXII, 39) that He went directly to Mount Olivet and spent the night out in the open, is impossible in the light of Mk. XI, 11 (cfr. Mt. XXI, 17). But there is a kernel of truth in the theory, nevertheless, namely, in so far as it is probable that Jesus did not start from Bethania the next morning together with His disciples, but somewhat earlier, perhaps soon after midnight, and went out to Mount Olivet to pray (cfr. Mk. I, 35, VI, 46). Most probably He met the disciples later, in a place previously agreed upon, and, not yet having had breakfeast, as they had had in Bethania, He naturally was hungry.

3. The Synoptic accounts of the ejection of the money-changers from the Temple are in perfect agreement. St. Luke's is the shortest. St. Mark (XI, 16) adds this characteristic remark: "And he suffered not that any man should carry a vessel through the temple." Τὸ ἱερόν in this passage does not mean the ναός, but the outer court, which was frequently used as a passage to shorten the way into the Temple, especially by those who carried burdens. This custom violated the reverence due to the Temple of Jehovah. St. Mark also emphasises the tremendous effect of Christ's act upon the hierarchs, who, when they heard of it, "sought how they might destroy him" (Mk. XI, 18). The formal decree to put Him to death (Jn. XI, 47 ff.) had been adopted by the Sanhedrin six weeks earlier, but no chance had presented itself to carry it out, as Jesus had first gone from Bethania to Ephrem, and then, on the 9th Nisan, had entered Jerusalem accompanied by numerous disciples from Judea and Galilee. They did not dare to use open force against Him and were very much chagrined when, on the morning of the 10th Nisan, He entered the Temple and conducted Himself as its divinely appointed custodian. They feared Him for the reason stated by St. Mark XI, 18: "because the whole multitude was in admiration of

his doctrine" (cfr. Lk. XIX, 48), dreading that by His teaching and miracles He might gain the popular favor to such an extent as to make their own official position as holders of religious authority untenable. Thus the incident in the Temple egged them on to carry out their plan.

4. Regarding the chronologically correct position of the scene described in Mt. XXI, 14–16 there is no uniform opinion. Grimm, for example, places it in the hour of Christ's solemn entry into the Temple, hence, according to our mode of calculating, in the evening of the 9th Nisan (according to Grimm the 10th). *Per se* the scene has a fitting place among the episodes of the 9th Nisan. The Saviour's triumphal entry into Jerusalem amid the hosannas of a multitude of enthusiastic followers, most naturally aroused the interest of the poor, the abandoned, the sick, and it is hardly possible that such sufferers, remembering the previous wonderful deeds of the Prophet of Nazareth, would fail to have firm confidence in the mysterious helper, or seize the favorable opportunity to approach Jesus within the precincts of the Temple, and the Son of David certainly could no more refuse the prayer of the blind and the halt than He did that of the blind man at Jericho. It is true, Jesus did not come to Jerusalem on the 9th Nisan to continue His work by new revelations, by teaching and working miracles; however, the suppliant entreaties for help in misery He could not refuse. In the light of this conjecture we can more easily understand Luke XIX, 47 and XXI, 37. True, the miraculous activity was *per se* not teaching, but it was connected with teaching, and hence the expression is justified: "He was teaching daily in the temple" (XIX, 47).

CHAPTER VI

THE FINAL CONTEST IN THE TEMPLE

(Mt. XXI, 23–XXII, 46; Mk. XI, 27–XII, 37; Lk. XX, 1–44)

Christ's triumphant entry into the Jewish capital and His conduct in the Temple had set ablaze the jealous hatred of his enemies (Mt. XXI, 15 sq.). The events of the 9th Nisan and the following days certainly stood in glaring contrast to the resolution adopted by them some weeks before (Jn. XI, 47 ff.), and the Sanhedrists and their followers felt the precariousness of their position, as St. John expressly testifies (XII, 19). They would surely have preferred to carry out their decree to put Jesus to death; but there was a serious obstacle in the way of its execution: Christ's numerous adherents, especially those from the province of Judea, who had been deeply affected by His teaching and miracles on the 10th Nisan (Mk. XI, 18; Mt. XXI, 15). Also on the following day Jesus came to Jerusalem in the evening, after the disciples had noticed the withering fig tree on the way. As He walked about in the halls of the Temple and taught the people (Mk. XI, 27), there came to Him an official delegation of the Sanhedrin, consisting of priests, ancients (Mt. XXI, 23), and scribes (Mk. XI, 27; Lk. XX, 1), who demanded by what authority He acted. They did not ask this question to be enlightened or informed; for, from the time of His first visit in Jerusalem until the feast of Easter, and thenceforth on subsequent visits at Pentecost, Tabernacles, and Dedication (Jn. II, 13 ff.; V, 1 ff.; VII, 1 ff.; X, 22 ff.), Jesus had explained His claims. On the 9th Nisan He had al-

lowed the multitude to salute Him as the Messias. He had taught on His own authority and, as on former visits, had corroborated His teaching by remarkable miracles. Accordingly the questioners were fully enlightened on the claims of Jesus (cfr. especially Jn. X, 24) and their question was a temptation. They expected that He would expressly and unequivocally claim to be the Messias and the Son of God, and thus furnish new material for charges against Him. On account of the insincerity and malice of the questioners Jesus refuses to answer. Why should He needlessly surrender the truth to the godless? The Sanhedrists were least entitled to ask as they did, because by their treatment of John the Baptist they had forfeited the last vestige of a right to do so. Jesus had sufficiently characterized this behavior on the feast of Pentecost (Jn. V, 35). He now answers the inquiry of the Sanhedrists by a counter-question: Was John's baptism (*i. e.*, his entire activity) "from Heaven" (*i. e.*, divinely inspired), or was it a human invention? Now the embarrassment was on the side of the questioners. For if they said "from heaven," they would condemn themselves, because they were taking merely a transient interest in the extraordinary figure of the Baptist (Jn. V, 35), but refused to do penance, as he demanded. If they said "from men," they would come in conflict with the populace, who accounted the forerunner "a great prophet indeed." Their reply, "We know not," was a complete evasion. John had come, preaching and baptizing, calling Himself the forerunner of Christ, the voice of one crying in the wilderness, and all this in fulfilment of a prophesy; yet the chief priests and scribes did not understand it, whilst the sinners and harlots understood it very well (Mt. XXI, 31 f.; Mt. XI, 1–19; Lk. VII, 18–35). They said: We know not whence comes the voice of him who cries. If they are not able to recognize him who goes before the Messias and prepares the way for Him, how shall they know and acknowledge the latter? When the Baptist began his public career, there was no response and his solemn testimony concerning Jesus as

the Messias and Son of God, given to the official delegation, they did not accept (Jn. I, 19–39; III, 11; V, 33 ff.). [Note 1.] Their lack of knowledge was sheer unwillingness to know. Their questions, therefore, deserved no answer. Instead Jesus proposed to them the parable of the two sons (Mt. XXI, 28–32), of whom the first, representing public sinners, at first refused obedience, but was converted and did penance; whereas the second, symbolizing the Sanhedrists, says: "Lord, Lord" (cfr. Mt. VII, 21) and makes a pretense at conversion (Mk. 1, 5), but in the end does not follow the call to penance and refuses to accept the faith. Jesus lets the Sanhedrists themselves give the decision regarding the conduct of the two sons, and thereby pass judgment on themselves, the representatives of unbelieving Jewdom. Thus He frustrated the designs of His enemies and in turn attacked them and upbraided them with divine authority for their unbelief and blindness.

He continues His rebuke by narrating the parable of the unfaithful vine-dressers (Mt. XXI, 33–46; Mk. XII, 1–12; Lk. XX, 9–19). He directly addresses the people (Lk. XX, 9), but the hierarchs also listen. The understanding of this parable depended altogether on a correct conception of the vineyard. It was possible for the Jews to have such a conception because Israel (after Is. V, 11 ff.) was accustomed to consider itself as a vineyard planted by God. Christ's hearers, therefore, could easily understand that the householder was God, the vineyard the Old Testament, the vine-dressers the Sanhedrists, teachers and priests, the hedge, wine-press, and tower the various divine institutions (law, altar, Temple) established by Yahweh for the preservation and spiritual advancement of His chosen people through the agency of the prophets sent to them from time to time, and finally of the Son of God, the Messias. The variations of the Evangelists in recording this parable are of no importance. According to Matthew (XXI, 41) the Sanhedrists themselves, in answer to the question: What will the lord of the

vineyard do to the rebellious husbandmen when he shall return? say: He will bring those wicked men to an evil end, and will let out his vineyard to another. According to Mark (XII, 16) Jesus answers the question Himself. No doubt the Sanhedrists really did answer the question and Jesus repeated their answer with emphasis. Matthew, who lays great stress on the punishment threatened in the parable, is interested in the self-condemnation of the Sanhedrists, which by the combination κακοὺς κακῶς ἀπολέσει is made particularly terrible. According to Luke (XX, 16), the Sanhedrists, when they perceived from Christ's repetition of their answer that the point was directed against them, excitedly exclaimed: "God forbid!"—as if they wished to ward off the evil prediction from themselves; whereupon Jesus looked at them sternly and said: "What is this then that is written [in the Scriptures]: The stone which the builders rejected, is become the head of the corner?" The passage quoted by Our Lord is found in Ps. CXVIII, 22, where the stone is the Jewish nation, which was rejected by the Gentiles, but chosen by God to be His people. In the schools of that time the "stone" of this passage was interpreted to mean the Messias, by promising whom Yahweh had given to Israel the justification and distinction of its existence. But the Sanhedrists and their followers rejected the Messias who had come and thus caused the collapse of the ancient theocratic rule. The Messias was to be the corner-stone of a new synagogue, *i. e.*, the Christian Church. Christ announces this event in an unmistakable manner by saying: "The Kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and shall be given to a nation yielding the fruits thereof" (Mt. XXI, 43), and returning to the imagery of the prophet, He adds: "Whosoever shall fall on this stone, shall be broken; but on whomsoever it [the stone] shall fall, it shall grind him to powder" (Mt. XXI, 44). The hierarchs did not fail to notice that Jesus foretold their rejection. Therefore they became very angry and would have seized Him on the spot, had it not been

for the sentiment of the populace, constituted chiefly by the Easter pilgrims from the province of Judea (Mt. XXI, 46; Mk. XII, 12; Lk. XX, 19).

The threat of punishment contained in this parable, plainly directed against the hierarchs who had been unfaithful to their charge, is extended in the next parable (of the marriage feast, recorded solely by St. Matthew XXII, 1–4, and by no means identical with Lk. XIV, 16–24) to the entire Jewish nation. They had been bidden through the prophets to be ready for the coming of the Messias, and after the appearance of the Messias, invited to take part in the marriage feast, *i. e.,* to enter the Messianic Kingdom, first by John the Baptist, then by Jesus Himself and by His Apostles and disciples. But a worldly spirit rendered them insensible to the call of grace. This indifference and stubborn unbelief will be punished by the rejection of the entire nation, exemplified in the destruction of their metropolis. The invitation to the marriage feast is extended to the publicans, who are placed by the Pharisees and the hierarchs on a level with the Gentiles, to unfortunates of every description, and finally to the Gentiles proper. These will answer the call in large numbers and take the place of Israel in the Kingdom of the Messias. The condition for participating in that Kingdom is belief in Jesus as the Messias and a life according to the precepts of the gospel. [Note 2.]

Being hindered from proceeding violently against Jesus by the populace then assembled in Jerusalem, which consisted chiefly of Easter pilgrims (Mt. XXI, 46; Lk. XX, 19), the hierarchs, scribes, and Pharisees, vexed still more at the decree of their rejection announced by Jesus in the parable of the unfaithful husbandmen, plotted new schemes. They decided to make an effort to entice Him into making an utterance which could be used against Him with the Romans, and consequently sent disciples of the Pharisees and Herodians to propose to Jesus the question regarding the legality and justice of paying tribute to Caesar (Mt. XXII, 15–22; Mk. XII, 13–17; Lk. XX, 20–

26). The Pharisees, who formed the nationalist party among the Jews, refused to acknowledge the Roman dominion. Their aim was to obtain complete independence from the oppressive rule of Rome and to acquire the supremacy over all the nations of the earth when the Messias-King appeared. [Note 3.] The Herodians, mentioned on this occasion, also were an anti-Roman party, with this difference, however, that they acknowledged the suzerainty of the Idumeans (who in the eyes of the strict Jews were not on an equal footing with them) and strove to substitute the sovereignty of Herod and his family for the despotic rule of Pilate. [Note 4.]

The question put to Jesus by representatives of these two political parties ("Is it lawful to pay tribute to Cæsar?" Mk. XII, 14) in view of the existing political situation was the most crafty and insidious that could have been propounded. For it touched on the problem of national independence. The people, dominated by the Pharisees, paid tribute to the Roman government very reluctantly. True, the Jewish law also imposed annual contributions under various titles; but these were paid to the God of Israel for the benefit of His servants and special organs; to pay tribute to a Gentile excluded from the Covenant was considered unworthy of the people of God, and it was commonly expected that the Messias would put an end to this servitude. The Galileans especially had the reputation of being hotheaded champions of independence. The questioners were convinced that Jesus, being a Galilean and claiming to be the Messias and a friend of the people, was at heart opposed to foreign domination and consequently would condemn the tribute to the Romans. They were ready to report the expected negative answer at once to Pilate and accuse Jesus of treason. Jesus foiled their nefarious scheme. He asked for a coin bearing the image of the emperor, and by an ingenious question (Mt. XXII, 20) recalled to the cunning hypocrites the actual state of affairs, brought about in accordance with the will of God and not without great guilt on the part of Israel. In the first part of His

answer (Mt. XXII, 21[a]: "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's") He declares the paying of the tribute, and thereby obedience to civil authority, not only lawful, but a duty. In the second part (Mt. XXII, 21[b]: "Render to God the things that are God's"), which was apparently not suggested by the question, but was necessary to remove the objection that by paying tax to the Roman government the service of God was neglected, He declares it a duty to render obedience and due homage to God. By this rejoinder Christ went far beyond the question put to Him and traced for the members of the new Synagogue the path on which they were to walk. With regard to their corporal existence, their communion with the rest of the world, they are members of a purely human society and subject to civil government; with regard to their rational mind, their interior life and consciousness, they belong to the new Christian kingdom and are direct subjects of God; their duties towards the authorities and the civil order they must fulfil in a manner which does not conflict with their duties to God; in case of a collision of duties, the duty to God, of course, takes precedence (Rom. XII, 1 ff.; 1 Pet. 13 ff.; Acts IV, 19 f.). [Note 5.]

This truly divine answer to the insidious query of His enemies frustrated the scheme. The questioners, Pharisees and Herodians, were dumbfounded (Mt. XXII, 22; Lk. XX, 26) and withdrew. But the malice of Christ's adversaries was not yet exhausted. The Sadducees, friends of the Romans and defenders of the existing order, skeptic, fault-finding opponents of tradition, at odds with the Pharisees, but now in league with them against Jesus, came to the rescue.[1] Accustomed to contend against religious truths by drawing apparently absurd conclusions from them, these men imagined they could embarrass Jesus by proposing to Him one of those problems with which they amused themselves in their schools and which their opponents were not able to solve. Thus they asked the question: Whose wife in Heaven is a woman [Note 6] who, after her

[1] Cfr. Josephus, *Ant. Iud.*, XIII, 10, 6.

first husband's death, successively married six brothers? (Mt. XXII, 23–33; Mk. XII, 18–27; Lk. XX, 27–40). "You know not the power of God," He answered; for if you did, you would propose no such imaginary difficulty. In Heaven there will be no marriage, but men will be asexual like the angels. The resurrection itself is clearly inculcated by the Old Testament. A passage in the Pentateuch (Ex. III, 6) proves that the dead rise again. God said in the burning bush: I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. He is not the God of the dead, but of the living (cfr. Mt. XXII, 31 ff.). Jesus, in quoting this text, means to say: At the time when God assured Moses that He was the God of the fathers of Israel, the patriarchs were long dead according to the body; now, since the word of God that He is *their* God, must be true, those patriarchs must be leading a bodiless, yet individual life, awaiting the resurrection. Therefore, according to the Scriptures, there is a resurrection. Thus the wisdom of Jesus once more gained a victory over those among the Jews who were looked upon as the most enlightened. The multitude were astonished and expressed their admiration with a lond voice (Mt. XXII, 33). They were no doubt mostly Easter pilgrims; but even some of the scribes said to Jesus: "Master, thou hast said well" (Lk. XX, 39). From this behavior of the Sadducees towards Jesus we see how little heed the Sadducean clergy [Note 7] paid to the words of Jesus on a former occasion, when He spoke in Jerusalem of the life beyond the grave of the fathers of the nation, in particular of Abraham, and thus indirectly expressed belief in the resurrection of the dead (Jn. VIII, 56). [Note 8.] Whether the Sadducees accepted His argument is very doubtful, since they appear as opponents of the doctrine of the resurrection after the death of Christ and after Pentecost (Acts IV, 2; XXIII, 8). St. Matthew merely says that Jesus had "silenced" them (XXII, 34).

One would imagine that this experience would have deterred others from further attempts to entrap Jesus. And yet

one of the Pharisees, a doctor of the law, approached Him and asked: What qualities must a law possess in order to be a commandment of the first order? (Mt. XXII, 34–40; Mk. XII, 28–34). This question was occasioned by the rabbinical practice of dividing all laws into two classes, those of grave and those of less importance, and setting up various rules for determining whether a law obliged *sub gravi* or merely *sub levi*. On this point the opinions of the leaders of the various schools differed widely, especially among the Shammaists and the Hillelites. When the doctor of the law asked Jesus for a criterion by which he could arrive at a safe decision in this matter, the insidious part of the query consisted in this that no matter what his answer would be, Jesus was sure to offend one of the contending parties. On this point there is a slight variation in the accounts of St. Matthew and St. Mark. St. Matthew represents the lawyer as having asked the question with a view to tempt Jesus (XXII, 35; πειράζων), whilst according to Mark (XII, 28) He merely asked the question because he saw that Jesus had answered the Sadducees so well. This suggests the idea that he was well disposed towards Jesus and explains the remark of St. Mark (XII, 34) that the Master praised him and said: "Thou art not far from the kingdom of God." The difference between the two accounts vanishes when we assume that the lawyer acted with a good will and in his heart rejoiced at the defeat of the Sadducees, but was put forward and used as a cat's paw by the Pharisees. That such was really the case is apparent from the introductory words in St. Matthew's account (XXII, 34): "But the Pharisees hearing that he had silenced the Sadducees, came together," *i. e.*, to deliberate on further proceedings against Jesus. We can readily understand that they met once more to summon courage for another quizzing of Jesus. True, one or the other in his heart may have rejoiced at the defeat of the Sadducees; but they nevertheless begrudged Jesus the victory; and perhaps they ascribed the

defeat of their rivals to their ignorance of the law and want of proper understanding of the Scriptures, in which they believed themselves far superior to the Sadducees. They therefore resolved to tempt Jesus with another question, and apparently succeeded in enlisting a man well versed in the Scriptures to carry out the project. That the question which this man was commissioned to ask was intended to embarrass Jesus, St. Mark gives us to understand by the closing words of his account: "and no man from that day forth durst ask him any more questions" (XII, 34). In his reply Jesus put forward the two commandments of the love of God and the love of neighbor, declaring them to be great, and designating them as the foundation and center of all the commandments (Mt. XXII, 38 and 40). The moral conduct of man, He says, is well ordered only if it is founded on the love of God and the love of neighbor. St. Mark's account shows some differences in the formulation of the question; according to him the question referred to the first or greatest of all laws. This difference in the two accounts is attributable to the purposes pursued by both, like the divergence in Mt. XIX, 3 and Mk. X, 2. Because the Roman Christians, who were mostly converts from paganism, did not comprehend the distinction made by the Jewish doctors between the greater and lesser commandments of the law, St. Mark describes the question as referring to the greatest of all commandments.

Having brilliantly stood the test to which His adversaries had put Him regarding His knowledge of the law and the Sacred Scriptures, and having triumphed over His opponents not by miracles, but by the impressive force of His discourse, Jesus now retaliated by asking them a question. It was a very weighty one (Mt. XXII, 41–46; Mk. XII, 35–37; Lk. XXI, 41–44). He had repeatedly, in the presence of the Jews, called Himself the Son of God (Jn. II, 16; V, 17 ff.; VII, 28 f.; VIII, 23 ff.; VIII, 42 ff.; X, 24 ff.) and had noticed that this dec-

laration was construed as a crime, despite the fact that John the Baptist in the presence of the official deputation of the Sanhedrin had solemnly called Him Son of God (Jn. I, 34), and despite the further fact that His works, compared with those of the Father (in Bethesda V, 1 ff.; cfr. X, 25), fully guaranteed His divine sonship. They charged Him with blasphemy because He called Himself the Son of God (X, 33). But before leaving the Temple Jesus makes a last attempt to induce them to give up their unbelief and acknowledge His right to that title. For this purpose He appeals to the authority of Scripture, as He had done on former occasions, when arguing with learned opponents in Jerusalem. After asking the question: "Whose son is the Messias?" and having received the answer: "David's," [Note 9] He cites one of the most popular of the Messianic Psalms, Ps. CX, and argues as follows: If David, the royal prophet, inspired by the Holy Ghost, calls the Messias, whom the Scriptures and you also declare to be the son of David, "his Lord," how is it possible (πῶς: Mt. XXII, 45) that he is merely a son (*i. e.*, descendant) of David? Does not the fact that David calls the Messias his Lord, who is destined to share in the divine sovereignty (the sitting at the right hand of God), imply that the Messias is indeed a son (*i. e.*, descendant) of David according to His human nature, but at the same time also the Son of God? Do you not perceive how the two titles: son and lord of David, are reconciled by the divinity of the Messias? The divine character of the Messias is clearly proclaimed by the prophets. Thus Isaias (VII, 14) calls him "the son that was born to us, the wonderful, the mighty God"; Micheas (V, 2), in introducing the "one coming," discriminates between His human birth in Bethlehem and His divine birth from all eternity; Malachias calls Him the Adonai, who comes to His Temple. Still the Jewish teachers of Holy Scriptures do not see, are not able to elevate themselves to this truth attested by Holy Writ; they are silenced and confounded by the words of Jesus and go away in hopeless unbelief.

1. Τὸ *βάπτισμα Ἰωάννου* means the entire activity of John as a preparation for the Messias. Jesus mentions only the baptism of penance as its chief constituent. That the Sanhedrists understood His words in this sense, may be gathered from their question (Mt. XXI, 26): If we admit that the Baptist has a divine commission, He will say: why then do you not believe him? The hierarchs and their followers refused to accept the testimony given by the Baptist in the spring of 782 (Jn. I, 19 ff.). The gist of this testimony may be briefly stated as follows: Jesus of Nazareth, whom John baptized in the Jordan, is the Messias and the Son of God (Jn. I, 29–34). I am well aware that the words spoken on the day after the interview of the Baptist with the deputation sent by the Sanhedrin (Jn. I, 29–34) are regarded as an independent and special testimony of the Baptist. But this assumption is incorrect; the fourth Evangelist gives us only a single, grand and highly significant testimony (*μαρτυρία*) of the Baptist (I, 19–34), uttered in the presence of the deputation of the Sanhedrin and of the disciples of John and Jesus. This deputation was still present at the Jordan on the next day, when John again spoke of Jesus. To this testimony of John, Christ appeals as early as Easter, 782 (Jn. III, 11), when He explains to Nicodemus the necessity of being reborn of God. But the renowned teacher in Israel cannot comprehend the necessity and possibility of a healing of the soul by means of the laver of Baptism, and therefore Jesus says: "Amen, amen I say to thee, that we speak what we know, and we testify what we have seen, and you accept not our testimony." By "we" Jesus means Himself and his forerunner, John the Baptist. The latter just a short while before, in the presence of the official delegation of the Sanhedrin, to whom Jesus, through Nicodemus, addressed His words during the nocturnal interview in Jerusalem, had given testimony from personal observation that the Jesus on whom the Holy Ghost had descended at the baptism in the Jordan, was He who "baptizes with the Holy Ghost" (I, 30–33). If the Sanhedrists believed the testimony of John, they could not fail to comprehend at once the words of Jesus about the generation and birth from God; when the Messias administers Baptism, the Holy Ghost comes down from Heaven, descends upon the neophyte, purifies him and makes him holy. This is the very thing which He (Jesus) told Nicodemus and the other Sanhedrists, namely, that by administering Messianic Baptism in consequence of the descent of the Holy Ghost from Heaven, a regeneration of the soul takes place and divine sonship is produced. Jesus can give testimony of this operation of the Holy Ghost; for, like John, he saw the Holy Ghost come down at His own Baptism in the Jordan (Mt. III, 16); the Spirit descends upon and produces sanctification in all who submit to the

Messianic Baptism. The Sanhedrists did not believe the solemn testimony of John concerning Jesus as the Son of God and as the one who baptized in the Holy Ghost (cfr. Jn. III, 26; V, 34–36), despite the fact that in the beginning they had felt attracted by the unique prophet in the desert (Mk. I, 5). According to John's own words, giving this testimony was his chief mission and the testimony was intended especially for the people of Israel (Jn. I, 31; cfr. Jn. I, 7 sq.). Why did the Judeans reject it? Was it because the preacher in the desert did not work miracles (Jn. X, 41)? If this was the main reason why the Sanhedrists and Jerusalemites rejected the testimony of the Baptist, why did the people of Judea and Galilee show such great respect for the Baptist and accept his testimony concerning Jesus (Jn. X, 41)? Evidently they regarded him not only as an austere ascetic, but also as a prophet sent by God; not only was his testimony concerning Jesus fulfilled, but he must have given incontestable evidence of his calling as a prophet in the very beginning; otherwise the feverish excitement which arose everywhere on account of his appearance in public (Mk. I, 5) would be inexplicable, and hence we may assume that John, in the fall of 781, announced the dawn of the Messianic Kingdom to the pilgrims going to Jerusalem for the feast of the Tabernacles and foretold, as unmistakable signs, miraculous healings of which the pilgrims would be witnesses in the pool of Bethesda, at the Jewish capital. The prophecy was fulfilled on the feast of the Tabernacles, and thus the belief in John as a prophet rested on a solid foundation. The unbelief of the hierarchs (Mt. XXI, 25 and parallel passages) was, therefore, due to unwillingness to believe and consequently, a culpable ἄγνοια. Mark well the words of Jesus reported in Mt. XXI, 32. John, He says, came to you in the way of justice, etc. He does not mean genuine, Christian justice, but the legal righteousness of the Old Law which the Baptist practiced, and to which he exhorted the people. Our Lord means to say: The divergent attitude of the two classes in Israel manifested itself already during the activity of John, of the character of which the Sanhedrists are unwilling to give an explanation: the leaders of the people entered into communication with him and sent out a delegation to question him (Jn. I, 19; Mk. I, 5); but they did not heed his exhortation to do penance, and although they witnessed the conversion of many, "publicans and sinners," they themselves refused to do penance (Lk. VII, 29–30).

2. The *parable of the marriage-feast* is peculiar to St. Matthew (XXII, 1–4), unless perhaps the one recorded in Lk. XIV, 16–24 is

identical with it. They are held to be different by Bisping, Schegg, Knabenbauer, and Pölzl, whereas most Protestant exegetes (Meyer-Weiss, Baur, Hilgenfeld, Hahn, Feine, Weizsäcker, Holtzmann, Wendt, Resch) regard them as identical. A further difference of opinion exists on the question how the variations in the two parables, as told by Matthew and Luke, are to be explained. Most writers discover the original in St. Luke, whilst St. Matthew, they say, gives us an amplified edition of the original. In St. Matthew's version the frame of the original parable is completely broken (XXII, 6, 7). Hilgenfeld, following De Wette, traces the variations in St. Luke to the "Paulinism" of this Evangelist. However, the external and internal differences in the two parables are too great to permit us to regard them as identical. True, not much weight need be attached to some of the variations, for instance, when, according to St. Luke, Jesus designates the host of the feast vaguely as "a certain man," whilst in St. Matthew he is called more definitely ἄνθρωπος βασιλεύς, a king who made a marriage feast for his son; or when, according to St. Luke, three classes of *excusantes* (παραιτούμενοι) are cited, but only two in Matthew (XXII, 5). However, the principal point of the parable in St. Luke is altogether peculiar to that writer, and fits well into the context of his Gospel, while on the other hand, the individual traits of the parable as related in St. Matthew (especially XXII, 6, 7 and 11–13) are very characteristic and fit squarely into the drift of Jesus' discussion of the question of authority (XXI, 33). Accordingly, the non-identity of the two parables appears unquestionable. This conclusion is confirmed by a consideration of the following circumstances. According to St. Matthew, the parable was spoken on a week-day of the Passion week; according to St. Luke, Jesus told it on a Sabbath (XIV, 1), *i. e.*, probably on the Sabbath of the feast of the Dedication; for the third Evangelist records Christ's journey to this feast in XIII, 22 ff. The banquet in the house of one of the chiefs of the Pharisees certainly took place in Jerusalem during the above-mentioned festivity (in December, 782), and during the banquet Jesus told the parable. Whether He told this parable on the same day as that of the wicked vine-dressers (Mt. XXI, 33–46), is doubtful; at any rate, no such conclusion can be drawn from the fact that the former parable is joined to the latter by ἀποκριθείς (XXII, 1), for this verb means, as it does so frequently in St. Matthew, to take occasion to say, and by the phrase "he spoke again in parables to them" the Evangelist wishes to distinguish the new parable from the preceding. Therefore it will not be amiss to assign the parable of the marriage feast to another day. The much mooted closing words, "many are called, but few are chosen"

(XXII, 14), must be referred to the forepart of the parable: many are called to the Kingdom of the Messias, *i. e.*, all the members of Israel, but only a few will actually share in this Kingdom.

3. Concerning the *Pharisees,* their principles, their importance, and their standing among the Jewish people at the time of Christ, as also concerning the two schools of the Sadducees and the Essenes, the Jewish historian Josephus has given us much information in his history of the Jewish War, II, 8, 1 ff. and in his Jewish Antiquities, XIII, 5, 9 ff.; 1, 10, 6; XVIII, 1, 2–6 and in other passages. His remarks, it is true, must be taken with a good deal of caution, for being himself of the party of the Pharisees, he occasionally sings their praises when they do not deserve it. His remark that the Pharisees were exceedingly lenient in inflicting punishment (*Ant.,* XIII, 10, 6) attracts attention. The *political* views of the Pharisees, on account of his defection from their sect, Josephus was able to express only by covert allusions, as when he writes: The Pharisees are clannish and strive to coöperate in the interest of their common cause (*B. I.,* II, 8, 14). Indeed, for the common cause, *i. e.,* the recovery of national independence, they exerted all their energy. Their views and sentiments were well illustrated by their behavior when the census was taken in the year of Christ's birth, on which occasion the Jews were obliged to pledge obedience to the Emperor (Augustus) and to the King (Herod the Great), and 6000 Pharisees were fined for refusing to do so (*Ant.,* XVII, 2, 4). Another illustration is contained in the account given by Josephus of the second imposition of taxes by Quirinius, after the removal of Archelaus (A.D. 6; *Ant.,* XVIII, 1, 1). Judas the Gaulonite, together with the Pharisee Sadduk, incited the people to rebellion by representing to them that the imposition of taxes would surely result in slavery. The rebellion which arose in consequence was indeed suppressed by the Romans, but the sentiment was not rooted out. The attempt of Josephus (*Ant.,* XVIII, 1, 6) to make believe that this Galilean rebel, Judas, introduced a fourth party among the Jews, is not worth considering. For he himself is forced to admit that the followers of Judas fully agreed with the Pharisees, who shared the qualities said to be peculiar to this "fourth party," *i. e.,* unbounded love of liberty, acknowledgment of God as the sole lord and king to the exclusion of human governors (*i. e.,* the Romans). The only difference between them was that the majority of the Pharisees yielded to force and bore, though with ill-concealed rage, the supremacy of the Romans, whilst Judas, Sadduk, and their followers endeavored to put their principles into practice.

Regarding the *religious* views of the Pharisees, Josephus emphasizes

their zeal for the law: they put a rigorous construction on the law and live strictly according to it, impose on the people new commandments which are not contained in the Mosaic Code, making everything dependent on God (and fate), believe in the immortality of the soul, in a reward of the good and punishment of the wicked in the next life, and because they "appeared" to seek in word and deed only that which was most noble, they exercised such a strong influence on the people that all divine services, sacrifices and prayers were performed according to their direction (*Ant.*, XVIII, 1, 3). The Pharisees, moreover, zealously nursed the hope of a Messias, although Josephus is silent on this point.

St. Matthew (XXII, 16) speaks of "disciples" of the Pharisees. Who were these? In XII, 27 mention is made of "sons of the Pharisees," who cast out devils. Some writers hold these to be members of the Essene party. I doubt the correctness of this explanation and am inclined to see in the "disciples" actual partisans of the Pharisees, pupils instructed by noted doctors such as Gamaliel, who publicly supported the principles and interests of the Pharisee party, somewhat as Saul did before his conversion. Mt. XII, 27, the reference is to disciples of the Pharisees. Van Bebber's conjecture that since the feast of Tabernacles, 781, alongside of other miraculous cures, deliverances from demonic possession occurred in the pool of Bethesda is highly probable. The number of possessed persons in the days of Jesus was considerable, and it would be surprising if many of these unfortunates, after the beginning of the miraculous activity in the pool, should not have sought relief there. The scribes and the Pharisees certainly exercised control and supervision over the demoniacs congregating at Bethesda and over the cures that occurred there; prayers were said over those who descended into the pool when the water was in motion. The cures that were effected, were due to supernatural power (Jn. V, 17); however, in a certain limited sense, the disciples of the Pharisees who assisted at the pool could say that they performed exorcisms in the name and by the power of God.

4. Josephus does not mention the *Herodians* among the Jewish parties which he describes. Their principles did not rest on a religious basis; they were a purely political, anti-Roman party. Pontius Pilate's despotic and oftentimes cruel régime had created no sympathy for the Roman rule among the Jews, but, on the contrary, deep-seated and violent antipathy (cfr. Jos., *Ant.*, XVIII, 2, 2 ff.). In the fall of 780 he secretly introduced into Jerusalem the field-standards bearing the image of Cæsar (*ibid.*, XIII, 3, 1). At Easter or Pentecost, 781, he set up votive

tablets in the Praetorium.[2] A little later Herod Antipas went to Rome and presented to the Emperor the grievances of the Jews[3] The Emperor severely reprimanded Pilate.[4] This incident gave rise to the enmity between Pilate and Herod Antipas (Lk. XXIII, 12). In proportion as Pilate manifested his hatred by his conduct, respect increased for the Herodians, who championed the interests and rights of the Jews. Herod Antipas, of course, had injured his reputation in the eyes of the Jews by his marriage with Herodias.[5] But from the indulgent manner in which Josephus speaks of the tetrarch, one sees that many Jews nevertheless preferred his rule to that of Pilate. The Herodian party gained greater influence through Herod Agrippa I, who staunchly upheld the nationalist cause, and by his connections with the Pharisees endeavored to gain for himself the sympathies of the Jews. This explains the frequent mention of the Herodians in the Gospel of St. Mark, which was composed about the year 44 (Mk. III, 6; VIII, 15; XII, 13). But this party must have lost its prestige soon after; for Luke no longer mentions them. Whether these partisans of the house of Herod had numerous representatives in Jerusalem and Judea appears doubtful. From the nature of things, and in view of Mk. III, 6, we must rather look upon Galilee and Perea as their territory. However, since King Herod Antipas was present in the Jewish capital at Easter, 783, we need not be surprised at the presence of Herodians in Jerusalem during Passion week.

5. The situation in which Our Lord was placed by the question, *"Is it lawful to pay tribute to Cæsar?"* is illustrated by Josephus's account of the rebellion of Judas the Galilean.[6] This man, in league with a Pharisee named Sadduk, had exhorted the Jews to defend their liberty against tax-levying Rome, saying that whosoever submitted to the decree, admitted thereby that he was a slave, for a genuine Jew could acknowledge only God as king of Israel. This view finds expression in the question of the Pharisees and Herodians: The law (*thora*) decrees a tribute for the sanctuary; does the paying of taxes to a non-theocratic ruler agree with this law? The paying of the poll-tax with money coined by the Roman Emperor involves an acknowledgment of his supremacy over Israel, hence entails political servitude (cfr. Jn. VIII, 33). A negative answer to the question,—almost inevitable from the strictly

[2] Philo, *Leg. ad Cai.*, 38 ff.
[3] Josephus, *Ant.*, XVIII, 5, 1.
[4] Philo, *op. cit.*
[5] Josephus, *l. c.*
[6] *Ant.*, XVIII, 1, 1.

Jewish point of view,—would have furnished sufficient material for a charge in a Roman court. The Roman judge would thereby be reminded at once of the programme of Judas the Galilean, and would believe himself justified in proceeding against the offender with inflexible severity, since, as the Romans were well aware, the principles preached by that rebel still had adherents and defenders.[7] However, the cunning plot was thoroughly confounded by Christ's prudent reply, which is based on the recognition that the *de facto* government, which was plainly expressed by the power of minting exercised by the Roman emperor, was not brought about contrary to the will of God. The Pharisees were forced to such recognition by their theory that all things depend on God.[8] The Saviour's wisdom manifested itself especially in the solution of the entire problem raised by the political conditions prevalent in Palestine. Church and State appeared as two distinct spheres of power. Israel had retained nothing but its religious independence, and even this not without certain limitations. Its political independence was lost. The people, it is true, fondly hoped for a restoration and renewal of the old theocracy by the Messias; but Jesus indicated the futility of this hope by saying: Two powers will henceforth exist side by side, the Kingdom of God, which I came to establish, and a worldly kingdom or State; the former, a kingdom of a spiritual nature, will not coalesce with worldly kingdoms, but will live within them and permeate them by justice and peace. The example of the founder will be the rule and guide for the appointed rulers of the Messianic Kingdom, the Church. In Judea and Jerusalem, which were governed by a Roman official, He never spoke a word against the Emperor and the Empire, never incited the populace to rebel against the civil authority, and positively refused to accept the royal crown (Jn. VI, 15). Whilst sojourning in the territory of King Antipas, He carefully avoided conflicts with the civil power (cfr. Lk. XIII, 31 ff.) and everywhere confined Himself to laying the foundations of His Kingdom of grace and truth in the hearts of men. The disciples, in particular the Apostles and their successors, followed in His footsteps, preached to the world the Kingdom of God, and endeavored on their part to avoid every conflict with earthly rulers. They even went so far as to exhort the citizens of the Kingdom of God to be obedient to the civil authorities (1 Pt. II, 13 ff.; 1 Tim. II, 1 ff.; cfr. Rom. XIII, 1 ff.) as a matter of strict duty, during periods of contempt, distrust, hatred and persecution against the Kingdom of God, *i. e.*, the Church, on the part of earthly kingdoms. Bearing in mind the counsel given by Jesus in Jerusalem during the Passion week: "Give to

[7] *Op. cit.*, XVIII, 1, 1 and 6.
[8] Josephus, *B. I.*, II, 8, 14.

Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's," the supreme shepherds of the Church have cried out a *"non licet tibi"* to those in power, whenever they arrogated to themselves dominion over conscience in religious questions, but likewise when they tyrannized their subjects, and, on the other hand, when the latter in an inordinate desire for liberty undertook to cast off the yoke, the same shepherds have enjoined on them the duty of obedience and submission to the authorities constituted by God. History teaches that wherever the command of Jesus in Mt. XXII, 21 has been taught and practiced, the development of civic and political affairs has been sound and prosperous, and authority and liberty have united and proved a blessing for both rulers and subjects.

6. Dt. XXV, 5 ff. reads: "When brethren dwell together, and one of them dieth without children, the wife of the deceased shall not marry to another; but his brother shall take her, and raise up progeny for his brother." A marriage entered into according to this ordinance was called an obligatory or *levirate marriage*. It was not introduced by Moses, but, as Gen. XXXVIII, 8 shows, was known and practiced long before his time. In the quoted passage it is furthermore ordained: "If he will not take his brother's wife, . . . the woman . . . shall take off his shoe from his foot and spit in his face." This latter ceremony was called *chalizah*. If need be, the nearest kin was in duty bound to marry such a widow. Loch and Reischl assert that the duty in question rested solely upon the *unmarried* brother of the deceased husband. But this is positively wrong. Schnitzer[9] is right when he says that the duty of levirate marriage also bound *married* brothers.[10] The Mishna[11] says: The ordinance of the *yibbum* (to marry one's sister-in-law) takes precedence over that of the *chalizah* (the taking off of the shoe). This was the case in the days when only the fulfillment of the commandment was thought of. But now, when we no longer think solely of the observance of the commandment, wise men have held that the ordinance of the *chalizah* takes precedence over that of the *yibbum*. According to Maimonides, however, the *halacha* reads that the ordinance of the *yibbum* always takes precedence over that of the *chalizah*, because incest is prevented by the fact that the husband died without issue. The editor

[9] *Kath. Eherecht*, 1898, p. 13.

[10] See also Palmieri, *Tractatus de Matrimonio Christiano*, Romae 1880, p. 112: *"Deus ipse, lege leviratus a se condita, Dt. XXV, 5–9, occasionem frequenter dedit huiusmodi* (*i. e.*, polygamous) *nuptiis. Non enim excipitur, si frater defuncti iam sit uxoratus. Itaque Deus polygamiam simultaneam in L. V. permisit."*

[11] Bekhoroth, I, 7.

of the Mishna, R. Yehuda, admits that polygamy was introduced through the brother-in-law marriage.[12] Of course, from time to time individual Jewish rabbis raised doubts against the *yibbum,* and in place of it recommended the *chalizah;* however, their opinion was not able to assert itself. At first the marriage of a levir already married was forbidden; after the 13th century no *yibbum* was entered into by a levir already married. However, as late as 1842, Rabbi Gabriel Kohn, of Rechnitz, united in wedlock a levir with the childless widow of his brother.[13] At the present day the *yibbum* is considered abrogated; for the orthodox or traditionalists obey the decision of the great Polish rabbinical convention, that the *yibbum* should no longer be performed, because the intention of solely fulfilling the law is wanting, and that the *chalizah* should be performed in its stead. Though the Sadducees proposed to Our Lord a case in which a widow had entered into wedlock with six men in succession, all brothers of her first husband, there is good reason to doubt whether such a case ever actually occurred. The story was a mere fiction, intended to demonstrate the absurdity of the thing by gross exaggeration.

7. The *Sadducees* were not a large party, but in a certain way exercised great influence. They belonged to the most respected class of society; they recognized no tradition, but only the law, and believed that the human soul perishes with the body.[14] On account of their scepticism on the fundamental questions of religion they were not popular among orthodox believers; but as they acknowledged the supremacy of the Romans and were frequently vested with the office of high priest,[15] they exercised considerable influence on the life of the Jewish nation. To judge from the accounts of the Evangelists, the Sadducees came in contact with Christ more rarely than their opponents, the Pharisees, which fact is easily explained by the slight interest they took in religious questions. The miracle of the resurrection of Lazarus on the feast of Purim (February, 783) brought about a change. The Sadducees saw their theory of the non-resurrection of the dead attacked, and therefore upon Christ's return from Galilee, allied themselves with the Pharisees for his downfall. In the person of Joseph Caiphas, the high priest for that year, who was a member of their party, they took a prominent part in the decree to put Jesus to death. They also plotted against John the Baptist (Mt. III, 7), because he was a menace to their sway over the

[12] Palestinian Talmud, Yobamoth, IV, 12.
[13] Löw, *Gesammelte Schriften,* Szegedin, 1893.
[14] Josephus, *Ant.,* XVIII, 1, 4.
[15] *Op. cit.,* XX, 9, 1.

people. However, the antagonism between the two sects (Sadducees and Pharisees) immediately broke out anew as soon as the tenets of one school were menaced by the other (cfr. Acts XXIII, 8).

8. John VIII, 56 presents difficulties which have not yet been cleared up. However, on one point all exegetes are now agreed. It is that Jesus in Jn. VIII, 56 means that Abraham saw the day of Christ not during his earthly life, but while in the *Limbo patrum* (cfr. 1 Pt. III, 19 and Lk. XVI, 22). But what is the meaning of the expression: ἡ ἡμέρα ἡ ἐμή? Many understand it to be the day of the conception and birth of Jesus; some have in mind the entire period of Christ's sojourn and activity on earth. Without citing in detail the arguments advanced in support of the latter view, I merely wish to call attention to the manner in which St. John,—or rather Jesus Himself,—by the "twelve hours of the day" designates the period appointed by divine decree for his public activity, in contradistinction to the night, in which He shall be seized by His enemies and put to death (Jn. XI, 9 f.). Accordingly we understand by the "day of Christ" the period of His Messianic activity, in particular His miracles (especially the raising of dead persons to life) in the sense of Is. XXXV, 5; cfr. LXI, 1. But when did Abraham "rejoice"? According to the common opinion this happened at the time when God promised him that all the nations of the earth would be blessed in his seed (Gn. XVIII, 18; XXIII, 18). I think that he rejoiced during his stay in Limbo. There was no need of a special revelation to inform Abraham of the appearance of Jesus on earth; it sufficed that some soul that had departed this life and entered Paradise, a soul which had seen Jesus during His earthly sojourn, had heard His preaching and seen His miracles, informed the Patriarch of what was going on. Thus Abraham in Limbo received the consoling assurance that the promised Redeemer had appeared on earth, and he rejoiced because he knew he would soon see, with his own eyes so to speak, the activity of the Messias. This occurred on the day when the daughter of Jairus was raised to life (Mt. IX, 18 ff.; Mk. V, 22 ff.; Lk. VIII, 41 ff.); the voice of Jesus Christ penetrated into Paradise, called the soul of the dead girl back to earth, and thus brought to Abraham the incontestable assurance of the activity of the Saviour. He had seen His "day" and rejoiced.

In passing it may be remarked that we refer the εἶδεν καὶ ἐχάρη to the day of the awakening of the daughter of Jairus, not to the revival of the young man of Naim (Lk. VII, 11–17). True, St. Luke relates the latter miracle earlier; but here, as elsewhere, he does not observe a strict chronological order; moreover, it is clear from his own words

(VIII, 49) that the resuscitation of the daughter of Jairus was the first miracle of the kind which Jesus performed.

9. The Jews believed that the Messias would be a *descendant of David.* This view was based on the prophecy of Isaias (XI, 1). Since David had been a native of Bethlehem, it was but natural that this town should be regarded as the birthplace of the Messias. The prophecy of Micheas (V, 2) made this surmise a certainty. The conviction that Christ would be a descendant of David was given unmistakable expression on the feast of the Tabernacles, 782, in Jerusalem (Jn. VII, 42). According to the "Psalms of Solomon," which originated about the middle of the last century B. C., a change for the better was expected in the days of the invasion of the Romans under Pompey, to be brought about by the "son of David," the "anointed of the Lord," whom God would cause to appear for the purpose of conquering the pagan rulers, of purifying the desecrated land, of uniting God's people and of establishing them anew as an independent nation (XVII, 21 ff.). But the form in which the "son of God" was to appear was involved in obscurity. Three things, said the rabbis, come unexpectedly: the Messias, a treasure-trove, and a scorpion. At first the Messias is hidden, then he suddenly emerges from obscurity to break the foreign yoke and to liberate his people. Now, as regards the situation described in Mt. XXII, 41–46, the Pharisees and Sanhedrists, when reflecting on the statements made by Jesus while He attended the Jewish festivals (Jn. II, 13 ff.; X, 42), could not be in doubt concerning the question addressed to them, namely, that Jesus referred to Himself. His purpose was to give His opponents a final opportunity of accepting, after an honest scrutiny, the faith in His Messianic mission and His divinity by saying to them: The Messias whom you expect, as you know from Sacred Scripture, is the son of David and the Son of God; I am both. Though they believed him to be a native of Nazareth, the hierarchs had never seriously disputed that Jesus was a son of David; at least the Gospels contain no indication of this kind. However, what Jesus had most at heart in this discussion was to demonstrate His Divine Sonship. True, according to the Scriptural prophecies, the Messias is a son (*i. e.,* descendant) of David only according to his human origin, but according to the same Scriptures (Mich. V, 2) his real origin is from all eternity. As David, inspired by the Holy Ghost, has said, He is equal to God as His own consubstantial Son. From this naturally followed His pre-existence and His descent from Heaven. The application of the saying concerning the Divine Sonship of the Messias to the person of Jesus was not only possible for the Pharisees, but was positively necessary in view of pre-

vious statements of Jesus in the presence of the same persons in Jerusalem (Jn. V, 17 ff.)

In this connection we should like to call attention to the profound significance of Mt. XXII, 41–46. Here the discourse of Jesus moves along the lines of His statements made on the festivals in Jerusalem, as reported by the fourth Evangelist. *Per se* it might cause surprise why the scribes and Sanhedrists, together with the descent of the Messias from David, did not acknowledge also his consubstantial divine sonship, in view of Mich. V, 2, Ps. CX, 1, and Ps. II, 7. In this last passage the eternal birth of the Messias from God is plainly expressed. The officials in Israel (cfr. Jn. III, 10) seem to have entertained the false idea that God could make a mere man His son by adoption. Their ignorance on this point involved deliberate guilt. After Jesus had been introduced by John as the Son of God (Jn. I, 34), and manifested Himself as such on the first Easter (Jn. II, 16), He declared in His discourse at Capharnaum, which was heard by educated Jews from Jerusalem, that He had come down from Heaven, and hence besides His human had also a divine origin, and that as Son of man, *i. e.,* in His assumed human nature, He would return to Heaven to the δόξα of the Father (Jn. VI, 33–42 and 62).

CHAPTER VII

CHRIST'S DISCOURSE AGAINST THE SCRIBES AND PHARISEES

(Mt. XXIII, 1–39; Mk. XII, 38–40; Lk. XX, 45–47)

By the rebuffs which they had received the opponents of Jesus were condemned to silence. As to the populace, composed for the most part of followers of Jesus, especially of Easter pilgrims, they looked up to Him with admiration. Jesus, still occupied with the thought of His adversaries, whose trickery and malice He had again experienced, began to address the multitude. The moment had arrived for Him to act as judge [Note 1], to publicly denounce the character of the hierarchs, to expose their faults and crimes, and in this manner admonish His hearers to sever all connection with their leaders.

St. Matthew is the most prolix in describing the final discourse of Jesus against the scribes and Pharisees. St. Mark and St. Luke confine themselves to the reproduction of a few sentences. It may be assumed as certain that Jesus, shortly before the beginning of His Passion, spoke against the Pharisees in Jerusalem; but whether He did so to the extent reported in Matthew, is a different question. The first Evangelist has probably transferred to this place parts of a speech delivered on another occasion (Lk. XI, 39–54), in accordance with the principle followed in his Gospel of grouping together homogenous subjects without regard to their historical sequence. [Note 2.] As always in such cases, Matthew does this with wonderful ingenuity. That the discourse was addressed to the

Pharisees, as he states (Mark and Luke name the scribes), cannot be doubted when the subject-matter is considered. He who, like ourselves, places the writing of the first Gospel in the year 41–42, will understand why St. Matthew gives such a detailed account of Christ's address against the Pharisees, and inserts matter derived from a former address. At that time in Judea and Palestine all eyes were turned towards King Herod Agrippa and towards the Pharisees, his allies and friends. For the original readers of St. Matthew, the Palestinian Judeo-Christians, it was of the utmost interest to know precisely what was Our Lord's opinion of this class of men, during His public activity, and especially before His Passion and death. Because the Pharisees at that period had attained to great political and religious influence, it became necessary for St. Matthew to show that Jesus had victoriously demonstrated to these supposed champions and representatives of the Mosaic law that they, not He, had deviated from the spirit and letter of the law and that their entire manner of living was in glaring contradiction to their position as guardians and interpreters of the law. From the master's reproving discourse on this occasion SS. Mark and Luke merely select His warning against the pride and avarice of the scribes. Both follow St. Matthew and write for Roman Christians. Some of the latter may have known individual Pharisees from personal observation, because the Pharisees unfolded a lively missionary activity among the pagans and, as Jesus expressed Himself, "went round about the sea and the land to make one proselyte" (Mt. XXIII, 15). However, at the time when Mark and Luke wrote (44 and 62), especially among those for whom their Gospels were intended, the Pharisees were no longer of particular importance, and the readers of the second and third gospel were more interested in the description of their nature and character in general. Therefore, these two Evangelists restrict themselves to selecting from the discourse of Jesus a few sentences in which the shortcomings and depravity of the scribes and Pharisees, known among the

pagans, are duly censured. St. Luke probably was so much the more disposed to resort to this proceeding, since he had incorporated in a former chapter of his Gospel (XI, 39–52) a discourse of Jesus against the Pharisees.

The mighty discourse, as recorded in its fullness by St. Matthew, may be divided into three parts. In the first part (XXIII, 2–12) Jesus lays bare the glaring contradiction existing among the scribes and Pharisees, these appointed leaders and teachers of Israel, between doctrine and practice; furthermore their love of ostentation, their hardness of heart and their sinful ambition. Some of the Church Fathers found it strange that Jesus on this occasion designated the scribes and the Pharisees as successors of Moses ("on the chair of Moses sit the scribes and the Pharisees") and thereby acknowledged their authority to teach and enjoined His disciples and the people generally to obey their commands and decisions, although these contained much that was false and immoral (cfr. Mt. XV, 1–9; Mk. VII, 1–13), as He Himself on one occasion expressed by His warning against the leaven of the Pharisees, *i. e.,* their corrupted and perverted doctrines (Mt. XVI, 6). It was accordingly held that the words of Jesus: "All things whatsoever they shall say to you, observe and do," must be taken in a restricted sense, thus: Whatsoever they shall say to you, do, in as far as it does not conflict with the law of God. But this restriction is unfounded and unjustified. The Saviour here has in mind merely the glaring contradiction between the doctrine and the life of the Pharisees, who were the leaders of the people in those days; He did not intend to discuss the legitimacy of their teaching or the duration of their office. He simply accepted matters as they actually existed (differently Jn. X, 1 ff.) under the ancient covenant established by God Himself. St. Chrysostom points out the great danger which would have arisen for the Redeemer if immediately before His Passion He had expressed Himself concerning the abrogation of that order; His opponents would have used this as an apparent justi-

fication of their violent proceeding against Him. Therefore Jesus argues *ex concesso,* fully aware that the signs wrought by God after His departure would be powerful enough to convince all men of good will that the Old Testament theocracy was abrogated and replaced by the Church of Christ, and that the scribes and Pharisees had definitively ceased to be the official interpreters of the law. He contents Himself for the present with censuring the personal conduct of the representatives of the law and their official theology and to warn His hearers against it. [Note 3.] As signs of their inordinate desire for honors and distinctions Jesus mentions their predilection for all sorts of marks of respect on the public streets, in the synagogues and at banquets, as also the size of their phylacteries (*tephillin,* inscribed with Dt. VI, 4–9; XI, 13–21; Ex. XIII, 1–16), which they kept in cases and fastened around the forehead and on the left arm while they prayed, and the fringes or tassels on the corners of their garments (Nm. XV, 38), ostensible badges of piety (Mt. XXIII, 5–7; cfr. Mk. XII, 38 f.; Lk. XX, 46). Although Jesus (Mt. XXIII, 8) forbade His Apostles to claim for themselves such titles as master, father [Note 4], or teacher, after the manner of the Pharisees, and enjoined them always to bear in mind the truth that in respect to the *one* Master, Father, and Teacher they were equal among themselves (XXIII, 8–10); nevertheless He did not forbid honorary titles in His Kingdom (the Church), but merely the inordinate coveting of them, and all overweening pride, as also all separatistic tendencies in the teaching body; in other words: He forbade His Apostles to vindicate to themselves distinguishing titles among their Christian brethren, after the manner of the Pharisees, but He did not forbid the brethren to show honor and deference to the Apostles, as ambassadors of the *one* Master and the *one* Father, by giving them such titles as "Teacher" and "Father." It is, therefore, strange that the text here under consideration should be quoted as evidence against the hierarchical order of the Catholic Church, with its many titles and

grades, since Our Lord Himself in the words immediately following (Mt. XXIII, 11–12) plainly speaks of various grades in the Church as being in accordance with the divine will, when He inculcates the fundamental law of humility in order to forestall all jealousies, ambitions, and despotic inclinations ("he that is greatest among you, etc."); aside from passages like Mt. XVI, 18 and Eph. IV, 11, where the hierarchical order is expressly taught, and not to mention that the illustrious Apostle of the Gentiles sometimes calls himself teacher and doctor of the gentiles (1. Tim. II, 7) and often speaks of his children in Christ (*e. g.,* 1. Cor. IV, 17; 1. Tim. I, 18).

The second section of the discourse we are studying contains the sevenfold woe [Note 5] against the scribes and Pharisees (Mt. XXIII, 13–33).

The *first woe* is addressed to the scribes and Pharisees as "hypocrites" (XXIII, 13–15), who do not enter into the Kingdom of God themselves by accepting the Messias and receiving the Messianic Baptism, and will not suffer the people to enter it. From the days of John the Baptist the Kingdom of God used "violence," obtruded itself upon the Jews (XI, 12), and since Easter, 782, everybody could enter it by believing in Jesus and receiving Baptism. The Saviour in that particular Easter season had most urgently exhorted all men to receive the Messianic Baptism [Note 6]; but the Sanhedrists, the scribes, and the Pharisees did not heed the invitation and by their influence deterred the inhabitants of Jerusalem from receiving Baptism, so that only after Easter some few inhabitants of the province of Judea, being no longer under their influence, begged the disciples of Jesus to administer Baptism to them (Jn. III, 22; IV, 1–2). What the fourth Evangelist records concerning the attitude and behavior of the hierarchs and scribes on the occasion of Christ's participation in the various feasts (cfr. especially Jn. IX, 22) is a striking illustration of the words which Jesus spoke regarding this class during the Passion week of 783.

They completely controlled the populace in Jerusalem and by hook and crook endeavored to prevent them from joining Jesus. When Our Lord says: "You shut the kingdom of heaven against men," He does not mean to say that the scribes possess the key to the door of the Messianic kingdom; it is merely a figure of speech, describing the Kingdom of God as a palace; the Pharisees and the scribes are the leaders of the Jewish, especially the Jerusalemitic populace and by their example, keep the people from entering the Messianic Kingdom despite the fact that Christ's Messianic mission is attested by John the Baptist and by the words and miracles of Jesus Himself.

The *second woe* is pronounced against the scribes and Pharisees on account of their proselytizing, which had the direst consequence for the victims (XXIII, 15). They performed their pastoral duties towards the people in a most selfish manner (Jn. X), but displayed exceeding great zeal in trying to convert the pagans; went forth not only to the adjacent countries and islands, but also to far distant lands in order to gain proselytes for Judaism, rejoicing if they captured even a single convert[1] and those whom they captured they made children of hell because they filled them with pride in the law, but did not enlighten them upon its moral purpose.

The *third woe* (Mt. XXIII, 16–22) Jesus utters against the scribes and Pharisees, because by their self-induced blindness they themselves fall into the pit, and by their false teaching lead others into it. To expose their false system, the Saviour emphasizes their casuistry regarding the oath which He had censured severely on a former occasion (V, 33 ff.). Swearing by the Temple, customary among the Jews (ὃς ἂν ὀμόσῃ: nomin. absol., *i. e.,* an oath sworn in this manner is not binding), was esteemed less than swearing by the precious ornaments or the golden vessels of the Temple.[2] The Jewish casuists substantiated this interpretation of the binding force of the oath by

[1] Cfr. Jos., *Ant.* XX, 2, 3, 4; Horace, *Sat.* I, 4, 142 sq.
[2] Cfr. Jos., *B. I.,* V, 5, 6.

maintaining (Mt. XXIII, 17) that the gold of the Temple is directly consecrated to God, whereas the Temple itself may serve another purpose. Jesus opposes to this opinion the correct view, that the sanctity of the Temple and the altar is expressed once for all by the purpose of both; gold is made sacred only by its connection with the Temple, as the sacrificial victim owes its consecration to the altar on which it is immolated. But He now goes a step farther and demonstrates that these oaths (by the gold of the Temple, by the altar) are sworn because the objects mentioned in them are related to God, and that, therefore, the oath by the Temple is an oath by God Himself, because the Temple has its sanctity from the fact that God dwells in it, as the oath by Heaven is an oath by the God who reigns in Heaven (XXIII, 16–22).

The *fourth woe* (Mt. XXIII, 23 sq.) is intended for the Pharisees and scribes because they profess punctilious exactness in unimportant things, whilst at the same time they neglect the weightier duties imposed by the law, especially the duty of administering justice and practicing charity. Over-zealous in their righteousness they extend the tithes, which according to Lv. XXVII, 30; Nm. XVIII, 21; Dt. XII, 6; XIV, 22 and 23 apply to the products of the field (grain, oil, fruit), to the smallest cultivated plants, mint, anise, and dill; but what is most disdainfully neglected is the endeavor to see that the poor obtain their rights in the courts by an impartial administration of justice (*κρίσις* = *iustitia in iudicando*), but an efficacious commiseration in doing works of mercy (*ἔλεος*), and by sincerity and truth in their entire manner of acting (*πίστις*, opposed to *απιστία*). Whosoever does "the weightier thing," may also do the lighter things. To describe the rigor of the Pharisees in petty things and their laxity in weighty matters, attention is directed to the custom of straining wine or other liquids through a fine sieve to remove a gnat which may have fallen into it, whilst unhesitatingly swallowing a camel (*i. e.*, disregarding grave faults).

The *fifth woe* is aimed at the scribes and Pharisees because they punctiliously avoid all exterior (levitical) uncleanness, but are unconcerned about interior filth, *i. e.,* sin. Christ describes their position by a simile: You are exceedingly mindful of the exterior cleanness of the cup and of the dish; but you are not at all worried about that which fills the interior or about what proceeds from (γέμει ἐξ) fraud and intemperance (ἀκρασία= ἀκράτεια = *incontinentia,* inability of restraining the appetite, *i. e.,* regarding the property of others); your opinion that the exterior defilement of the vessel is communicated to the contents, is false; the contents are the essential thing; these should be clean, in order that the exterior cleanness of the vessel be a symbol of real interior purity (Mt. XXIII, 25–26).

The *sixth woe* falls upon the ruling classes on account of the contradiction existing between their exterior zeal for virtue and legal righteousness and their interior (moral) turpitude. Jesus makes clear this contrast by comparing them to whited sepulchres (XXIII, 27–28). According to Nm. XIX, 16 touching a grave made a person unclean for seven days, and hence all graves had to be whitewashed with slaked lime on the 15th Adar (February). Thus the Jews, especially the pilgrims going to Jerusalem, had a sign which kept them from touching such places that they might not be prevented by contamination from eating the passah. Although this whitewashing of the graves was not primarily done for ornament, nevertheless the ornamentation was a natural consequence, by which the contrast between exterior and interior (dead men's bones and putrefaction) was made so much more patent. With the Pharisees legal righteousness was the whitewash which covered their interior turpitude, and was intended to deter their fellowmen from coming in contact with them. In Luke XI, 44 this *logion* appears in a somewhat different form; here the graves are concealed (μνημεῖα ἄδηλα) and people walk over them without being aware of the fact. The originality of Matthew is evident; Luke accommodated himself to the ignorance of his readers regarding

this particular Jewish custom and suggested to them the idea that the graves were decorated to dispel the thought of death. [Note 7.]

The *seventh and last woe* is pronounced over the Pharisees because they pretended great respect for the prophets and the just men of former ages by erecting monuments and decorating those already existing, pretending that they wished to atone for the evil deeds of their forefathers, of whom nevertheless they are true sons because, like them, they too murder the prophets. Throw off the mask,—says the Redeemer in concluding His discourse against these sinners,—and fill the measure of guilt of those murderers of the prophets by putting to death *the* prophet *κατ' ἐξοχήν* (Mt. XXIII, 29–32). Here, too, we notice a small deviation in Luke (XI, 47 and 48): the (fore-) fathers killed the prophets; the sons continued the work.

In an epilogue (XXIII, 33–36) Jesus names the dreadful bond which binds into a bundle the crimes of the people against God, and announces the penalty. How is it possible, He cries out, for you to escape divine judgment when you do such evil things and have such a wicked disposition that condemns you to hell? He adds: Therefore, *i. e.,* in order that by the ill-treatment and killing of the messengers of salvation (*προφῆται, σοφοί, γραμματεῖς*) sent by Me you may fill the measure of the guilt of your fathers and consequently perish, I send prophets to you. *We,* according to our ideas, would expect the wording: You will put to death the prophets sent by Me and you will be punished for your atrocious deed. But Christ says: That the punishment may come upon you, I send you prophets, and you murder them. This manner of speaking is easily explained. As God wills the salvation of mankind, so in like manner He also wills the punishment of obstinate sinners; it is a divine decree that man sinks deeper into sin and incurs eternal damnation whenever he persistently rejects divine grace. The present tense (*ἀποστέλλω*) points to the sending of the Apostles and missionaries in the immediate future; the Jews will put

many of them to death (Stephen, the two Jameses, etc.) and they will have to bear the penalty of the murder (*αἷμα δίκαιον*: the innocent blood comes upon them). He cites the murder of Abel and Zachary, because the killing of Abel is the first and that of Zachary the last that is mentioned in the Old Testament. This Zachary can be none other than the priest whom, according to 2 Chron. XXIV, 20–22, Joas put to death in the vestibule of the Temple between the altar and the door of the sanctuary. The father of Zachary bore the name of Jojoda. To assume that he had two names, Jojoda and Barachias, appears altogether arbitrary. Probably Jesus Himself spoke of Zachary without mentioning his father's name (cfr. Lk. XI, 51). However, since, according to St. Jerome,[3] the Hebrew gospel contained the words "the son of Jojoda," the original text of Matthew evidently also had the correct name of the father, and *υἱοῦ Βαραχίου* in our Greek Matthew (XXIII, 35) is a mistake of the translator.

It may appear strange that Jesus in this epilogue threatens (XXIII, 33) the Pharisees with punishment not merely for their own guilty deeds, but also for the ill-treatment and murder of the prophets committed by their forefathers. The idea that children must expiate the sins of their forbears is emphasized in the Old Testament. Man must be considered not only as an individual, but also as a member of the community to which he belongs, and as such he shares, according to the law of solidarity, in the guilt which the community has incurred perhaps long before he himself was born. However, there is primarily question here (XXIII, 35 f.) of *temporal* punishment, *i. e.*, the punishment inflicted on the Jewish nation later (XXIII, 36), which culminated in the destruction of the city and the Temple and the dissolution of the commonwealth.

To the threat of punishment pronounced against the scribes and Pharisees St. Matthew appends a complaint against the inhabitants of the city of Jerusalem (XXIII, 37–39), on whom

[3] *Comment. in Mt.*, XXIII, 35.

Our Lord had bestowed so much benevolent love (cfr. the image of a hen and her chicks) by appearing among them frequently (on every feast-day: Easter, Pentecost, the Feast of the Tabernacles, that of the Dedication, etc.) to save them from destruction and win them over for His kingdom. Invariably they opposed to His loving call a stubborn "we will not." Therefore He now announces to them that the city "shall be left to" its citizens and He will henceforth no longer teach and work miracles within it. The time of gracious visitation has passed for Jerusalem; Jesus will make no further efforts to convert the inhabitants; neither shall they see His face again until they utter the Messianic homage: "Blessed is he who cometh in the name of the Lord!" This cry (cfr. Ps. CXVIII, 22) was raised on the evening of the 14th Nisan, when the people were celebrating the Pasch. What a strange meeting this was! By crying: "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord" the Jerusalemites gave expression to their longing for the Messias, they who had repudiated the Messias in word and deed, they who leave the celebration to go to the Mount of Olives to lead Jesus away to a trial for life and death. The complaint over Jerusalem, by recording which St. Matthew proves that he knew of the repeated activity of Jesus in the Jewish metropolis, is also recorded by St. Luke (XIII, 34–35). The agreement of the two texts is almost complete, with this exception, that in Luke, after the words ἰδοὺ ἀφίεται ὑμῖν ὁ οἶκος ὑμῶν, the word ἔρημος is missing, instead of λέγω γάρ we have λέγω δέ, and instead of οὐ μή με ἴδητε ἀπ' ἄρτι, ἕως ἂν εἴπητε, the sequence is: οὐ μὴ ἴδητέ με ἕως ἂν ἥξῃ (ἔωε ἡξει) ὅτε εἴπητε, which does not, of course, alter the sense. However, the connection is altogether different in St. Luke than in St. Matthew. Hence the question arises: Which of the two evangelists has the *logion* in the right place? There seems no reason to doubt that St. Matthew has it in the right place. Apparently Jesus pronounced the woe repeatedly: the first time, as St. Luke records, after He had come to Jerusalem from Perea for the feast of the Dedication (De-

cember, 782). On this occasion He pronounced woe over the inhabitants (Jn. X, 40) when He was leaving the city: Jerusalem shall be left to you; I will deprive you of my presence until the day when the multitudes, especially the Easter pilgrims from the province of Judea, shall sound the joyous cry: "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord" (Mt. XXI, 9 and the parallel passages). Our Lord also came to Judea for the Purim feast; but not to Jerusalem, but only to Bethania for the resurrection of Lazarus (Jn. XI, 1 ff.), and hence His word (Lk. XIII, 35) was fulfilled on the day of His triumphal entry. The second and last time Jesus pronounced the woe was on the 12th Nisan, when leaving the Temple. [Note 8.] The eschatological interpretation of Mt. XXIII, 39 and Lk. XIII, 35 is incorrect.

1. The Jews expected that the Messias would sit in judgment upon his enemies immediately after his appearance, and that the pagans, publicans, and sinners would be condemned, whilst all the departed just would rise from the dead and together with the living just be gathered around the Messias and enter into the joys of the Messianic Kingdom. To the living just belonged, of course, first of all the scribes and Pharisees. In His discourse on Pentecost, Jesus corroborated the opinion that judgment by the Messias would take place (Jn. V, 22 ff), but showed that the Jewish conception of it was false and designated as the time of the judgment the consummation of the world, when all the dead shall rise again (V, 29). John the Baptist during his activity in Judea describes a judicial action of the Messias of a different type (Mt. III, 10, 12 and the parallel texts): He [the Messias] has the fan in His hand, and He will thoroughly cleanse His floor and gather the wheat into the barn, but the chaff He will burn with unquenchable fire, *i. e.,* by His activity He will cause a separation, the worthy He will receive into His kingdom, the unworthy, *i. e.,* those who reject His word, He will exclude from that realm, so that they will be eternally lost. At the time indicated in Mt. XXIII, 1, Jesus did indeed act as judge in Jerusalem, but in a peculiar manner: in the presence of His disciples and the entire populace (Lk. XX, 45) He unsparingly exposed the faults and sins, failings and crimes of the honored leaders of the people, the gross Pharisaic errors in their lives, and warningly showed up the interior hollowness of these teachers in Israel; in other words,

with the whole weight of His authority he takes His adversaries to task and urgently admonishes all to break away from their pernicious activity and influence.

2. Catholic exegetes as a rule reject the view that the *discourse against the Pharisees* in St. Matthew's Gospel is a composite of various fragments. I also am in favor of its integrity and maintain that the Evangelist did not compose the discourse, as, *e. g.,* Thucydides did with the discourses contained in his history. St. Matthew's entire discourse consists of brief reflections or aphorisms of Jesus. I also admit the systematic order of the discourse; but I do think various sayings of Jesus uttered on previous occasions were interwoven in this discourse, delivered at the end of His public ministry (12th Nisan). St. Mark and St. Luke in the parallel passages of their gospels (XII, 38–40 and XX, 45–47) record merely a brief warning addressed to the scribes, who are charged with eagerly seeking honors and knowing no bounds in the gratification of their selfish ambition; they devour the houses of widows (a Hebraism for robbing the people), commit downright robbery and clothe their crimes with the halo of piety. It cannot be seriously doubted that the crimes mentioned here and attributed by Mark and Luke to the scribes, were chargeable also against the Pharisees. In this regard the wording of St. Matthew is unquestionably to be preferred; here also, as so often, the tendency to give less prominence to the struggle with Phariseeism is noticeable in Mark and Luke as compared with Matthew. This tendency is evidently responsible for the curtailing of the "warning against the Pharisees" in Mark and Luke. Hence for the best of reasons we accept the text of St. Matthew (XXIII, 2–12) as the original. Mt. XXIII, 4 and Lk. XI, 46 may have been taken from another historical connection. The pericope Mt. XXIII, 23–36 recurs almost verbatim in St. Luke (XI, 39–52), who definitely states (XI, 37 and 38) the exact situation in which Jesus delivered the discourse against the Pharisees: it was when He had been invited to dinner by a Pharisee and the latter omitted the ceremonial washing at the beginning of the banquet. That not Matthew, but Luke gives the precise historical occasion of this discourse of Jesus is obvious from the phrase Φαρισαῖε τυφλέ (Mt. XXIII, 26), which appears unmotivated in St. Matthew, because this writer represents the Pharisees from the start as being addressed by Jesus in a body. True, according to St. Luke, Jesus at the banquet addressed the Pharisees, not merely the host, using the term "ye fools" (ἄφρονες). However, this phrase, compared with the Φαρισαῖε τυφλέ in St. Matthew allows us to conclude that He began His discourse with this phrase, then generalized and broadened the

argument. We therefore recognize in the singular Φαρισαῖε τυφλέ a remnant of the anti-Pharisaic discourse whose historical occasion is described by St. Luke (XI, 37, 38), and also a reliable indication that St. Matthew (chap. XXIII) reproduces essentially the same discourse as St. Luke (chap. XI). As regards Mt. XXIII, 13–22 we are not in a position to point out the original source, because St. Mark and St. Luke offer no parallel texts. However, we may also consider this part as having been taken from some former Messianic address. Whoever carefully examines the situation described by the three Synoptics will find it improbable that Jesus within the precincts of the Temple and so shortly before his Passion, gave such a detailed description of the character of the Pharisees, as it might appear from St. Matthew (chap. XXIII). He silenced the scribes and Pharisees with superhuman wisdom and power, and it appears quite plausible that immediately afterwards, when the people were still under the impression of the power and majesty just exhibited, He should warn them against the Pharisees by pointing out the glaring inconsistency of their conduct. On the other hand, we find it rather strange that He should give a description of certain traits in the character of the Pharisees at this highly significant juncture. We are confirmed in this view by the fact that St. Matthew introduces the warning against the Pharisees in the same manner (XXIII, 11) as St. Mark (XII, 38) and St. Luke (XX, 45). After disposing of the Pharisees, Jesus addressed the multitude and His disciples. Accordingly, St. Matthew considers His direct dealing with the Pharisees before the warning of the populace and in the presence of the latter as ended. Attention may here be called to a similar proceeding on the part of the first Evangelist in recording the Sermon on the Mount, into which he has woven the instruction on prayer and the Our Father (VI, 9 ff.), though St. Luke (XI, 1) says that the instruction on prayer was not given at the time of the Sermon on the Mount, but on a later occasion. If St. Matthew embodied into his account of the Sermon on the Mount various subjects from other Messianic discourses, a similar proceeding in the account of the last discourse of Jesus is quite comprehensible, because this discourse forms a parallel to the Sermon on the Mount and, like the latter, serves the purpose of showing what attitude Jesus assumed towards the Jews and especially towards their official representatives.

3. "All things whatsoever they shall say to you, do ye," is the injunction which Jesus gives to the assembled populace in Jerusalem. But had He not on a former occasion (Mt. XVI, 6) emphatically warned His disciples against the leaven of the Pharisees, *i. e.*, their

false and pernicious doctrines, and had He not declared (Mt. XV, 13) that Pharisaism was ripe for destruction because it was blind and estranged from God? Very true, is the answer of some exegetes to these questions; very true; but both the warning and the axiom were intended for the disciples who understood them; whereas here Jesus speaks before a large concourse of people in Jerusalem, and it was evidently not His intention to enlighten them on the pernicious doctrines of the Pharisees on this occasion, but rather to insinuate that they must be tolerated for the present. I cannot accept this explanation. On the feast of the Tabernacles (782) Jesus, in the parable of the good shepherd (Jn. X, 1 ff), had positively and in the presence of the entire populace denied to the scribes and Pharisees authority to exercise the pastoral office in Israel, declaring: I am the door to the sheepfold; all who have entered it before my public ministry began, are thieves and robbers. He meant the Pharisees, who had no divine commission, but arrogated to themselves the right to pervert the sheep, and those who desired to be such, and ruin them (X, 5–8). That is perfectly plain speaking,—for us; but many of His hearers at that time may not have understood His words. During the Passion week Jesus does not discuss the question regarding the right of the scribes and Pharisees to teach, but simply declares: In Jerusalem the chair of Moses is now (*i. e.,* since the days of Esdras) occupied by the scribes and Pharisees, who exercise the teaching office in the name of Moses and rule the people as preachers and expounders of the law. However, when I reflect upon Mt. XXIII, 2, I am persuaded that Jesus wishes to describe the conduct of the Pharisees in seating themselves on the chair of Moses as unauthorized. It was not God who placed them there, but they usurped the chair. However, Jesus is content with this single allusion in the sense of Jn. X, 7–8, by giving His hearers to understand that the people may for the present acknowledge the scribes and Pharisees as their teachers, just as they still visit the Temple and the synagogues; they may observe what those men officially teach and command; but their deeds they should not imitate, because they act in glaring contrast to their words. Jesus here has in mind merely the exposition of the law and the precepts which the scribes and Pharisees issued in their official capacity, not the decisions and declarations of individual scholars. Now we comprehend why they avoided violations and perversions and every illicit use of the law and the employment of "false traditions." Inasmuch as they were the official teachers and interpreters of the law, and represented the Synagogue, their instructions and decisions were irreprehensible and could unhesitatingly be followed; the immoral part of their conduct consisted in this that they imposed upon the people a number of ordinances which they

did not observe themselves, and as a result the people became aware of the impossibility of complying with their demands. This fact, however, did not alienate them from the aim and object of the law, *i. e.*, the Messias, but rather assisted them in approaching Him more closely.

4. The exhortation in Mt. XXIII, 9: "Call none your father upon earth; for *one* is your father, who is in heaven," requires some explanation. The commentators are very reticent on this point. Light is thrown on the passage by Eph. III, 14 sq.: "For this cause I bend my knees to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, from whom all fatherhood in heaven and on earth is named." We prefer this translation to that proposed by some: "from whom all tribes in heaven and on earth have their names." The Vulgate correctly translates πατριά by *paternitas*. The Apostle means to say that all fatherhood, all paternal authority, comes from heaven; only the heavenly Father is Father in the fullest sense. When, therefore, St. Paul writes: ἐξ οὗ πᾶσα πατριὰ ἐν οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς, he offers us a sort of commentary on the words of Jesus in St. Matthew: "Call none your father upon earth," *i. e.*, do not employ the title "father" towards any man. Strictly speaking, Jesus seems to deny all πατριά or fatherhood; the words of His Apostle, however, show that in a certain sense He acknowledges a πατριὰ ἐπὶ γῆς: all fatherhood comes from heaven; πατριά on earth is only an image or imitation of the *paternitas* in Heaven. Some modern Protestant theologians (*e. g.*, Nösgen) attack the passage in the Roman Catechism (II, 7, 24) which says: *"quamobrem omnium fidelium et episcoporum . . . pater ac moderator universalis ecclesiae ut Petri successor Christique verus et legitimus vicarius in terris praesidet."* They would be justified in doing so if their assertion were true that the will to be honored as the Vicar of Christ proceeds from haughty ambition. But this is by no means the case. It was not the successor of St. Peter, the bishop of Rome, who expressed the desire to be honored by the title "Father" or "Pope," but the faithful of their own accord gave him this title as a token of their veneration for the "rock" on which Christ founded his Church (Mt. XVI, 17 ff). By giving to the successor of St. Peter the title of "Father" they declare themselves his children, who feel in duty bound to obey his supreme authority in the kingdom of God on earth. To what extent the Vicar of Christ is mindful of the Redeemer's warning against pride and undue ambition ("He that is greatest among you shall be your servant" (Mt. XXIII, 11), is obvious from the fact that he styles himself in official documents addressed to all Christendom: *"servus servorum Dei."* Thus, by comparing Mt. XXIII, 9 with Eph. III, 15, we arrive at the conclusion that it was not the

purpose of our Blessed Saviour to prohibit the use of the title "Father" on earth, but merely to designate the sentiments with which the bearers of this title shall be animated; they should acknowledge that in the proper and most perfect sense the name "Father" by right belongs solely to God, and man's claim to the name is merely a copy of the divine paternity; therefore he must take God as a model when exercising paternal rights, and practice love, kindness, and benevolence towards his children or subjects.

5. Although St. Matthew records Christ's discourse against the Pharisees in detail, he fails to report its most significant passage transmitted to us by St. Mark (XII, 40) and St. Luke (XX, 47): They "devour the houses of widows and make pretence of long prayers." True, we find this passage in the *textus receptus* of St. Matthew's Gospel (between XXIII, 13 and 15), but textual criticism has long ago demonstrated that it was inserted into the text by a later hand, probably as early as the second century. The Codex Syrus Curet. contains the passage, as do also the various Old Latin translations and the Vulgate. By these words Jesus denounces the scribes and Pharisees as robbers, because they take away the property of widows. The expression, "to devour the houses of widows," has a strange sound. According to Van Bebber, it was a peculiarity of the Jews to use the word "eat" in a very extended metaphorical sense. Witness such expressions as: "to eat the poor" or "the people," *i. e.*, to devour the food belonging to the people; "to eat sin," *i. e.*, meat sacrificed to pagan gods; "to eat the fires of Jehovah," *i. e.*, to live off sacrifices; "to eat the years," *i. e.*, the crops of years, "to eat the soil" or "the field," and "to eat the feast (Easter) for seven days," *i. e.*, to slaughter victims and offer sacrifices of praise for seven days (cfr. Jn. XVIII, 28). "To eat the houses of widows," therefore, means: to rob or defraud helpless widows of all their possessions. This the Pharisees did, and surrounded their rapacious propensities with the halo of religion. Already the Old Testament prophets (Is. 1, 17, 23; 10, 2; Jer. 7, 6; Os. 22, 7; Mal. 3, 5) threatened the judgment of God against those that wronged widows, who, because of their helpless condition enjoyed special divine protection (Ex. 22, 22; Dt. 10, 18; 14, 29; 18, 11, 14).

6. The words of Jesus in Mt. XXIII, 13 presuppose that, at the time of His public ministry, it was possible for the Jews to enter the Kingdom of God. How this could be effected, Jesus Himself explained to Nicodemus (Jn. III, 1 ff.). The interpretation of Jn. III, 1–12 is in dispute; the prevailing view of Catholic theologians is that Jesus is in-

structing Nicodemus on Christian Baptism, which He promises for some future time, and which He instituted after His Resurrection and shortly before His Ascension (Mt. XXVIII, 19). The case is similar as in John VI, where Jesus in the synagogue at Capharnaum promises to give the bread of life, which promise He fulfilled on the eve of His Passion and death by instituting the Holy Eucharist. The promise of the bread of life is recorded by St. John; the fullfilment of the promise is described by the Synoptics; just so it is with baptism: St. John announces the promise, the Synoptics (Mt. XXVIII, 19 and Mk. XVI, 16) record its actual institution. We cannot adopt this view. In Jn. VI there is indeed a promise; the Redeemer promises to give His flesh and blood expressly for a future time; but as regards the realization of this promise, as St. John plainly states in XIII, 1, He merely passes over the external act of institution, presuming the knowledge of it from the living practice of the Church. In Jn. III, 1–12 Our Lord speaks to Nicodemus of the necessity of being reborn from above, *i. e.*, of a regeneration out of water and the Holy Ghost. Nowhere is there a word about a promise. The Redeemer directs the attention of Nicodemus (III, 3 and III, 12) to his public sermon on Baptism delivered during the Easter festival in the presence of His associates, saying to him in effect: You believe in my superior power and mission, but you doubt the words I have spoken in the presence of all the people regarding the Baptism of water and spirit and the necessity of receiving it in order to be admitted to the Messianic Kingdom. But He does not set him right or minimize His teaching: Verily, verily I say to thee, unless a man be begotten from above, he cannot see the kingdom of God (cfr. Jn. VI, 53). Since Nicodemus knew of the Baptism of the spirit which was to be administered by the Messias (Jn. I, 26, 33), and, according to his own statement (III, 2), was no longer in doubt regarding the Messianity of Jesus, he could not but see in this very Jesus the one who would baptize men with the Holy Spirit. According to the indications given in III, 3 and III, 11, 12, Christ's public sermon on Baptism could only culminate in an exhortation to the Jews to be baptized and thus to become His disciples. This sermon must have been preceded by an administration of Baptism to a few close followers of Jesus, which evidently occurred during those very Easter-days. By administering the Baptism of the spirit Our Lord at the beginning of His public activity in Jerusalem inaugurated the Messianic Kingdom; but the very manner in which He did it, scandalized the scribes and hierarchs, who had imagined the coming of the Messias and the manifestation of His glory altogether differently. Now they saw nothing but the immersion of the *baptizandi* and the cleansing of their bodies; the descent of the Holy Ghost they could not see, and hence they turned

away from this unpretentious Galilean, refused to receive Baptism, did not enter into the new kingdom, hindered the people of Jerusalem from entering it (Mt. XXIII, 13), and thus frustrated the will of God in regard to themselves and the Jewish nation. (Lk. VII, 30). Jesus reproves this attitude and complainingly says to Nicodemus: If I explain to you earthly things, *i. e.,* the Messianic Baptism inaugurating the Messianic Kingdom on earth, and you refuse to believe this explanation, how will you believe me when I speak to you of heavenly things, *i. e.,* disclose the great mystery of my person, my origin from Heaven, my return thither, and the giving of my divine-human personality as a food for the life of the world? He means to say: then you will *a fortiori* refuse to believe. Being hindered from spreading His Kingdom by administering Baptism in Jerusalem (Jn. III, 12, 19, 20), Jesus at that time left the city, went into the province of Judea, converted the Jews who had accepted the faith on the feast of Easter in Jerusalem, caused them to be baptized by His disciples with the Messianic Baptism (III, 22; IV, 1, 2), and thus made them His disciples and members of his Kingdom (cfr. *μαθητάς ποιεῖ* (IV, 1) with Mt. XXVIII, 19; *πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τα ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτούς*). That only the Messianic Baptism in the sense of the Baptist's prediction (Jn. I, 33) was administered in Judea at that time, needs no proof: a baptism resembling that administered by John could never have produced so many disciples. This point is fully established by Jn. III, 25–31, where it is related that a dispute arose between a Judean (inhabitant of the province of Judea) and some of the disciples of John the Baptist, concerning the question whether Jesus administered a mere baptism of water, or the baptism of water and the spirit; the Judean maintained the latter, and he can have based his assertion solely on Christ's own declaration and that of the disciples who administered the Baptism. John the Baptist himself decides against his own disciples and in favor of the Judean by saying: "A man cannot take and give anything unless it be given him from heaven," *i. e., I* cannot communicate the Holy Ghost when I baptize, but Jesus can do it; He is greater than I, for He is the Messias and the Son of God (Jn. I, 32 ff.).[4]

7. We may accept it as an established fact that St. Matthew (XXIII, 27) records the same woe as does St. Luke (XI, 44), but the original form is in St. Matthew. St. Luke's readers being unacquainted with Jewish customs, he made a slight alteration. The Fathers of the Church and early ecclesiastical writers quote the passage in the form delivered

[4] Cfr. Van Bebber, *Theol. Quartalschrift,* 1902, pp. 546 ff.

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to us by Matthew. Clement of Alexandria[5] throws it into the singular form thus: *οὐαὶ γὰρ ὑμῖν, γραμματεῖς καὶ φαρισαῖοι, ὑποκριταί, φησὶν ὁ κύριος, ὅτι ὁμοιοί ἐστε τάφοις κεκονιαμένοις· ἔξωθεν ὁ τάφος φαίνεται ὡραῖος, ἔνδον δὲ γέμει ὀστέων νεκρῶν καὶ πάσης ἀκαθαρσίας.* Similarly St. Irenaeus:[6] *"Propter quod et dicebat dominus: vae vobis, scribae et pharisaei, hypocritae, quoniam similes estis monumentis dealbatis. Foris enim sepulcrum apparet formosum, intus autem plenum est ossibus mortuorum et universâ immunditiâ."* Justin Martyr quotes the saying in the plural.[7] St. Luke has omitted precisely the characteristic "white-washing" for the prevention of Levitical contamination and the expression *ὡραῖος*;" he speaks only of undiscernible graves: *"sepulcra non conspicua,"* and this metaphor characterizes the Pharisees in two respects: their moral depravity and the danger they constituted for their fellowmen. Their moral depravity is dangerous because they conceal it by their hypocrisy, so that those who come in contact with them are infected without being aware of it.

8. The *logion* with which we are here concerned occurs in Lk. XIII, 34, 35 and Mt. XXIII, 37–39 in almost identical terms. It is, therefore, quite comprehensible that the saying is viewed as having been uttered only once by Our Lord, when He beheld the city of Jerusalem, and the question is discussed, whether St. Luke or St. Matthew has assigned it to an incorrect historical position. Some exegetes argue as follows: St. Luke is very precise in fixing the chronology of this discourse (XI, 37 ff.); according to this Evangelist, the discourse did not close with the *logion* in question, but came from the lips of Jesus on the occasion described in Lk. XIII, 33, because it fits in perfectly with the situation described in that place. Evidently the first thing to do is to investigate what was the situation described by St. Luke. According to Resch, it was the time of the resurrection of Lazarus, because the *logion* presupposes the decree of the Sanhedrin condemning Jesus to die, which is recorded in Jn. XI, 45 ff.; *ἐβουλεύσαντο ἵνα ἀποκτείνωσιν αὐτόν* (Jn. XI, 53; cfr. with *ἡ ἀποκτείνουσα*, Lk. XIII, 34). Since it is certain that the resurrection of Lazarus occurred at the time of the Purim feast, 783, we would be obliged to assume that Jesus, when leaving Bethania for Ephrem (Jn. XI, 54), approached the Jewish metropolis, *i. e.*, went from Bethania to the heights of Mt. Olivet, and there, in view of the city, accused Jerusalem of killing the prophets of God. However, this view cannot be made to square with the context in Luke

[5] *Paed.*, III, 9, 47.
[6] *Adv. Haer.*, IV, 18, 3.
[7] *Dial. c. Tryph.*, XVII, 235; CXII, 539.

XIII, 31–33, as we have demonstrated above. The immediately preceding statement compels us to view the historical situation differently. Jesus sets out from Perea, which was in the territory of Herod Antipas, on His way to Jerusalem, to celebrate the feast of the Dedication, and says: "I must walk to-day and to-morrow, and the day following, because it cannot be that a prophet perish out of Jerusalem" (Lk. XIII, 33). He means the three journeys to the feasts of the Dedication, Purim, and (Passion-) Pasch; on the latter He will be "consummated," *i. e.,* put to death (XIII, 32). As against the Pharisees, who wished to hasten His journey, He exclaimed: "Jerusalem, Jerusalem," etc. However, I do not care to assert that St. Matthew took the liberty of altering our *logion* by removing it from its original position (feast of Dedication, 782) to a totally different place, namely to the Passion Week (Tuesday, 12th Nisan, 783) as Resch assumes. In my opinion *aut—aut* is not to be assumed here, but the possibility of a repetition of the saying by Jesus should be seriously considered. Even if Jesus on the 12th Nisan did not deliver a discourse of the length reported by St. Matthew, it is certain that at that time He pronounced a brief warning against the Pharisees (Lk. XX, 45–47). That He should have amplified this warning into a complaint over the city on the eve of His departure, cannot appear strange. His words of complaint were: "Jerusalem, Jerusalem, that killest the prophets, and stonest them that are sent to thee, how often would I have gathered . . . Behold your house [city] shall be left to you desolate. And I say to you that you shall not see me again till the time come when you shall say: Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord" (Lk. 14, 34 sq.). No matter from what point of view this utterance is regarded, it is most remarkable. But exegetes do not interpret it uniformly. A very strong expression is ἡ ἀποκτείνουσα. He means: Jerusalem makes a profession of killing those sent by God. The Latin *"quae occidis"* by no means exhausts the significance of the Greek phrase, which means: *Urbs Ierusalem est interfectrix prophetarum.* With ἡ ἀποκτείνουσα the discourse switches off into the third person, whilst the Vulgate retains the direct speech. But what about the words in Mt. XXIII, 39? It is as customary to expound them in an eschatological sense as it is to interpret Mt. XXVI, 29 (= Lk. XXII, 18). But Jesus by no means intends to say: You shall not see me henceforth, *i. e.,* after my death, until you shall receive me as the Messias on the day of the *parousia, i. e.,* by that time the people will have been converted and gladly hail Jesus as the Messias. At any rate, this interpretation is to be preferred to the other, that the Saviour meant the judgment upon the city of Jerusalem under Vespasian; in this latter case the greeting, "Blessed is he who cometh in the name of the Lord,"

could be understood only of an unwilling acknowledgement of the Messias. However, this entire interpretation ought to be forever abandoned in favor of the only correct one, according to which Our Lord says: I am now going to depart from the Temple and the city, and from now on you shall not see me again until you have sung the hallel-psalm (Ps. CXVIII) during the eating of the lamb on the evening of the 14th Nisan, with its Messianic welcome: "Blessed is he who cometh in the name of the Lord." The prophecy was fulfilled on the evening of the 14th Nisan, when the Jews in Jerusalem, and especially the hierarchs, saw Jesus again on Mt. Olivet, seized Him, and put Him to death.

CHAPTER VIII

THE WIDOW'S MITE

(Mk. XII, 41–44; Lk. XXI, 1–4)

SS. Mark and Luke are the two Evangelists who report the touching incident of the widow's mite, and both report it in the same connection. Its omission in the Gospel of St. Matthew is due to its anti-Jewish tendency. In his endeavor to describe the discourses of Jesus reproving the Jews, and in particular against the parties and their leaders, St. Matthew took no notice of this as well as other episodes in the Temple. St. Mark's account is more graphic and detailed than that of St. Luke. St. Mark alone relates that Jesus sat "over against the treasury"; he alone notes the specific value of the coin offered by the poor woman (κοδράντης = *quadrans* = ¼ *as*; λεπτόν = ⅛ copper *as*); he alone says that Jesus before speaking about the meaning of the widow's offering called unto Himself His disciples and told them: The poor woman's gift far exceeds in value the donations of all the other contributors together, because the two small coins were all she possessed, and by giving all she had for pious purposes she manifested an extraordinary readiness to make sacrifices for God. We can understand why Jesus spoke of the widow's mite to His disciples. He recognizes in her deed a truth which was to be for them as His representatives in the Church a rule of conduct as teachers and judges,—the truth that the value of a gift does not depend on its size, but on the circumstances in, and the intention with, which it is given.

CHAPTER IX

CHRIST'S PREDICTION OF THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM AND THE END OF THE WORLD

(Mt. XXIV, 1–41; Mk. XIII, 1–32; Lk. XXI, 5–33)

1. The Historical Introduction

After the lesson on the value of the widow's mite, Jesus left the Temple. In going out, the disciples called His attention to the various buildings constituting the Temple.[1] They discussed among themselves the grand edifice, the beautiful stones, the white marble blocks, laid one upon the other as in a fortress, and the precious votive gifts (Lk. XXI, 5).[2] One of them, undoubtedly St. Peter, told Him of the result of their inspection and discussion (Mk. XIII, 1). In doing this the disciples evidently had in mind the terrible threats which they had heard the Master pronounce against Jerusalem, the sad fate of which, of course, also involved the Temple. His answer was awe-inspiring. Pointing to the grand edifice, He says: Of this magnificent edifice not a stone shall be left upon a stone that shall not be destroyed (Mt. XXIV, 3; Mk. XIII, 2). A little later, having ascended Mt. Olivet on the east side of Jerusalem, Jesus sat down in full view of the city. Here Peter, James, John, and Andrew approached and Peter asked Him in the name of the others to tell them when the city would be destroyed and what signs would herald His second coming (Mk. XIII, 3–4; Mt.

[1] τὰς οἰκοδομὰς τοῦ ἱεροῦ; Mt. XXIV, 1: the Temple proper (ναός), the courts, terraces, halls, walls, etc.; cfr. Josephus, *B. I.*, V, 5, 6; VI, 4, 6; Tacitus, *Hist.*, V, 8, 12.

[2] Conspicuous among these was the grape-vine of gold, a present of Herod the Great; Josephus, *Ant.*, XV, 11, 3; XVII, 6, 3; *B. I.*, VI, 5, 2.

XXIV, 3.) [Note 1.] This question laid bare the thoughts which agitated the minds of the disciples in this memorable hour. They were convinced that the enemies of Jesus would be visited by the anger of God, that Jesus would manifest Himself in His majesty as the Messias, and that He would soon begin His reign, which would inaugurate the last days. These three facts: the destruction of Jerusalem, the coming and manifestation of Christ, and the end of the world, are closely, nay, inseparably connected in their minds and expectations. Without directly opposing these false ideas, Jesus formulated His answer to the proposed questions so that it carried with it an indirect refutation of the delusion under which they labored (cfr. especially Lk. XXI, 24.) Before we examine this answer more closely we wish to make a few preliminary remarks of a general nature.

a) Christ's prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem and the Day of Judgment is recorded only by the Synoptics. St. John says nothing of it in his Gospel. The reasons for this are not difficult to divine. Jesus made the predictions to His disciples immediately before His Passion, in order that they and their pupils might be able to discern the signs of the times and not become confused on account of the fate that was to befall Jerusalem. St. Matthew received these predictions into his Gospel to encourage his Judeo-Christian readers in Palestine during the sad days of the persecution of Herod Agrippa I, and to preserve them from being scandalized at the rejection of Israel and the suffering and tribulation which would come upon the young Church and the disciples (Acts XII, 1 ff.). St. Mark fitted Our Saviour's predictions into the context of his Gospel as a further strong argument for the supernatural knowledge of Jesus, and consequently for His divinity. St. Luke, finally, who pays special attention to all predictions made by Our Lord concerning the fate of Jerusalem (cfr. XIII, 33; XIX, 41–44), did not wish to pass over the prophecy of the destruction of the city and the end of the world. However, he

introduces a modification in his account by separating the prophecy regarding the destruction of Jerusalem (XXI, 20–24) from the other concerning the end of the world (XXI, 25–33). Since the third Evangelist in recording the predictions, had thus made the modification necessary on account of the conditions in the pagan-Christian world, St. John, who wrote later, had no reason for repeating the account, because nothing remained to be supplied or corrected, especially since a considerable portion of the prophecy, namely, the destruction of Jerusalem, had already been fulfilled. Moreover, as has been indicated above, St. John was anxious to demonstrate the fulfilment of the promise given by the Master at Capharnaum concerning the bread of life and to record His parting discourse, which followed the institution of the Holy Eucharist, thus supplementing the Synoptics.

b) SS. Matthew (XXIV, 3) and Mark (XIII, 3) mention Mount Olivet as the place where the prediction was made. St. Luke (XXI, 5 and 37) seems to locate the entire scene in the Temple. Many exegetes believe that he did this intentionally. I cannot agree with this view. The words recorded in Lk. XXI, 5 and 6 were certainly spoken when Jesus and His disciples were still in the Temple, as the questioner's reference to the votive gifts proves. Between XXI, 6 and 7 we may very well imagine an interval, so that St. Luke does not contradict the statement of SS. Matthew and Mark that the question mentioned in XXI, 7 was addressed to Our Lord on Mt. Olivet and answered by Him there. St. Luke omits to mention the change of locality as immaterial and unessential for the understanding of the discourse. The remark in XXI, 37 obviously refers to the days that lay between the Master's solemn entry into Jerusalem and the beginning of His Passion; to bring his account to a close, the third Evangelist reviews this intermediate period by furnishing the information that Jesus taught in the Temple during the day and spent the night in undisturbed solitude on Mt. Olivet, and that the people listened intently to His

teaching,—by which St. Luke certainly does not refer exclusively or even primarily to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, but includes the large number of pilgrims present in the city at the time. (cfr. Jn. XI, 55).

2. First Part of the Prophecy

(Mt. XXIV, 4–14; Mk. XIII, 5–13; Lk. XXI, 8–19)

Jesus answers the two questions propounded to Him by Peter by enumerating, first, the premonitory signs which will precede the destruction of Jerusalem *and* the end of the world. This first section of His discourse we find in Mt. XXIV, 4–8, Mk. XIII, 5–8, Lk. XXI, 8–11. As has been repeatedly noted before, the disciples conceived the destruction of Jerusalem and the glorious *parousia* of their Master as contemporaneous events, and these events are in a certain sense inseparably connected, although separated from each other by we know not how many centuries. The first of these events is a type and the actual foretelling of the second; when reading of the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple, we discern in it the destruction of the world at the end of time; the one is the end of *a* world and of *a* nation, while the other is the end of *the* world and *the* nations. The signs preceding the destruction of the Holy City will, upon the whole, also be the signs preceding the final catastrophe. These signs are:

a) The appearance of false Christs and false prophets. "Many will come in (ἐπί) my name," He says; *i. e.,* will appear under the false pretense of being the promised Messias. We know from Josephus [3] that, under the procurator Cuspius Fadus, a certain Theudas, and under Tiberius Alexander (45–46) the sons of Judas the Galilean (James and Simon) caused disturbances and revolts, which were suppressed with armed force by the Romans. Both movements may with good reasons be called Messianic.

[3] *Ant.,* XX, 5, 1–2.

[Note 2.] During the Jewish wars in the reign of Nero, Messianic ideas also exercised great influence. Josephus testifies:[4] "What excited the greatest enthusiasm for the war among the Jews was an ambiguous prophecy, which is found also in the Holy Scriptures, to the effect that at that time a ruler of the world would come forth out of the land of the Jews." The Jewish historian declares the interpretation of this "prophecy," as applied to a member of Israel, to be erroneous, and sees in it a reference to the elevation of Vespasian. But no heed need to be paid to this interpretation, for there is no doubt that Messianic expectations and dreams greatly contributed towards the rebellion against Rome, "until they [the Jews] by the fall of their capital and their own downfall were enlightened in a most terrible manner concerning their blindness."[5] The pseudo-Christ declares: I am he, and "the time is at hand" (Lk. XXI, 8), namely, the beginning of the Messianic kingdom. Some of the Judeo-Christians, who were not as yet firmly grounded in the faith, were by the appearance and activity of such false Christs exposed to some danger of being shaken in their faith in the true Messias. However, Jesus evidently had in mind still other deceivers, who also asserted that "the time is at hand," *i. e.,* the time of His second coming; these are the false prophets who will cause unrest and confusion among Christians by an abuse of the popular belief in the *parousia* of the Lord. Although we are, therefore, justified by the testimony of history in applying this prophecy to the period preceding the calamity of the year 70, we must nevertheless adhere to the belief that the complete fulfilment of this sign, namely, the appearance of false prophets and false Christs, will occur only before the *parousia.*

b) As the second premonitory sign Our Lord names wars and rebellions. "You shall hear of wars and rumors of wars," *i. e.,* of wars near by and far away. As regards the fulfilment, we may think of Herod Antipas (4 B. C.–39 A. D.) and Aretas,

[4] *B. I.,* VI, 5, 4.
[5] Josephus, *l. c.*

as also of the wars waged after A. D. 58 with the Parthians and other nations on the borders of the Roman Empire. And when Jesus, according to St. Matthew (XXIV, 6) adds: "These things must come to pass, but the end is not yet," or, according to St. Luke (XXI, 9): "These things must first come to pass; but the end is not yet presently," His words may be applied to the events of those days and τὸ τέλος be understood as referring to the end of the tribulations (= wars) here spoken of; however, this interpretation does not exhaust the full meaning of the prophecy, but, as Mt. XXIV, 14 (καὶ τότε ἥξει τὸ τέλος) irrefutably proves, the τὸ τέλος points at the same time to the *parousia* and to the end of the world, the two events whose delay is plainly indicated by the πρῶτον, ἀλλ' οὐκ εὐθέως in St. Luke (XXI, 9).

c) Jesus further predicts the rising of nation against nation, of kingdom against kingdom, epidemics and disasters, such as famines, pestilences, and earthquakes. Regarding the fulfilment, attention may be called to the preludes of the Jewish uprising against Nero, to Vespasian's campaign and the Jewish partisan quarrels, and to the rapid changes of rulers between 68 and 70. Famines occurred during the reign of Claudius (Acts XI, 28) and of Nero, earthquakes took place in the valley of the Jordan and in Asia Minor, where twelve cities were destroyed during the reign of Tiberius, in Phrygia, where Laodicea and Colossae (61),[6] and in Italy, where (63) Pompeii was sorely afflicted in this manner. As an extraordinary omen (cfr. Lk. XXI, 11: φόβηθρα Josephus[7] mentions a sword-like star which stood over the city of Jerusalem when it was destroyed, and a comet which remained in the sky for a whole year. However, this prophecy, too, will not be completely fulfilled until the days that precede the second coming of the Redeemer and the end of the world. The disasters recorded by secular historians for the period preceding the

[6] Orosius, *Hist.*, VII, 7; Tacitus, *Ann.*, XIV, 27.
[7] *B. I.*, V, 3.

Jewish catastrophe were few and singular, whereas the prophecy of Jesus in its full meaning announces such evils as general, afflicting the whole world. Note the expression κατὰ τόπους (Mt. XXIV, 7; Lk. XXI, 11), which, when applied to the three terms λιμοί, λοιμοί, and σεισμοί, means *ubique locorum, i. e.* from place to place (κατὰ τόπους ἑκάστους).

d) The picture so graphically unfolded by Our Lord to his Apostles on Mt. Olivet, of the Jerusalemitic disaster and of the signs preceding the end of the world is supplemented in the Synoptics (Mt. XXIV, 9–14; Mk. XIII, 9–13; Lk. XXI, 12–19) by a few lessons, addressed to the disciples, which originally did not belong to Christ's great prophetic discourse, but to another concerning the future fate of His disciples. The original position of this instruction is indicated by Luke (XXII, 11, 12; cfr. Mt. X, 17–22). However, despite this supplementing of the picture by the sacred writers, it cannot be denied that the (not chronological, but logical) order followed by them is by all means a happy idea; the enmity and persecution foretold by Our Lord in the Sermon on the Mount (Mt. V, 10 ff.) and again in the didactic discourse addressed to His Apostles (X, 15–42), in the connection in which the Synoptics place it, appears as an additional sign of the approaching disaster in the twofold sense aforementioned.

The Acts of the Apostles testify to the fulfilment of the prophecies of Jesus for the period after His Ascension until the destruction of Jerusalem. The enemies of Christianity laid hands upon the Apostles and cast them into prison (Acts IV, 3; V, 18); they scourged them in the synagogues (V, 40); they put James, the brother of John, to death (XII, 1, 2); Stephen and James the Less they dragged before the Jewish tribunals (συνέδρια καὶ συναγωγαί = the Jewish upper and lower courts; Mk. XIII, 9) and executed them (Acts VI, and VII; cfr. Jos., *Ant.*, XX, 9, 1); others were brought before kings and governors, *i. e.*, before the pagan upper and lower courts, *e. g.*, St.

Paul in Caesarea and Rome, where he and St. Peter gave testimony with their blood to the truth of the Gospel. But according to the prediction of Jesus, tongue and wisdom (*i. e.,* eloquence) which no one could withstand was given from above to the persecuted Christians (Acts IV, 8 ff.). That the *"nomen christianum"* was an object of hatred we are told by the Roman historian Tacitus in the oft quoted words that the Christians were *"odium generis humani."* [8] The further prophecy that, in consequence of persecutions and tribulations, many will be scandalized and apostatize from the faith, while some will seek safety for themselves by betraying their fellow-Christians, others allow themselves to be seduced by false teachers, and the charity of many will grow cold (Mt. XXIV, 10–12), was not completely fulfilled during the first decades of the Apostolic age. It refers chiefly to the period between the destruction of Jerusalem and the *parousia,* especially to the period immediately preceding the latter, and hence still awaits complete fulfilment. The words "he that shall persevere" (*i. e.,* in faith and virtue), shall be saved (*i. e.,* attain life everlasting; Mt. XXIV, 13), may be referred both to the beginning of Christianity and to the end of the world. As regards the preaching of the Gospel throughout the whole world, the fulfilment of this prophecy had been accomplished in a certain, though imperfect, sense in the period before 70, by the missionary activity of the Apostles, especially of St. Paul. The Gospel had been preached in at least the chief countries and provinces of the Graeco-Roman empire (cfr. Rom. I, 5, 8,); hence this prophecy may be applied to the destruction of Jerusalem. However, it may also be interpreted in this sense: the Day of the General Judgment will come when the Gospel has been made known to all nations, so that each nation received a knowledge of Christianity at least once during its existence. [Note 3.]

[8] *Ann.,* XV, 44.

3. Second Part of the Prophecy

(Mt. XXIV, 15–22; Mk. XIII, 14–23; Lk. XXI, 20–24)

Jesus here speaks of the calamity in Judea and the destruction of Jerusalem, and instructs His disciples how to act during this catastrophe. St. Luke plainly describes the disaster, which Jesus foretold to the Jewish people and which begins with the siege and ends with the taking and destruction of the city, as an event by itself, apart from the end of the world, passing on to the latter event in XXI, 25. The calamity which was to come upon Judea and Jerusalem receives a separate notice also in St. Matthew (XXIV, 15–19), but the first Evangelist immediately returns (XXIV, 20) to a combination of both events. A characteristic of St. Matthew's and St. Mark's narrative is the expression: "When you shall see the abomination of desolation standing in the holy place," *i. e.*, where it should not be, an expression borrowed from Daniel (IX, 27; XI, 31; XII, 11). The Old Testament prophecy refers primarily to the profanation of the Temple by Antiochus Epiphanes, who erected an altar to Zeus in the Jewish Temple (cfr. 1 Macc. I, 54; VI, 7). In citing this word of Daniel, Jesus can only mean that the event foretold by the prophet, and which had already been fulfilled, was a type of a similar event which was to occur in the Christian era.[9] What had Jesus in mind when saying this? Certainly not the Antichrist, nor the statue erected by Titus on the site of the Temple; much less the statue said to have been set up by Caligula in the Temple,[10] nor the equestrian statue of Hadrian; but He had in mind the scenes of terror and bloodshed enacted in the court of the Temple by the party of the Zealots before the outbreak and in the beginning of the Jewish War.[11] The defilement of the sanc-

[9] That the Jews referred the prophecy of Daniel to Jerusalem is attested by Josephus, *Ant.*, X, 11, 7; XII, 7, 6.
[10] Cfr. Josephus, *Ant.*, XVIII, 8, 2 ff.
[11] Josephus, *B. I.*, II, 14 ff.

tury by native hands was completed by the Gentiles in the year 70 A. D. by the destruction of the Temple and the profanation of its precincts. St. Mark, who wrote for the Roman Christians, changed the ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ (cfr. Acts VI, 13) into ὅπου οὐ δεῖ, and instead of ἑστός (neuter), although retaining βδέλυγμα, afterwards wrote ἑστηκότα (masculi.; *constructio ad sensum*), evidently because he had in mind the sacrilegious invaders of the Temple. St. Luke omitted the expression βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως and simply wrote: When you shall see Jerusalem compassed by a hostile army, then know that the desolation thereof is at hand. [Note 4.]

The directions given by Jesus for the behavior of His disciples, the Christians, are stated alike in St. Matthew (XXIV, 16–20) and St. Mark (XIII, 14[b]–18), almost to the letter. When the indicated signs begin to appear, the Christians should flee without delay, and those who, on account of their physical condition, are unable to flee, are to be pitied, and all Christians should pray that the external impediments to flight be removed. When Our Lord says: "He that is on the house-top, let him not come down," this must not be understood as an exhortation to seek safety by fleeing over the flat roofs of the neighboring houses; the stress lies rather on that which is contained in the infinitive (ἆραι): they should not cause delay by taking along provisions and valuables, but flee at once down the stairs and through the yard into the open; and when He admonishes those in the field not to turn back (μὴ ἐπιστρέψαι ὀπίσω), He does not think of a return from the field into the house, but His warning is: He who is in the field must not take even so much time as to reach the place where he laid his coat when he began his work. The exhortation to pray that their flight may not occur on the Sabbath, appears somewhat strange. According to the Jewish law it was permitted to travel a distance of 2000 paces or 6 stadia (furlongs) on the Sabbath day (cfr. Acts I, 12). One would imagine that for the time which Jesus had in mind, the law of the Sabbath had been abrogated, and yet He seems

to make it a duty for the Christians to observe it during the period between 60–70. It will not do to brush aside this difficulty by saying that the mention of the impediments to flight is made merely by way of illustration, and that Jesus simply accommodates Himself to the Jewish views and to the circumstances in which His hearers lived. No, Jesus here makes due allowance for the observance of the Jewish laws and customs still in vogue among the Christians of Palestine at the time when His predictions concerning Jerusalem were fulfilled (cfr. the Epistle of St. James and Acts XXI, 20). St. Mark omits mentioning the Sabbath because it was unnecessary for his pagan-Christian readers, who would not think of the Sabbath as a serious impediment to escape from danger. St. Luke does not speak of those who will be on the roof or in the field at the time of the outbreak of the disaster; according to him Jesus says: Let those who are in [the province of] Judea flee to the mountains, and let those who are in Jerusalem depart in haste, and those who are in the country stay away from the city. Moreover, the prediction according to Luke speaks of the killing of one part of the inhabitants and the leading away as captives of another part, and the permanent subjugation of the "Holy City" by the Gentiles. To see in this a deviation from historical accuracy is unjustified; the third Evangelist evidently wrote after careful research, as in his account of the Last Supper, where he alone unequivocally distinguishes the Pasch from the Eucharistic banquet. Note what is said in Lk. XXI, 22: These are days of vengeance, that all things may be fulfilled that are written in the books of the Old Testament concerning the destruction of the city and the Temple. Without doubt the reference is primarily to the prophet Daniel (cfr. 4 Kgs. XXI, 12 ff.; Is. III, 1 ff.; Jr. VII, 3 ff.), where such a prediction is found. St. Luke thus furnishes as it were a substitute for the omission of Daniel's prophecy; the tenor of Lk. XXI, 23 is identical with that of Matthew and Mark. The absence of all

mention of the Sabbath is even more comprehensible in Luke than in Mark. [Note 5.]

In Mt. XXIV, 20 (= Mk. XIII, 18), and still plainer in XXIV, 21, the reference to the end of the world is repeated. Jesus foretells a tribulation the like of which has never before occurred in the history of the world; the reference to Jerusalem continues, but a new one is added: the calamity in Judea appears as a type of the intensified tribulation which shall occur before the end of the world. The words in Mt. XXIV, 22 (= Mk. XIII, 20): unless (by a divine decree) those days were shortened, nothing would be saved, *i. e.,* all men would perish, refer to Jerusalem: the entire Jewish population of the city (at the time of the siege) shall perish; but on account of divine mercy and compassion a considerable number of them will be saved for the sake of the elect, *i. e.,* those whom God has chosen to embrace Christianity. Many of these will become Christians after the calamity, and some at least of their descendants will in course of time accept the Christian faith. Regarding the end of the world, the Evangelist means to say: The days of tribulation before the second coming of the Lord shall be shortened for the sake of those called to salvation, *i. e.,* in order that they may not be tried beyond their ability, but may remain steadfast amid the great mass of those whose lot will be eternal perdition, God in His mercy will shorten the days of tribulation. [Note 6.]

The second apocalyptic picture, which primarily, though not exclusively, describes the calamity that is to come upon Judea, is supplemented in Matthew and Mark by a warning against false prophets (Mt. XXIV, 23–28; Mk. XIII, 21–23); this supplement no doubt is in its original context in Luke in a discourse of Our Lord on the coming of His kingdom and the *parousia* (Lk XVII, 20–27). The much mooted proverbial saying, "Wheresoever the body shall be, thither will the eagles be gathered together" (Lk. XVII, 37) has a fitting place

in the context of St. Luke; it is preceded by a saying of Jesus regarding the division of mankind when the Son of man shall come to judgment, the acceptance of one portion and the rejection of the other. There is no need of asking "where"; for as the buzzards assemble around the carrion, so without a special invitation, solely guided by their natural instinct, men will come from all parts of the world to be judged in the place where the Son of man shall appear. There is no need of an announcement or admonition: lo here is He! lo there is He! The second coming of the Son of man will be preceded by the appearance of false Christs—seducers who will exploit the tribulations and sorrows of the latter days against Christ and His Kingdom; under pretense of being sent by God, they will claim to be saviours and liberators from distress. The two terms ψευδόχριστοι and ψευδοπροφῆται are synonymous, describing men who claim to be sent by God to proclaim His will. Jesus says of them: They shall show great signs and wonders, *i. e.*, perform astounding deeds by means of diabolical influence, so as to deceive, if possible, even the elect. The phrase "if possible" indicates the impossibility of seducing those who have been confirmed in divine grace. Jesus warns His disciples against these false prophets, who will say: Here is Christ or there is He, in the desert or in the closets (*i. e.*, in secret apartments). The disciples are told not to believe such false claimants; the coming of the Son of man will be plainly and clearly perceived by all men everywhere. [Note 7.]

4. Third Part of the Prophetic Discourse of Jesus

(Mt. XXIV, 29–31; Mk. XIII, 24–27; Lk. XXI, 25–28)

This part can refer only to the end of the world and the *parousia* and to the preceding events. As signs which will in-

dicate the final catastrophe, Jesus specifies tremendous changes in the sidereal heavens, namely, a darkening (not merely an eclipse) of the sun, a tearing of the stars out of their orbits, and a convulsion of the forces (*δυνάμεις*) which hold the heavens together. These signs will appear before the universal conflagration, which will be confined to the earth and its surrounding atmosphere, of which the Prince of the Apostles speaks (2 Pt. III, 10), and to which Our Lord alludes in Mt. XXIV 35. We must take into account, in the first place, that Jesus accommodates Himself to the cosmic views of His contemporaries, and, in the second place, that He has at the same time in mind the prophetic descriptions of the Old Testament (cfr. Is. XIII, 10; Ez. XXXII, 7, etc.), which express the truth that the predicted changes in the sidereal heavens will not bring about the destruction, but constitute a transition to a glorified state (cfr. Is. XXX, 26). The ancient commentators correctly interpreted the sign of the Son of man as the cross; this will appear in full splendor, and then the Son of man will immediately appear as judge, and the impending calamity will arouse universal fear and consternation. After the elect have been gathered together by the angels, Christ will come in the clouds of heaven (cfr. Dan. VII, 13), with great power (as indicated by the accompanying hosts of angels) and majesty (by way of contrast to His first coming). According to St. Luke (XXI, 28) Jesus adds: The tribulation will be great during the period preceding the coming of the Son of man; hence there will be great fear and distress; but the true believer in Christ must not lose courage, for when these things (*i. e.*, the signs mentioned in XXI, 25 and the following verses) begin to appear, then you will know that your redemption is at hand. By *ἀπολύτρωσις* here, as in Eph. IV, 30, He means the Messianic Redemption, the consummation of the faithful in the glorified Kingdom of Christ into which they will enter. [Note 8.]

5. The Parable of the Fig Tree

(Mt. XXIV, 32–35; Mk. XIII, 28–31; Lk. XXI, 29–33)

What is the meaning of the parable of the budding fig tree and Christ's declaration concerning it (Mt. XXIV, 32–34)? This question has of late been answered thus: In this parable we have the answer of Jesus to the question of His disciples regarding the time of the destruction of Jerusalem. This interpretation is not incorrect, but it is one-sided. It is forced upon us by the words: ὅτι οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη. "This generation" can be understood only of the people living at the time. The parable describes the budding forth of the young kingdom of God. Jesus means to say: "When you will see the kingdom of God, which I came to establish, unfold its energies among men (cfr. Mk. IX, 1), and when the signs of which I have spoken to you (Lk. XXI, 20 ff.), begin to appear, then know that the destruction of Jerusalem and of the Temple is nigh. But the words: ἕως ἂν πάντα ταῦτα γένηται, and: μέχρις οὗ πάντα ταῦτα γένηται, and: ἕως ἂν πάντα γένηται, must not be referred solely to Jerusalem, but also to the second coming of Christ and its premonitory signs. When all the signs foretold in Mt. XXIV, 4 ff. appear, then the second coming of Christ and the end of the world is near.

The phrase ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη, according to many commentators, is here used in a double sense, meaning, on the one hand, the disciples who will live to see the destruction of Jerusalem, and, on the other, the unconverted Jews who will live to see the signs of the *parousia* and the *parousia* itself. This interpretation is untenable; on account of the αὕτη the phrase can mean only the generation living at the time of Christ, to which the disciples belong. According to His prophecy this generation will live to see "all that," *i. e.*, the signs preceding the destruction of Jerusalem and the destruction itself. Now, since these signs are essentially the same as those preceding the second coming of Christ and the last judgment, and since the calamity which is

to befall Jerusalem is a coming of the Lord to judgment (the first act in the judgment of the world in the Messianic era), those who live in the year 70 will, in a certain sense, also see the signs of the last judgment and of the second coming of Christ, and that coming itself. [Note 9.]

The apocalyptic discourse is followed in SS. Mark and Luke by an exhortation to watchfulness. The transition to this topic is accomplished in Mark (XIII, 32) by a declaration regarding the uncertainty of the day and the hour when the *parousia* will take place. What is here said about the Son of man not knowing the future was understood by the Fathers to apply to His *human* knowledge. The wording of the Gospel, however, offers no support for such an explanation and it will, therefore, be more correct to say: The Son, as Son of God, knows the day and hour of the *parousia,* but not in the sense that He is willing to communicate His knowledge to men; on the contrary, the Father has reserved to Himself the determination of the time when the secret will be revealed. St. Luke omits Christ's reference to the uncertainty of the time of the *parousia,* no doubt because he intended to quote it in another place, namely, at the beginning of his "second work," where (Acts I, 7) we find the *logion* in a somewhat altered form. When Jesus was with His disciples for the last time, before taking definite leave of them in Jerusalem, and exhorted them to remain in the city until the descent of the Holy Ghost, they asked Him: "Lord, wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom of Israel?" He replied: "It is not for you to know the times or moments, which the Father hath put in his own power." On this occasion the Saviour emphasizes another aspect of the matter, namely, that the disciples have no right to know. He does not affirm that He Himself does not know; before His Passion He declared the date of the *parousia* and the end of the world to be a secret which the Father is not willing to reveal to men,—at least *not now.* St. Luke, by recording the words spoken by Jesus at His last apparition, has filled the gap in his Gospel

after XXI, 23, and Acts I, 7 may be considered as a sort of complement to Mk. XIII, 32. Like St. Mark, St. Matthew also records the words of Jesus regarding the uncertainty of the time of the *parousia* (XXIV, 36). Peculiar to him is the allusion to the history of the Deluge (XXIV, 37), a full understanding of which the first Evangelist could take for granted on the part of his readers; and since, by comparing the days of the *parousia* with those of the Deluge (XXIV, 37–39) and by the next following examples of the persons surprised in the exercise of their vocation (XXIV, 40–41), the suddenness of the *parousia* and of the day of judgment is illustrated, a happy way of preparing the disciples for the exhortation to vigilance which follows. [Note 10.]

1. In the historical introduction to the prophetic discourse of Jesus a noteworthy variation occurs in the Synoptics. According to St. Matthew, "the disciples," when leaving the precincts of the Temple, call Our Lord's attention to "the buildings" (XXIV, 1); according to St. Mark, it is "one of his disciples" (XIII, 1); according to St. Luke, "some spoke" of the grandeur of the Temple (XXI, 5). Still more conspicuous is the difference between SS. Matthew and Mark in describing the beginning of the discourse on Mt. Olivet. According to St. Matthew (XXIV, 3), the disciples approached Christ privately and said: "Tell us, when shall these things be?" According to St. Mark, "Peter and James, and John and Andrew asked him apart: Tell us, when shall these things be?" The first difference is easily explained. St. Matthew, as is his custom, employs general terms, somewhat as in XXVI, 8, while St. Mark is more specific (cfr. XIV, 4) and mentions one speaker and questioner, who expressed the thoughts of several. St. Luke says "some," which may mean some of the multitude or some of the disciples, but, in view of Matthew and Mark, must be construed as referring to some of the latter. Regarding the second difference it is said that the first three Evangelists assembled instructions given by Our Lord in different localities and at different times into one discourse and omit giving it its complete historical frame. The question regarding the last judgment and the second coming of Christ, which occupied the minds of the Jews at the time of Our Lord, comprised things which Jesus had communicated only to His more intimate disciples (= the Apostles), but we must assume that He spoke of the specifically Messianic subject in gen-

eral also to the people in the Temple. St. Mark has only the first revelation in view, St. Matthew the second, St. Luke the third.[12] As we have already intimated, we prefer to cling to Mt. Olivet as the scene of the discourse, in view of the definite statements of SS. Matthew and Mark, and this so much the more because the account of St. Luke may be made to harmonize with the others without doing violence to either of them. The deviation between Mark and Matthew can be explained by the fact that Mark served as an interpreter to Peter; like so many other accounts in Mark's Gospel, this narrative may be traced to St. Peter, who was probably in the habit of couching his story of the event on Mt. Olivet in the words: "When Jesus sat on Mt. Olivet, over against the Temple, I asked Him privately, and James, John, and Andrew joined in the query." St. Mark converted this into the third person: Peter asked him, etc.

Note the reading: ἐπηρώτα, attested by Codices Aleph and B. L. The greater exactness in the account of St. Mark in this case we owe to his informant, St. Peter. The manner in which St. Mark describes the question asked by St. Peter in the name of three other disciples, does not disprove the statement of St. Matthew that the disciples, *i. e.*, the twelve Apostles, were present during the prophetic discourse. Having acceded to the request, Jesus called the other Apostles. It would be quite strange if, on the occasion of such an important revelation, all the Apostles had not been present on the evening of the 12th Nisan. In employing the expression παρουσία (XXIV, 3) St. Matthew stands alone. In other passages, *e. g.*, where he refers to the *parousia* and the last judgment, He employs the expression "the day, the day of the Son of man" (*e. g.*, VII, 22; cfr. Lk. XVII, 24, 30). St. Luke in two places (XXI, 7 and XXIII, 42 according to Codex D) has: ἡ ἔλευσις, the coming, the advent. The term παρουσία is met with frequently in St. Paul and no doubt was current among the Christians of the first century to express the second coming of the Messias in His glory. Whether Our Lord Himself and His Apostles in the time before the Resurrection and Ascension used this expression or its Aramaic equivalent appears more than doubtful. St. Matthew no doubt in XXIV, 3 ascribed to the days of Our Lord's earthly life a term in vogue at the time he wrote his Gospel. The question of the disciples regarding the destruction of Jerusalem, the *parousia*, and the end of the world, cannot appear strange to us. We, of course, keep the two events separate; but in the minds of the Apostles the downfall of the Jewish metropolis, the coming of Jesus in His glory, and the end of the world coalesced into

[12] *Revue Bibl.*, 1896, 176 f.

one; they imagined that these three events would occur simultaneously.

2. Josephus gives a brief account of the Theudas revolt and the rebellion stirred up by the sons of Judas the Galilean.[13] Theudas deceived a large number of people, who followed him to the Jordan with all their possessions. He claimed to be a prophet and promised that he would divide the waters of the river and prepare a passage for his followers, thus recalling Moses and the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea. The Procurator Fadus sent out a detachment of cavalry, which unexpectedly attacked the multitude, killed many, and made others prisoners. Theudas himself was decapitated. Still more meagre is the account Josephus gives us of the two sons of Judas the Galilean, whom the successor of Cuspius Fadus, Tiberius Alexander, caused to be nailed to the cross. Of late years some light has been thrown on this episode by a fragment of the *Assumptio Mosis* (Ἀνάληψις Μωϋσέως), discovered by Ceriani in an old Latin translation preserved in the Ambrosian Library at Milan. The original was no doubt in Hebrew or Aramaic; but the Latin translation was made from the Greek.[14] In this apocryphal document Moses is introduced as addressing before his death Josue, whom he had made his successor in office; the conclusion relates the death of Moses himself. Moses foretells to Josue in brief outline the history of Israel from its entrance into Palestine until A. D. 46. The pseudo-Moses also speaks of the seventy week-years of Daniel (IX, 25 ff.), in the place where he speaks of an anointed but insolent king, who will not be of sacerdotal birth; an audacious and godless man, he shall put to death old and young and spare no one; he shall rule the Jews for thirty-four years (chap. 6). The reference is to Herod the Great, who shall have sons who will reign for a short time as his successors, but be exterminated by God "after the sixty-two weeks," *i. e.*, in the sixty-third week, that is, in the Nisan of 750. Then cohorts will come into the country and lay waste the city and the sanctuary (750, under the leadership of the imperial governor Quintilius Varus).[15] Upon the death of Herod the Great follow seven weeks, *i. e.*, forty-nine years, which will reach to 799 (A. D. 46, two years after the death of Herod Agrippa I.; chap. 7). Then the Kingdom of God will begin; God will appear as the Most High and punish the nations. Israel, however, will be happy (chap. 10). There is considerable diversity of opinion regarding the time when this document was written. Volkmar places its

[13] *Ant.*, XX, 5, 1–2; cfr. *Ant.*, XIX, 1, 1, 6.

[14] Edited by Hilgenfeld, *Clem. Rom. Epist.*, 1866 and 1876, and by Volkmar, 1867.

[15] Jos., *Ant.*, XVII, 10, 1 ff.

composition in the year 137–138. But there can hardly be a doubt that it originated in A. D. 40. The author certainly belonged to the party of the Zealots. Now, it is quite worthy of note that, according to Josephus,[16] Judas the Galilean, the father of the two brothers James and Simon, who were crucified for sedition by the Procurator Tiberius Alexander, was the founder of the sect of Zealots, who "had an ungovernable love for liberty and acknowledged God as the sole Lord and King of the Jewish people." Taking all this into consideration, we cannot but see the connection between the *"Assumptio Mosis"* and the rebellion of the sons of Judas and that of Theudas. The apocryphal work predicted that the year 799 (A. D. 46) would be the time of the beginning of the (Messianic) Kingdom, and this prophecy of the pseudo-Moses was the cause of the rebellion of Theudas as well as of the two sons of Judas the Galilean.

3. The supplementing of the apocalyptic picture by the three Synoptics (Mt. XXIV, 9–14; Mk. XIII, 9–13; Lk. XXI, 12–19) is not performed in exactly the same manner. The gist of the prophecy, it is true, is found also in Matthew (XXIV, 9): a persecution threatening the disciples, contempt and hatred on the part of the world, which seeks its gratification in violence. In connection with this, Jesus, according to the first Evangelist, points out the sad effects which the tribulations will produce in many Christians: numerous apostasies, mutual betrayal and hatred, the rising up of false prophets and the decay of charity in many hearts. According to SS. Mark and Luke, the prediction is limited to the persecution which threatens the disciples. This variation in the accounts is easily explained. St. Matthew has recorded in detail (chap. X) the instruction of Jesus to His Apostles, from which is taken the supplement of the first picture, and has minutely described (X, 17–22) the persecution, the behavior of the disciples during it, etc.; therefore, he did not wish to repeat himself in this place (XXIV, 9 ff.). Of course, we may here think of the heretics of those early days (Simon Magus, etc.). However, as regards the fulfilment of the prophecy recorded by the Evangelist in this place, we shall never be able to demonstrate that it has come to pass in the full sense in the first era of Christianity. Jesus not only foretold scandals and apostasies, disloyal, unchristian behavior in most of His followers (τῶν πολλῶν), but also that charity would grow cold to a very great extent (XXIV, 12). This prophecy still awaits its fulfilment in the period which will precede the advent of the Antichrist. We regard Mt. XXIV,

[16] *Ant.* XVIII, 1, 6.

9–14 as a supplement which the Evangelist took from a former discourse of Christ, and hence fancy the first apocalyptic picture as restricted to Mt. XXIV, 4–8 and see in XXIV, 8 a transition to the second picture, which begins at XXIV, 15 and describes the fate of Jerusalem. The Saviour says: There will be wars, nations will rise against nations, suffering and afflictions of every description will come over the human race; all this is only the beginning of sorrows; these tribulations bear a relation to that which follows, similar to the pains preceding childbirth and the pangs of labor itself; unspeakable tribulations will come before the destruction of Jerusalem and the end of the world. In St. Luke (XXI, 8–10) who, in the proper historical place (XII, 11, 12), touches only briefly on the prediction of Jesus concerning the persecution and therefore joins it with details to the first apocalyptic picture, the saying of Jesus (XXI, 18) at first blush sounds strange. For shortly before (XXI, 16) Our Lord had spoken not only of the betrayal of many of His disciples by their own kin, but also of the violent death awaiting many Christians; how can He then add in the same breath: "But a hair of your head shall not perish"? This saying, in this connection, has been declared by some exegetes a disarrangement of the train of thought and therefore not original; moreover, this verse is missing in the Codex Syr. Curet. as also in Marcion. However, there is really no reason to take umbrage. Consider above all the parallelism: as in XXI, 14 f. the promise of assistance from above is placed side by side with the prophecy regarding the dragging of the disciples before Jewish and gentile tribunals, so here are placed side by side the prediction of general hatred (XXI, 17), the assurance of immunity from harm (XXI, 18), which, it is true, in view of the words in XXI, 19: "by your patience (steadfastness) you shall possess your souls," *i. e.,* for eternal life, must be understood of the saving of their souls; for Jesus says: Be not afraid; your enemies can kill your body, but they cannot harm your soul; even your bodies you shall receive back on the great day, *i. e.,* after the glorious resurrection. He does not demand of His hearers a deep understanding, nor does the Evangelist of his readers, because the context helps to make the meaning clear.

4. As regards the mutual relation of the accounts of the three Synoptics of the second part of Christ's address (Mt. XXIV, 14–25 and the parallel passages) Resch regards the account of St. Luke as the original one, and that of St. Matthew (and St. Mark) as secondary on account of the expression *βδέλυγμα,* taken from Daniel, and on account of the phrase *ὁ ἀναγινώσκων νοείτω.* We cannot accept this interpretation. The phrase *βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως* undoubtedly offers great dif-

ficulty. We search for the sense of this expression in trying to picture to ourselves the fulfilment of the prophecy of Jesus in regard to Jerusalem, However, this very difficulty furnishes the strongest proof of the originality of the text of St. Matthew and St. Mark as compared with the smoother and easier version of St. Luke. Moreover, the phrase ὅτι ἤγγικεν ἡ ἐρήμωσις αὐτῆς (Lk. XXI, 20) betrays the dependence of the third Evangelist upon a text in which the Danielic ἐρήμωσις played a rôle, hence upon the text of St. Matthew and St. Mark. The difficulty of the phrase βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως is undeniable, but we must remember that it has been created to a great extent by the commentators themselves. Some exegetes find expressed in the words of Our Lord according to Matthew the idea: When you shall see Jerusalem taken and the Temple desecrated by the βδέλυγμα, then flee from Jerusalem and Judea,—and they regard this warning as absurd, inasmuch as at this juncture flight would be too late. This objection would be valid if the βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως had to be referred to the desecration of the "holy places" at the close of the war, and not rather to the atrocities of A. D. 66, described by Josephus, in which year, as a matter of fact, the Christians of Jerusalem emigrated to Pella. Although the ἤγγικεν ἡ ἐρήμωσις of the third Evangelist recalls St. Matthew and the prophecy of Daniel, and he was evidently led to adopt this phrase by the perusal of these two hagiographers, Lk. XXI, 20 must not simply be identified with Mt. XXIV, 15. St. Luke by no means, as Loisy maintains[17] sees the destruction of Jerusalem in the final siege, but, on the contrary, he considers the encompassing of the city by the armies as the beginning of the drama which was to terminate in the destruction of city and Temple. He wishes to say: When armies encompass the city, its destruction is nigh. According to Josephus[18] Titus encamped around Jerusalem on the 14th Nisan, A. D. 70; this was the first act of the "destruction," which reached its climax in the taking of the city. According to SS. Matthew and Mark, however, Jesus says: The destruction of the city shall be preceded by a defilement of the Temple and a profanation of the Jewish cult, and the events which occurred in 66 according to Josephus, loudly proclaim the fulfilment of the prophecy. It is certain that upon the taking of the city in the year 70 followed its devastation as predicted by Our Lord according to St. Luke. Hence the account of SS. Matthew and Mark and that of St. Luke supplement one another. We have, therefore, no right to interpret the words of Jesus in Matthew-Mark on the one hand and Luke on the

[17] *Revue Bibl.*, 1896, p. 187.
[18] *B. I.*, V, 13, 7; VI, 9, 3; V, 3, 1.

other as identical in meaning and implication, as Resch does when he says: The abomination of desolation consists in the devastation of Judea and Jerusalem; we have here a Hebraism designed to emphasize the dreadful, terrible character of the catastrophe. This abomination, he adds, was an accomplished fact from the moment when the Roman army encompassed Jerusalem for the purpose of conquering and destroying it. We hold that the abomination of desolation occurred in the "holy place" in the year 66, when the entire precinct of the Temple and the building itself was the theatre of bloody scenes (Matthew-Mark), and when the Roman armies surrounded Jerusalem (A. D. 70), "the desolation," *i. e.,* the destruction of the city and the Temple (Luke) was nigh. Others (*e. g.,* Johannes Weiss) connect and identify Lk. XXI, 20 with the divine revelation which, according to Eusebius,[19] warned the leading Christians of Jerusalem to leave the city before the outbreak of the war, an assumption which presupposes that the third Gospel was written after 66 or 70. But that would be interpreting the account of Eusebius arbitrarily. This church historian was well informed concerning the prophecy of the destruction of the city and the Temple, for he expressly refers to it in the same chapter. What he means is that, at the beginning of the war, a special warning was given to the Christians of Jerusalem to leave the city in view of the impending disaster. The warning was probably given through a Christian endowed with the gift of prophecy, who, basing on the prediction made by Jesus, indicated the right moment and urged his fellow-Christians to flee, just as Agabus of Antioch at one time had foretold "that there would be a great famine over the whole world" and thereby became the occasion of a collection taken up for the relief of his brethren in Judea (Acts XI, 27, 28).

The parenthetical phrase in Matthew-Mark: ὁ ἀναγινώσκων νοείτω is objected to on the ground that Jesus could not have spoken of a reading (ἀναγινώσκειν) of His own words (Resch). This is quite true; but the words must obviously not be interpreted in this manner. If they are viewed as words of Jesus, their sense is evidently this: He who reads the written prophecy of Daniel, let him endeavor to understand its meaning and heed the warning which it contains. We admit that this interpretation is not quite satisfactory. Such an admonition of Jesus to His hearers appears paltry and superfluous; for it goes without saying that the Old Testament, and particularly the prophecies, should be read with attention. Moreover, there is this other difficulty that the words are contained also in the Gospel of St. Mark (XIII, 14), though without any mention being made of Daniel. Consequently the meaning

[19] *H. E.,* III, 5, 3.

of the words, according to St. Mark, can only be to call the attention of the readers of his Gospel to the utterance of Jesus. Taking this circumstance into consideration, we are prompted to regard St. Mark as the correct interpreter of the words reported by St. Matthew and to conclude that the words ὁ ἀναγινώσκων νοείτω in St. Matthew are not words of Jesus, but of the Evangelist, who intended to impress his readers with the great importance of the Saviour's prediction, by saying: Mark well the moment when the catastrophe announced by Jesus shall come to pass, and be guided by the instructions He has given, so that you may escape the threatening danger in time. The words ὁ ἀναγινώσκων νοείτω, taken as a parenthetic remark of St. Matthew, permit us to infer that his gospel was composed at a time when no signs of the fulfillment of the prophecy were as yet to be seen. St. Luke makes no reference to the prophecy of Daniel, but we are not, therefore, justified in concluding that his Gospel was composed after the event.

5. μηδὲ σαββάτῳ (Mt. XXIV, 20) is very important as showing the falsity of the opinion which many held regarding the relation of Jesus to the Mosaic law. He Himself declared in the Sermon on the Mount (Mt. V, 17), after His return from the festival (Pentecost; Jn. V, 1), and with plain reference (μὴ νομίσητε) to the accusations that had been made against Him on that occasion, that it was not His purpose to break the Sabbath and abrogate the law of Moses (Jn. V, 16, 18; cfr. VII, 23), but that He intended to fulfil the law in the most perfect manner. This same attitude He required of His disciples, who, by the reception of the Baptism of the Spirit, had already entered into the Messianic Kingdom (Mt. V, 13; Jn. IV, 1). He demanded of them as perfect a fulfilment of the Mosaic law (δικαιοσύνη) as possible, far transcending that of the Pharisees, and solemnly declared that the law of Moses was to continue in full force until it had been fulfilled by His death and the New Testament had been established in His Blood (ἕως πάντα γένηται; Mt. V, 18). The words: μηδὲ σαββάτῳ (Mt. XXIV, 20), however, show that the Saviour regarded the Mosaic law as obligatory even after His death, at least in Judea, until the destruction of Jerusalem. (Cfr. Acts XXI, 20.) Josephus describes the fulfilment of Christ's prediction of the disaster which overtook Judea and Jerusalem. What is said in Lk. XXI, 20 is elucidated by Josephus.[20] As early as A. D. 65, he tells us, the Roman governor Gessius Florus sent legions to Jerusalem to quell disturbances in the city. In consequence of a revelation made to the Christian in 66, they fled to Pella, a town east of the Jordan.[21] A. D. 66

[20] *B. I.*, II, 14, 6 ff.
[21] Eusebius, *H. E.*, III, 5, 3.

the governor of Syria, Cestius, marched against Jerusalem, but soon withdrew. The retreat turned into flight, the Jews pursued him as far as Antipatris and returned in triumph to the capital (October, 66). War to the bitter end was now inevitable.[22] In the spring of 70 Titus marched against the city, and the actual siege began.[23] Josephus also testifies to the fulfilment of the words of Jesus regarding the frightful distress in Jerusalem and the fate of its inhabitants (Lk. XXI, 23, 24), when he says that more than a million perished during the siege of the city, 97,000 were taken prisoners and transported to Egypt and other provinces of the empire.[24] Even the pagans looked upon the disaster as a divine punishment (Lk. XXI, 20). Titus said when entering the city: "We have been victorious with the help of God; God alone could drive the Jews from such a stronghold; for what could men or battering-rams accomplish against such massive masonry?" [25] Finally, Jesus predicted that the destruction of Jerusalem by the gentiles would begin with the capture of the city and continue to the time which God had allotted to the gentiles for carrying out His judgments. This period will be completely fulfilled only at the approach of the end of the world. To-day the guilt-laden city is in the power of "the nations" and under the dominion of foreign governments. The attempt of Emperor Julian the Apostate to restore the Jewish Temple for the purpose of refuting the prophecy of Christ was frustrated by divine intervention, as related by a pagan writer, Ammianus Marcellinus (23, 1).

Apoc. XI, 2, which has a similar wording as Lk. XXI, 24, refers not to the material city of Jerusalem, but to the unbelieving Jewry, whose contemptuous treatment by "the nations" is foretold as well as the fact that before the end of the world the Jews shall once more be invited to repentance and conversion, and some will heed the call (XI, 13; cfr. Rom. XI, 25).

6. The interpretation of Mt. XXIV, 15–22 and Mk. XXIII, 14–21 was not uniform even in the early days of Christianity. Some writers, *e. g.,* Irenaeus, Hilary, and Gregory, referred the entire passage to the end of the world, while others (Chrysostom, Theophylact, and Euthemius) referred it solely to the destruction of Jerusalem. A kind of "intermediary" opinion, lying between the two extremes, was held by Augustine, Jerome, and Bede, who apply the prophetic words of Jesus to both the destruction of Jerusalem and the end of the world. This

[22] Jos., *B. I.,* II, 19, 1–9.
[23] Jos. *B. I.,* V. I, 1 ff.
[24] *B. I.,* VI, 9, 2–3.
[25] *B. I.,* VI, 9, 1.

view alone is the only true one, in view of the second part of our text (Mt. XXIV, 21–22; Mk. XIII, 18–20). It need not appear strange to us that Jesus in His answer refers to both events, since the disciples had joined them together by associating in point of time the second coming of Christ in His glory at the end of the world with the destruction of Jerusalem. Even after the Ascension of Jesus and the descent of the Holy Ghost, they entertained the same notion.

Of late it has been controverted that the Apostles believed the end of the world as well as the destruction of Jerusalem to be near at hand; at least after the coming of the Holy Ghost, it is asserted, they could not possibly labor under such a delusion. However, the error of the Apostles and early disciples in this matter was merely chronological, not dogmatic, *i. e.*, it referred to no revealed doctrine. For Christ did not reveal anything regarding the day and the hour of His second coming (Mt. XXIV, 36; Mk. XIII, 32; cfr. Acts I, 7). Nor did the Holy Ghost make any such revelation, because He was to develop and elucidate the revelations made by Our Lord, but not to reveal anything essentially new (Jn. XVI, 13; XV, 15), least of all a mystery the revelation of which the Father had reserved to Himself (Mk. XIII, 32). Because of the state of mind of His disciples, Jesus couched the prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem and of the end of the world, in connection with the prophecy of Daniel, in veiled language, which could be understood to mean: There will come upon Jerusalem a relatively short period of devastation, of religious persecution and of various visitations, and this period will end with the glorious return of the Messias. The time of distress shall be shortened, however, because otherwise all mankind (all flesh) would perish, and God is not willing to deliver up all His elect to death (Mt. XXIV, 22; Mk. XIII, 19 sq.) The elect, it is true, were forced to leave Jerusalem and Judea when the abomination of desolation began (A. D. 66); but "all flesh" is a general term which shows that the whole world will be given over to tribulation at the second coming of the Messias, and the time of tribulation will be abbreviated for all the elect, in order that they may not be lost. Such language on the part of Jesus did not prevent His hearers from misunderstanding Him in regard to the connection existing between the destruction of Jerusalem and the end of the world.

It is said that St. Luke presents quite a different picture to his readers, but this is not so. True, he separates and describes first of all the fate of the Jews overtaken by the anger of God (XXI, 22–24); this is done evidently on account of the pagan converts, who did not share the notion of an inseparable connection between God's vengeance on Jerusalem and the end of the world, and therefore interpreted Christ's

prophecy regarding the devastation of the holy city in their own way. For the rest, let us weigh objectively the text of St. Luke. Some of the inhabitants of Jerusalem will be put to death, others will be led into captivity, and the city itself will fall into the power of the gentiles for a certain time. The phrase, "the times of the nations," does not mean the time which shall elapse until the nations (*i. e.*, the gentiles) will be converted, but rather the period during which they will defile Jerusalem and the holy places by their arbitrary rule and their idolatrous worship. How long this period will last is not expressly stated; but it is intimated that the rule of the gentiles shall some day come to an end, and this end will coincide with the end of the world and the triumphant return of the Lord (according to Matthew and Mark), when the days of visitation (which God will shorten for the sake of the elect) will be ended by those two events. Accordingly in St. Luke, too, the point in question is not only the destruction of Jerusalem, but also the end of the world. Regarded from this point of view, the prophecy of Jesus is identical in all three gospels. St. Luke's account is far from being a prophecy *ex eventu;* for in that case the fate of Jerusalem would be described in an altogether different manner, whereas, in matter of fact, St. Luke does not announce the destruction of the "holy city" in a more definite manner than do SS. Matthew and Mark.

It is worthy of note that the third Evangelist, when describing the punishment of Jerusalem, has taken the Old Testament prophecy for his type; the words, "these are the days of vengeance" (XXI, 22) are found in the Old Testament (Jr. XLVI, 10; Is. XXXIV, 8; Soph. I, 15), and the phrase, "Jerusalem shall be trodden down by the gentiles, till the times of the gentiles be fulfilled," is copied from Daniel (VIII, 13; XII, 7). In SS. Matthew and Mark the influence of this prophet is also noticeable, not only at the beginning, in the phrase *βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως* (XXIV, 15; XII, 14), but also in the locution, "there shall be great tribulation such as hath not been from the beginning of the world" (cfr. Dn. XII, 1),—a proof that the prophecy of Daniel is the starting-point of the prophetic discourse of Jesus and hence must be consulted in interpreting the latter.

7. The *warning against false Christs* is found only in St. Matthew. St. Luke joins to Christ's prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem a prediction regarding the phenomena preceding the *parousia.* This omission by St. Luke is easily accounted for in view of XVII, 20. However, a difference is noticeable also between St. Matthew and St. Mark. Both report the prophecy of Our Lord concerning the appearance of false Christs accompanied by signs and wonders, and the cor-

responding warning (Mt. XXIV, 23–25; Mk. XIII, 21–23). But St. Mark puts the second warning before that against the false Christs (Mt. XXIV, 26–28). The reason for this is not difficult to divine. The words in Mt. XXIV, 26: "He is in the desert, in the closet," harmonized with Jewish views, but in the readers of St. Mark's Gospel they would have raised difficulties. Also in this case our theory that Mark wrote his Gospel after St. Matthew and that he consulted the (Hebrew) Gospel of the latter is confirmed. As to St. Matthew himself, we must not regard XXIV, 23 ff. merely as a duplication of XXIV, 5, because a comparison with Lk. XVII, 20 ff. shows that Jesus had spoken on this subject on a former occasion. Its insertion by Matthew into the second portion of the present discourse must be regarded as well motivated. It is introduced by τότε (XXIV, 23), then, *i. e.*, at the time of greatest distress (XXIV, 21–22). Accordingly a double reference is indicated: on the one hand, to the period of tribulation before and during the disaster of Jerusalem, on the other, to the period of suffering which was to precede the second coming of Christ. In fact the first part of the discourse announces the activity of the false Christs before the destruction of Jerusalem, while the second part puts their appearance in the time before the *parousia*. In regard to the fulfilment of the first part, we need not be over-anxious in searching for historical personages in the first four centuries of the Church, but merely call to mind the mad promises with which the Jewish fanatics (Zealots) incited the people to rebellion against Rome. Regarding the appearance of false Christs and prophets during the period before the *parousia*, attention may be directed to all deceivers who in the course of the history of the Church have appeared on the scene with the claim that they were teachers, saviours, and benefactors of mankind superseding Jesus Christ. With the best of reasons, therefore, we may point above all to the originators of schisms and heresies. According to some indications found in early Christian literature [26] Jesus at one time said: "Dissensions and heresies will come." The original position of this utterance must be determined in connection with Mt. XXIV, 23 ff. and Lk. XVII, 20 ff. There is no evidence for the assumption (Resch) that an important trait would be missing in the prophetic discourses of Jesus if He had not foretold the internal crises, the schisms and heresies, which were to come upon His Church. The Apostle of the Gentiles stressed the necessity of this phenomenon (1 Cor. XI, 18 f.), announced the coming of *lupi rapaces* in A. D. 58 (Acts XX, 29), and in his pastoral letters showed the activity

[26] Cfr. *Didasc.*, VI, 5, 325; Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.*, XXXV, 253; Clem., *Homil.*, XVI, 21, p. 158, 26.

of these wolves within his own mission territory. From that time on the activity of such πλανῶντες καὶ πλανώμενοι (cfr. 2 Tim. III, 13) can be traced throughout the history of the Church and this drama, begun in the Apostolic age, will culminate in the appearance of the κοσμοπλάνος, or Antichrist, who will operate ὑπὸ τοῦ ποθηροῦ ἐνεργούμενος and would, "if possible," deceive even the elect. However, it seems that Our Lord in the discourse on the *parousia*, from which the supplementary matter in Matthew and Mark was borrowed (cfr. Lk. XVII, 20 ff.), had in mind chiefly those deceivers who would cause disturbance and confusion among Christians by asserting that the second coming of the Messias and the Messianic Kingdom were nigh (cfr. Lk. XVII, 22–23): these men are false Christs, though they may not claim to be Christs.

8. The word εὐθέως at the beginning of this part of the discourse in St. Matthew (XXIV, 29) was destined to play an unfortunate rôle in modern criticism. From it and from its omission in Mark momentous conclusions have been drawn regarding the time when the Gospel of St. Matthew and that of St. Mark were composed. Resch, following the theory that the Gospel of St. Matthew, as we have it, originated in an adaptation of the text of St. Mark and a pre-canonical gospel of St. Matthew written in Hebrew, says that the composer of the Greek text of St. Matthew arbitrarily inserted the word εὐθέως and thereby unintentionally indicated how closely the composition of the Gospel coincided with the siege of Jerusalem; he was induced to insert the εὐθέως, according to Resch, because he was dominated even more than St. Mark, by eschatological expectations. In other words, when he composed his Gospel, about A. D. 66–69, he expected that the end of the world and the second coming of Christ would follow *directly* upon the impending destruction of Jerusalem. This interpretation has far less verisimilitude than the other, according to which the εὐθέως found in our version of St. Matthew (XXIV, 29) must be acknowledged as having been taken over "from an older source" and was deleted by St. Mark. This "older source" is the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew, and I do not understand how Loisy[27] could regard the εὐθέως as an insertion of the Greek Matthew, since it is plainly stated that it agrees excellently with the general drift of the passage. Loisy was influenced by the widely accepted theory that St. Mark is the first real Evangelist and our canonical Matthew is derived from Mark and the Hebrew *logia* of Matthew. The εὐθέως is plainly unassailable, as it does not refer back to the last words and verses of the immediately preceding section, but to XXIV, 21, 25,

[27] *Revue Bibl.*, 1896, 195.

where not only the tribulation which comes before the destruction of Jerusalem is discussed, but also and chiefly the tribulation of the days preceding the last judgment. To the latter the Evangelist refers in XXIV, 29 and himself indicates this reference of the words in XXIV, 29 to XXI, 22 by the resumption of θλῖψις and αἱ ἡμέραι ἐκεῖναι, *i. e.*, immediately after the tribulation of those days. St. Mark is not less eager to make the reference of XIII, 24 to XIII, 19, 20 externally clear, but he does it in a somewhat different form, namely, by ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις, μετὰ τὴν θλῖψιν ἐκείνην. I am inclined to call the phrasing in Mark more circumstantial and less effective than in Matthew, though the sense is the same, despite the fact that εὐθέως has been omitted. The use of ἀλλά (instead of δέ in Matthew) is very happy, for as is often the case in classical Greek, ἀλλά shows that the train of thought in XIII, 21–24 has been abandoned and the writer returns to something that he had passed over, or rather treated before: *but, i. e.,* I resume the thread of the discourse dropped in XIII, 20. This ἀλλά, therefore, proceeds from a reflection of St. Mark, who also introduces a few more modifications, but says nothing about the appearance of "the sign" of the Son of man (neither does St. Luke), and omits to mention the "mighty sound of the trumpet" (Mt. XXIV, 31; cfr. 1 Cor. XV, 52; 1 Thess. IV, 16). He does, however, mention the summoning of the elect by the angels. The fact that the first Evangelist wrote for Judeo-Christians explains why he incorporated this trait into his Gospel. The Palestinian Jews were accustomed to the blowing of trumpets in every-day life (cfr. Is. XXVII, 13). St. Luke alone speaks (XXI, 25 f.) of the roaring of the sea, which will cause men to wither away for fear.

9. Resch[28] has found a variant of Mt. XXIV, 34 (= Mk. XIII, 30 = Lk. XXI, 32) in the pseudo-Clementine Homilies (III, 15), which reads: οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη, καὶ ἡ καθαίρεσις ἀρχὴν λήψεται. He prefers this variant for various reasons to the canonical text: first because it is concrete, whereas the passage in the Gospel is abstract, and the construction of the dependent clause καὶ ἡ καθαίρεσις ἀρχὴν λήψεται reproduces the genuinely Hebraic loose connection between the principal sentence and the dependent clause as compared with the even and logically rounded Greek construction with ἕως ἄν or μέχρις οὗ. I cannot agree with this view. The accord of the three Evangelists when reporting the words of Jesus (Mt. XXIV, 34 and parallels) is, on the whole, complete, and therefore it seems unreasonable to prefer an extra-canonical parallel to the canonical tradition. As regards the construction of οὐ μή with the subjunctive and the

[28] *Ausserkanon. Parallelt.,* III, 599 ff.

following ἕως ἄν or μέχρις οὗ, we meet with it repeatedly in the Gospels, and that, too, in passages which can be certainly traced to a Hebrew original (see the classical example in Mt. XXVI, 29 = Mk. XIV, 25 = Lk. XXII, 16 and 18). Finally, we were obliged to oppose as incorrect the view that Mt. XXIV, 32–34 and the parallel passages refer solely to the destruction of Jerusalem and the preceding signs. This view evidently induced the author of the pseudo-Clementine Homilies to modify the canonical text; the words, ἕως ἂν or μέχρις οὗ ταῦτα πάντα γένηται, were opposed to his view and therefore he simply substituted the above quoted phrase for them.

10. According to Mk. XXIV, 37 ff., Jesus compares the *second coming of the Son of man* and *the end of the world* to the Deluge. We meet with this comparison also in Lk. XVII, 26 ff. and shall not go far astray if we assume that St. Luke has indicated to us its original place. Jesus employed this comparison in the didactic discourse on the *parousia*, which He delivered some time before his Passion. According to St. Luke, the Pharisees one day asked Him: When will the kingdom of God come? (XVII, 20). The Jews, as we know, expected the Messianic Kingdom to appear as a wonderful spectacle μετὰ παρατηρήσεως, which would obtrude itself with great force upon the sight of men, as an ἀποκαλύπτεσθαι or ἀναφαίνεσθαι (cfr. Is. LVI, 1) of the Messianic glory (δόξα) or of the new Messianic life (ζωὴ αἰώνιος; cfr. Dn. XII, 2). That the disciples of Jesus shared this view is evident from Lk. XIX, 11. The Jews also expected that the whole Jewish nation would be transferred simultaneously and *en masse* into the Messianic Kingdom. The question of the Pharisees was proposed in this sense. Jesus answers it as follows: Your idea of the coming Kingdom as one clad in external, visible pomp is false: as a matter of fact the kingdom has already been inaugurated by my teaching and miracles. Turning to his disciples, He continues: There is yet another coming of the Messias, for judgment. He means to say: From the present manifestation of the Messias going on before your eyes must be distinguished His second coming for the purpose of judging His enemies, first of all the Jews, then, at the end of the world, *the entire Christ-hating world*. As regards the coming of the Messias as judge of the Jews, you will desire to see it especially during the days of persecution (μίαν τῶν ἡμερῶν), but your desire will not be gratified (XVII, 22). The disciples (all except John and Andrew) were to die before the destruction of Jerusalem. The fall of the city is "one of the days" of the Messias; another is the day of the last judgment of the whole world. In regard to the latter, it will be said: The Messias is here or there; to which rumors they should not

listen, as the Messias will appear suddenly like lightning, and in a moment become visible to the whole world (Lk. XVII, 23, 24). The day of the last judgment will resemble the time of the Deluge; men will be surprised in the midst of their iniquities by the coming of the Son of man (Lk. XVII, 26–29). There is no possibility of escaping His judgment (Lk. XVII, 31), and as during the Deluge all mankind, and during the judgment upon Sodom and Gomorrha the inhabitants of these cities perished, whilst Noë and Lot were saved, so destruction and salvation at the same time will come at the glorious advent of the Messias; from the same place and from the same occupation some will go to Heaven, whereas others will be condemned to hell (Lk. XVII, 34–36). Wherever there is a man who deserves to be punished, there the judgment shall take place, just as the buzzards gather together where there is carrion (Lk. XVII, 37). If we compare Luke XVII, 20–37 with Matthew XXIV, 36–41 (cfr. Mk. XIII, 32), we shall be disposed to accept the view that St. Matthew borrowed the passages concerning the last judgment and the Deluge and Christ's prophecy concerning the fate of the good and the wicked at the last judgment from a discourse delivered in another place and at a different time than the discourse on the fate of Jerusalem and the end of the world. The manner in which St. Luke introduces the passage (XVII, 20) permits no doubt to arise concerning its original position. Since Christ had addressed the discourse on the manifestation of the Messias as judge to His disciples (Lk. XVII, 22 ff.), St. Matthew felt justified in inserting this passage into the prophetic discourse on the destruction of Jerusalem and the end of the world. By doing so he wished to gain a fitting transition to the warning that they should be watchful. In the transition verse (XXIV, 36) the text is not quite certain. The words *οὐδὲ ὁ υἱός* after *οἱ ἄγγελοι τῶν οὐρανῶν* are missing in many Greek manuscripts and versions, including the Vulgate. Nevertheless we may with the best of reasons consider them genuine. Hetzenauer and Nestle have received them into their new editions. It may truly be said that it is easier to explain the omission of these words than to account for them as a subsequent interpolation.

CHAPTER X

CHRIST'S EXHORTATION TO VIGILANCE

(Mt. XXIV, 42–XXV, 30; Mk. XIII, 33–37; Luke XXI, 34–36)

The first three Evangelists append to Christ's discourse on the end of the world an earnest exhortation to spiritual vigilance. The shortest form is that found in *St. Luke*. This Evangelist relates the parables of the servants who await the return of their lord from a marriage-feast, of the faithful and prudent steward (*οἰκονόμος*), and of the faithless and cruel servant, in a totally different connection (XII, 37–46), and describes Jesus as closing His admonition to vigilance by emphasizing once more the sudden and unexpected occurrence of the *parousia* and by warning against sinful indulgence in pleasure. *Mark* does not narrate *in extenso* the parables of the virgins and of the entrusted talents, but mentions the exhortation to vigilance. However, there are traces of these two parables discoverable in the second Gospel. We have an allusion to that of the ten virgins in Mk. XIII, 33: "Take heed, watch (and pray); for ye know not when is the time"; and an allusion to the other parable in XIII, 34 f.: It is as if a man on his travels should leave his house and give authority to his servants, to each one over his work, and command the porter to keep watch. Watch ye, therefore. In this manner Mark communicates the didactical portion of these parables without recording the parables themselves in detail. *St. Matthew* records Christ's exhortation to constant vigilance (XXIV, 42) in connection with various parables (XXIV, 43 ff.). By the example of the goodman who

watches and does not expose his house to thieves, Jesus warns against the dangerous overconfidence and security which ignorance of the day of the *parousia* might occasion. His second coming is as certain as the day when He will come is uncertain; as constant vigilance is necessary to keep away thieves, so, too, even greater vigilance is needed regarding the second coming of Christ, because not merely earthly prosperity, but eternal salvation is at stake. According to St. Matthew (XXIV, 45) Jesus then continues: If such constant readiness is required; who then is the wise and faithful servant? The question is addressed to the disciples, and the whole tenor of the discourse shows that the exhortation to vigilance is directed particularly to the Apostles as His servants, who are placed over His household, *i. e.,* over the Church of Christ. They must be *faithful, i. e.,* conscientiously observe the directions given by Our Lord, and they must be *wise,* able to choose the proper means for accomplishing their task, which consists in feeding those entrusted to their care, *i. e.,* teaching them the truths of Christian revelation and administering the means of grace. Blessed are they if the Lord will find them faithfully carrying out the commission entrusted to them; they will receive a rich reward, the royal dignity in the Kingdom of Heaven (cfr. Mt. XIX, 28). Then Jesus proceeds to foretell the fate of the servant who abused his charge. In accordance with the simile employed before, He describes the undutiful conduct of such a wicked steward: because his lord is long absent, he feels secure, and begins to treat his fellow-servants cruelly, and to revel in debauchery. As a punishment, the Lord after His return will order him to be sawed in two and appoint his portion with the hypocrites, *i. e.,* send him to hell, where there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

Having by these discourses exhorted His disciples to vigilance, He proceeds in the following two parables (of the virgins and of the various talents) to urge them to active and positive work in preparing for the second coming of the Son of man,

by preserving and rendering fruitful the graces and gifts which have been conferred on the members of the Messianic Kingdom. [Note 1.]

1. The Parable of the Ten Virgins

(Mt. XXV, 1–13)

Jesus says: Then (*i. e.,* according to the context, when the Lord shall come again as judge), men will fare in regard to the Kingdom of Heaven as the ten virgins who were invited to go out to meet the bridegroom. This parable is taken from Jewish life, although, it seems to us, with a not unimportant divergence. Ordinarily the Jewish bridegroom, together with his friends, on the evening before the wedding leads the bride, surrounded by her friends and maids, from her father's house to his own. Here the wedding seems to be transferred to the home of the bride, to which the bridegroom is conducted. However, it is not likely that Jesus selected the parable in opposition to Jewish habits and customs; on the other hand, various manuscripts of Mt. XXV, 1 after *τοῦ νυμφίου* have *καὶ τῆς νύμφης, et sponsae.* [Note 2]. Therefore, we have good reason for assuming that the bridegroom together with the bride is supposed to be on his way in solemn procession from the home of the latter to his own; the domicile of the bride is in another town, whence the bridegroom, accompanied by the bride, is expected to come after sunset; the virgins go from the home of the bridegroom to meet him and his retinue, in order that the entry into the house of the bridegroom may take place in the most solemn manner. The coming is delayed, and the virgins go to sleep in a house near the city gate, but are suddenly aroused about midnight by the cry: "Behold the bridegroom cometh!" Five of the virgins, who needed but to light their lamps, hasten to salute the bridegroom and accompany the

bridal party to the nuptial dwelling, whilst the other five, being unprepared, and not having a sufficient supply of oil, are late because they went out to purchase oil, and when they finally arrive, find the doors locked and, in spite of their earnest entreaties, are refused admittance. What Jesus wished to teach by this parable he tells us in XXV, 13. The ten virgins represent the faithful believers. The number ten was probably chosen because it was held in high esteem by the Jews; the selection of virgins as representatives of the faithful was suggested by the simile of a wedding party. It is, however, closely connected with the purpose of the parable: the bridegroom, Jesus Christ, will come again from Heaven; the day and hour of His second coming are unknown; the Christians endowed with grace are the virgins who go forth to meet the Heavenly Bridegroom in order to enter into a most intimate union with Him in Heaven when He comes. This coming they should await with watchfulness by rendering fruitful the graces they have received by good works (necessity of good works). Those who are negligent in preparing for His coming will be excluded from the joys of the eternal marriage-feast.

Regarding the original position of this parable I cannot positively decide in favor of the point of time indicated in Lk. XIII, 25 ff., because sufficient reasons seem to be lacking for this assumption; however, it is certain that St. Matthew, following his custom of arranging his narrative according to objective points of view, joined the periscope to the great eschatological discourse, though Christ had pronounced His exhortation to vigilance and continuous labor in the service of God, in view of the uncertainty of the time of the judgment, at an earlier period, perhaps in the last quarter of His public activity. At any rate this lesson was addressed solely to the Apostles. [Note 3.]

2. The Parable of the Talents

(Mt. XXV, 14–30)

This parable must not be confounded with a similar one in Lk. XIX, 11–27. Its external connection with the preceding parable of the ten virgins is very close. The latter concludes with the words: "Watch ye therefore, because you know not the day nor the hour." In XXV, 14 this exhortation to vigilance is motivated as follows: Watch always, for the time will come when every man must render an account. The parable is introduced by the Evangelist with an irregularly constructed sentence; the comparison introduced by ὥσπερ is not carried through. One would expect: Thus also will the Son of man act at His coming. The case is not at all unique; compare Mk. XIII, 34–35: ὡς ἄνθρωπος . . . γρηγορεῖτε, *i. e.,* as . . . so I, too, say: Watch! There is essential agreement among exegetes in the interpretation of this parable. The man who distributes the talents is Jesus Christ. After the distribution He departs, *i. e.,* returns to Heaven (Ascension), whence He will return to his earthly kingdom to demand an account of the use which men have made of their talents. These talents are the various vocational graces. The ἰδία δύναμις signifies the natural talents, the qualifications, the moral strength and disposition of the will. Every man has been called to a definite profession or vocation and endowed with the graces necessary to work out his salvation therein. The exhortation of Our Lord therefore means that the disciples, by faithfully co-operating with the special graces bestowed on them, should produce the greatest possible results towards spreading the Kingdom of God, *i. e.,* the Church. They will receive a rich reward if they co-operate with these graces, but be eternally damned if they do not. The parable necessarily applies to *all Christians,* for each has a God-given vocation which is of value and importance for the Church as such. Each is to live up to this vocation by conscientiously co-operating with the graces he receives. What is de-

manded is zeal in making use of these graces; even he who has received less can make himself useful to his fellow-men and earn Heaven. [Note 4.]

1. The *exhortation to vigilance* is appended by the three Synoptics to Christ's discourse on the end of the world. St. Luke evidently reproduces this exhortation faithfully, but he omits the parable, and applies the admonition not to the Apostles alone, but to all Christians. St. Mark on the other hand, like St. Matthew (XXIV, 43, 44), reports a short parable by which Jesus exhorts to vigilance. The house and the tasks assigned to the servants recall the parable of the talents; but the application which Jesus makes (Mk. XIII, 35), reminds one rather of the parable of the servants who waited for their lord when he returned from the wedding. (Lk. XII, 36 f.) A peculiar feature of the present parable is the reference to the porter (Mk. XIII, 34), who is commanded to be watchful in an especially impressive manner (note the transition into an independent clause: καὶ—ἐνετείλατο), whilst at the same time the parable and the application are blended (γρηγορεῖν —γρηγορεῖτε). It has justly been asserted that this trait is significant, and one cannot but regard it as an image of the door-keepers placed over the Messianic οἰκία, namely, the Apostles. Drawing a stringent corollary from the latter part of the parable, Jesus continues: Watch ye therefore, because the porter above all has received this command. For you know not when the lord of the house cometh (*i. e.*, the Messias for the last judgment), whether at evening, or at midnight, or at the cocks-crow in the morning. This division of the night was that of the Romans,—four vigils of three hours each, 6–9, 9–12, 12–3, 3–6 o'clock). In view of Lk. XII, 38, where Jesus, according to the Jewish custom, speaks of three vigils of four hours each, we might be inclined to ascribe the division into four parts to St. Mark. The menacing words with which St. Matthew ends his account, the reference to the sudden coming of the *parousia* and the judgment, and the warning to him who thinks the Lord will tarry, are omitted by St. Mark. All that remains is the positive admonition, which applies to all Christians in every state of life and always: "Watch!" It is sufficient for us to deduce from his account (XIII, 33, 34) that St. Mark knew the parables reported by St. Matthew (of the ten virgins and the talents) and no doubt also that recorded by St. Luke (XII, 37 ff), but for some reason did not think it opportune to embody them into his Gospel.

2. With the simple τότε the first Evangelist joins the parable of the ten virgins to the discourse on the *parousia* and the lesson connected with

it. Regarded from the logical point of view, this joining together appears quite natural, since the real theme of the preceding section was the exhortation to active vigilance in view of the second coming of the Lord. The style is tinged with Hebraisms: then, when the Lord comes, the Kingdom of God, *i. e.,* the faithful, will be like unto ten virgins, *i. e.,* things will go with them as with the ten virgins in the following example—εἰς ὑπάντησιν, waiting to meet the bridegroom. The Vulgate does not stand alone with its *"sponso et sponsae";* this addition is also found in the Cod. Cantabr., in the Cod. Rossanensis, in the *Diatessaron,* in the Syrus Sinaiticus, in the old Latin and other versions; Origen and Hilary may also be cited as witnesses. However, the weight of authority against the *et sponsae* is so heavy that the words (καὶ τῆς νύμφης) must be disregarded in interpreting the passage.

Where did the virgins fall asleep? In the neighborhood of the city gate, in a house situated near there; for the going forth of the virgins is mentioned at the outset (Mt. XXV, 1) and then (Mt. XXV, 7) their awakening and starting out to meet the bridal couple. Hence they must have gone to sleep on the way. To assume a prolepsis in XXV, 1 appears a little too artificial. The disciples, to whom Jesus addressed this parable, were able to understand what He meant to inculcate by it, especially when they pondered the words recorded in Mt. XXV, 13. Some of them had heard John the Baptist refer to the Messias as the bridegroom (Jn. III, 27 ff.). In addition, Jesus had called Himself a bridegroom in the presence of His disciples and assured them that as long as the Bridegroom would be with them, they need not mourn and fast, but that they would have cause for mourning when He was taken away from them (Mt. IX, 15). The disciples encounter this bridegroom again in the present parable, as one who had entered into the glory of Heaven (cfr. Lk. XII, 36), but came back to earth to gather up "his own" (Jn. XIII, 1), the faithful members of His Kingdom on earth, and give them a share in the joys of his marriage-feast. Because Jesus by the virgins meant *"his own,"* the faithful on earth, He represents all ten of them as bearing lamps in their hands. Christ's own are they who believe in Him as the Godman and who have received the Messianic Baptism, for only "to them that believe in his name he gave power to be made [by baptism] the sons of God" (Jn. I, 12). But those who are thus called, the faithful, must not rest satisfied with this; they must carry with them, besides the lamps, also oil in their cruets, *i. e.,* be endowed with graces; they must bring forth good fruit (XV, 1 ff.), perform good works, practice virtue in accordance with faith, or, as St. Paul says, manifest "faith working through charity," and thus go through life to meet the Bridegroom when He comes. He

who fails to lead a virtuous life may also go forward, as if invited to the marriage-feast of the Lamb, but he will not be admitted to the banquet-hall of eternal life because he does not wear the required garment (sanctifying grace). The "tarrying" of the Bridegroom expresses the serious truth that the Son of man will come "as a thief in the night," surprising even those who are watchful (cfr. Mt. XXIV, 44 sq.), and much more the careless.

3. Resch endeavors to prove that the ten virgins carried *torches,* not lamps. As evidence he cites Origen[1] and points to the use of torches on festive occasions even at the present time. These torches consist of long poles around the upper end of which are fastened rags soaked in olive oil. To keep the torches burning it is necessary from time to time to soak the rags with oil; for this reason each of the virgins in the parable carries a cruet with oil to replenish her lamp.[2] It can hardly be disputed that λαμπάς ordinarily means "torch." The word has this meaning in Apoc. IV, 5 and VIII, 10. In Jn. XVIII, 3 and Acts XX, 8, however, λαμπάδες means lamps or lanterns. The passage in Origen need not be interpreted in the sense of Resch, but may be understood differently: this light is nourished in them by the oil spoken of in the parable, which sustains the light in the lamps of the five prudent virgins. Origen employs the term δάς, evidently in the same sense as λαμπάς. It is an idea common in ancient and modern times that oil sustains the light of the lamp, assists the wick in fulfilling its purpose; the flame is its life. This aptly describes the situation of the foolish virgins. When they learn of the coming of the bridegroom, they get their lamps ready and light them; they are successful in this, but the light gradually dies out, because they have no oil to refill them. Hence their anxious cry: αἱ λαμπάδες ἡμῶν σβέννυνται (Mt. XXV, 8). It will therefore be best to retain the word "lamps." They were probably carried on a pole and resembled torches.

Resch believes that the original position of the parable of the virgins was between Lk. XIII, 24 and 25; in this opinion, too, we differ with him. The similarity between this Lucan parable and that in Matthew is indeed pronounced, but I cannot view Lk. XIII, 25 ff. as an aftermath of the parable. True, in Luke Jesus also speaks of a locking of the door by "the master of the house," of a fruitless knocking by those outside and a definite exclusion of them. However, note well the motivation of the urgent entreaty for admission made by the knockers: "We have eaten and drunk in thy presence, and thou hast taught in our

[1] *Contra Celsum,* VI, 5.
[2] Cfr. Schneller, *Evangelienfahrten,* Leipzig, 1892, p. 460.

street [the open place in front of the houses]" (Lk. XIII, 26). It is an arbitrary proceeding on the part of Dr. Resch to alter the incontestable καὶ ἐν ταῖς πλατείαις ἐδίδαξας into καὶ τὰς πλατείας ἡμῶν ἔδειξας. The rejected virgins appeal to their former friendly relations with the "master of the house," but he says to them: Depart from me, all ye workers of iniquity (XIII, 27). He rejects them for their unrighteousness and impenitence,—because they had remained in sin though Jesus was with them. Whilst, therefore, the virgins of the parable according to St. Matthew all accepted the faith, those in Lk. XIII, 26 sq. hardened their hearts in unbelief. Probably the latter passage refers to Galileans and Pereans in contradistinction to the Judeans, with whom Christ had mostly associated. No doubt many Galileans accompanied Him on His journey from Perea to Jerusalem (Lk. XIII, 22; Mk. X, 1; Jn. X, 22). Consequently, this Lucan text is no objective parallel to our parable. Both passages refer to the inefficacious grace of Christ, but at a different stage:—in St. Luke the grace is *proffered* in vain, in St. Matthew it is *received* in vain.

A real parallel to the parable of the ten virgins is found in Mt. VII, 21–23, where the following lesson is inculcated: Above all "faith" is necessary, *i. e.*, we must acknowledge and confess Jesus Christ as the Lord of lords (note the κύριε, κύριε; cfr. Jn. XIII, 13) and Son of God; but to stand trial before Him as judge on the great day, it is not sufficient to have believed, but one must also have observed the commandments, which are the expression of the divine will. To this rule there is no exception; even the greatest zeal in pronouncing the name of Jesus for the honor of God and for the salvation of others, cannot supply the deficiency of a holy life. Whosoever does not make use of the graces and gifts bestowed in the Messianic Kingdom for his own personal sanctification, by doing the will of God, but continues in sin and remains an ἐργαζόμενος ἀνομίαν, shall fail on the day of judgment, for he did not truly love Jesus, was not in vital communion with Him; his faith was dead (*"fides mortua"*; cfr. 1 Cor. XIII, 2 and James II). Hence though we do not consider the position assigned by Resch to the parable of the ten virgins between Lk. XIII, 24 and 25 as correct, nevertheless we believe that Jesus pronounced this parable not on one of the three days before his Passion, but several weeks earlier. St. Matthew, as so often, has rearranged the sequence from a pragmatic point of view.

4. Modern Protestant exegetes treat the identity of Mt. XXV, 14–30 with Lk. XIX, 12–27 almost as a matter of course, but discuss the question whether we have the original form of the text in Matthew or in Luke. They decide in favor of Matthew, whose originality reveals

itself by the τάλαντα, and whose mention of the three individual servants and the talents assigned to each, as forming part of the illustrative character of the parable, they regard as authentic, whereas the Lucan text is looked upon as a complete recasting of the original source (thus Resch). On the Catholic side Grimm defends the view that the two parables are identical, whereas most exegetes uphold their non-identity (Schanz, Knabenbauer, Pölzl). I unreservedly side with the latter, for the reason that the dissimilarity between the two parables is too great. As regards the *position* of the parable in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke, respectively, I am of the opinion that the difficulty is not insurmountable. Probably the place (Jericho) assigned to the parable by St. Luke is the correct one. St. Matthew here seems to have arranged a *group* of parables without regard to their chronological order, just as in XI, 1–16 and XII he has grouped together the Sabbatical controversies without regard to chronology. However, not only are certain traits of Luke's parable (hatred of the citizens, sending of a delegation, putting to death of the enemies) altogether absent in Matthew, but the purpose is totally different in both writers. Whoever asserts the identity of the two parables in spite of these objections, must ascribe to Luke a radical alteration of the original parable as recorded by St. Matthew. But this no one will seriously undertake to do. Since the parable was primarily and directly intended for the Apostles and their successors, and inculcates the duty of spreading the Kingdom of Christ by a zealous use of the vocational graces received for this purpose, we are reminded of Christ's metaphor of the salt that loses its savour (Mt. V, 13 ff.). The laborers in the vineyard of the Lord are to make the graces which they have received fruitful, not only for themselves, but also for others. They must produce fruits with the talents they have received. Their fruits are "those who through their word [*i. e.,* in consequence of their preaching] believe in Jesus." In as far as the parable concerns all Christian believers, it coincides doctrinally with an utterance of the Saviour transmitted to us by the Fathers: γίνεσθε τραπεζῖται δόκιμοι. Some of the Fathers, it is true, quote this saying in connection with 1 Thess. V, 21 sq.: as the wise money-changers eliminate and reject counterfeit coins by feeling and testing them, and accept and retain only the genuine coins which stand the test, so also must the Christian believer examine carefully and with an enlightened mind every doctrine and view presented to him, and accept only the best. Other Fathers, however, quote the saying in an independent form in connection with the advice given in that passage of the Apostle's letter. Thus Origen:[3] *"Qui implet illud mandatum, quod ait* [*Christus*]:

[3] *In Matth.,* tract. 27.

estote prudentes nummularii, et illud, quod ait: omnia probate;" or Origen on Jn. XIX, 2: τηρούντων τὴν ἐντολήν Ἰησοῦ λέγουσαν· δόκιμοι τραπεζῖται γίνεσθε, καὶ τὴν Παύλου διδαχὴν φάσκοντος· πάντα δοκιμάζετε, τὸ καλὸν κατέχετε.[4] In this form the logion likewise contains an exhortation to utilize carefully the graces and gifts of God.

A peculiar feature of this parable is the way in which the servant endowed with but one talent excuses his indolence by referring to the severity of his master. This severity is not stated as a fact, but merely as the opinion of the servant, who appears all the more blameworthy in view of such a lame excuse. As a matter of fact the master is just, for he duly considered the lack of ability on the part of this servant when he distributed the talents ("He gave to every one according to his proper ability"; Mt. XXV, 15). The talent itself belongs to the master and therefore he is entitled to its fruits. The servant might have secured rich fruits and thereby assured his own reward if he had shown good will and diligence. The doctrinal content of the parable cannot be easily exhausted. The true servant of God should be guided in his conduct by the consciousness of his responsibility and the severity of the Judge. But with fear of God he must combine confidence in His mercy and charity. If the servant will only give proofs of good will, he can look forward with confidence to the account he will have to render at the last judgment. The success of our efforts depends entirely upon the Lord. Though He has given us ability and grace, He will reward us for co-operating with His gifts, and therefore we have no reason to lose courage or to worry. Many servants of God fulfill the duties of their vocation with a certain dislike and sourness of temper, especially when their efforts are not crowned with immediate success. They derive a certain incentive to action from the consciousness of their responsibility, but they lack firmness of will and the spirit of complete dedication to God. Where this spirit is present, it sustains confidence in God's mercy. The expectation of a reward gives us courage and incites to ever greater effort, while charity or love of God allows us to feel what happiness He is holding in store for us, even though vocation and grace are His gifts, and lends us wings wherewith to fly on our way and to rise above our impotence and misery.

[4] Cfr. Clement Alex., *Strom.*, I, 28.

CHAPTER XI

The Last Judgment

(Mt. XXV, 31–46)

Matthew alone records this stirring discourse of Christ,—which fact is in complete harmony with the first Evangelist's acknowledged tendency of demonstrating that Jesus carefully prepared the disciples for His death and departure. The thought developed in His preceding addresses was this: the Lord of the Messianic Kingdom will come again to demand an account of the use which men have made of the talents and graces God gave them, but He will also bestow a rich reward for the good use made of those gifts. Now He opens up to view the scene on the last day, when the Son of Man will return in His glory, sit in judgment upon all nations, and reward the righteous and punish the wicked (Mt. XVI, 27; XXIV, 30 sq.; Jn. V, 27–29). There is no reason for assuming that Our Lord here had in mind only non-Christians, to the exclusion of the faithful. It would be far easier to prove from the context that the judgment refers solely to the faithful, the converts from all nations, because the assembled human beings are rewarded or punished for an action by which they either manifested or refused their adherence to Christ. Even the image of the shepherd and his flock seems to point to a restriction of the judgment to the faithful. However, the phrase, *πάντα τὰ ἔθνη* (Mt. XXV, 32) will not permit us to make such a restriction. We have Christ's own assurance (Mt. XXIV, 14; XXVIII, 19; Lk. XXIV, 47) that the Gospel will be preached to all nations

before the last day. Therefore the final judgment will extend to all men, believers as well as unbelievers.

This judgment will begin with the separation of the good from the wicked, who are intermingled in world and Church. Jesus likens the wicked to goats on account of their stubborn and vicious disposition, while He compares the good to (gentle, peaceful) sheep (cfr. Ez. XXXIV, 17 ff.). The rewarding of the good on account of their virtues and good works [Note 1] and the punishing of the wicked is expressed in figurative language: the former are placed on the right hand (place of honor) and the latter on the left hand of the Judge (cfr. Mt. V, 29). The performance of works of mercy in favor of the needy disciples of Christ is given as a reason why the former are admitted into Heaven. Several of these works are mentioned, by way of example, to emphasize the precept of charity. Love of neighbor, the characteristic mark of the disciples of Christ, is a fruit of the true love of God (1 Jn. IV, 20). We must not fail to recognize the connection existing between the exercise or neglect of the works of Christian charity, on the one hand, and the last judgment. This judgment is a demonstration of mercy towards one group and of inexorable severity towards the other. Who is more deserving of mercy than he who has practiced it himself? On the other hand, a severe judgment will come upon those who have been cruel and inexorable towards others. (Jas. II, 13). [Note 2.]

1. The description of the last judgment is peculiar to St. Matthew. Aberle is of the opinion that St. Mark and St. Luke omitted this passage because Jesus here not only appears as a king, who actually exercises royal prerogatives, but expressly calls Himself king (Mt. XXV, 34). The readers of St. Matthew, he says, would not be likely to take offence at this; it was necessary to demonstrate to these Judeo-Christians that Jesus was really the Messias, and that, according to the prophecies, kingship was one of His attributes. The readers of St. Mark and St. Luke, on the other hand, might easily have been scandalized at this utterance of Jesus, nay, might have made it a matter of complaint; therefore these two Evangelists omitted His declaration of Christ's kingship

and also His prophecy concerning the last judgment. This argument is hardly convincing, especially in view of the fact that SS. Mark and Luke also omit the parable of the ten virgins and that of the talents, which were not likely to give any offence to Roman readers. One is tempted to seek the reason for this omission, at least on the part of St. Luke, in his conviction that the grouping of the Gospel narrative adopted by St. Matthew did not correspond to the real course of events. Some writers prefer to look upon his combination of the prophecy of the last judgment with the parables of the virgins and the talents as having been made for objective reasons.[1] It was desirable, they say, to give to the collection of Christ's discourses on His second coming a fitting conclusion: and the parables of the master of the house, of the wise and negligent servants, and of the virgins and the talents serve this purpose well because they are based on the fact of His second coming and are to be fulfilled by it. In speaking at the end of His discourse of the *parousia* and the judgment, Christ gives prominence to the external sentence and its motivation, and emphasizes the consummation of all things and thus creates an incomparable closing scene for the grand drama. We must not, however, forget that the prophetic discourse on the judgment, viewed as to its subject-matter, fits well into the last apocalyptic picture; for here we see the Son of man coming on the clouds of heaven with great power and majesty, sending His angels to gather the elect from the farthest parts of the heavens to the utmost bounds of them (Mt. XXIV, 30 f.). Others see in Mt. XXV, 35–46 an adaptation by the Evangelist of a passage taken from an alleged proto-gospel, which in its original form is said to have contained no description of the judgment, but only a reference to the final sifting of the disciples of Jesus.[2] However, aside from the untenable assumption of a proto-gospel, this view is unacceptable because the sacred text positively shows that the notion of a judicial separation lies at the basis. The phrase (Mt. XXVI, 1), "When Jesus had ended all these words," (*i. e.,* on Tuesday the 12th Nisan) does not decide the question which was the original position of the pericope, because we have in these words a formula which St. Matthew employs in four other places (VII, 28; XI, 1; XIII, 53; XIX, 1), and each time for the purpose of concluding a lengthy discourse or group of discourses. As certain as it is that, for example, this formula in VII, 28 does not exclude the insertion into the Sermon on the Mount of other discourses not delivered on the "mount" in Galilee (Mt. V, 1), so it certainly is a mistake to infer that in view of XXVI, 1 all discourses recorded in

[1] Cfr. *Revue Bibl.,* 1896, 356.
[2] Weiss, *Matthäusevangelium,* p. 540.

the conclusion of chapters XXIV and XXV must be assigned to the last days of our Redeemer's public ministry, *i. e.,* to the 12th Nisan. According to all three Synoptists it is certain only that Jesus at that time outlined to His disciples the grand apocalyptic picture (prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem and the last judgment); the discourses regarding the *parousia,* incorporated into this picture by St. Matthew, were undoubtedly delivered for the most part at an earlier date, as Luke shows.

2. How are we to conceive of the proceedings at the last judgment? The question is still in dispute among exegetists. Many of them hold that only those who professed Christ as God (Mt. XXV, 37, 44) will be judged by the Son of man, according as they have practiced or denied their faith. The persons concerned in the judgment, therefore, are the same who are designated as prudent and foolish virgins or as good and wicked servants in the preceding parables. This interpretation, as we have already remarked, is incompatible with Mt. XXV, 32: *συναχθήσονται ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη.* This phrase is immediately followed by *αὐτούς,* and consequently we have here a *constructio κατὰ σύνεσιν,* which is very apt indeed in this connection. All nations are summoned before the judgment seat of Christ, whereupon the Judge separates all men without regard to nationality into two groups, placing one on His right and the other on His left hand. The phrase *πάντα τὰ ἔθνη* comprises all pagans, and also Israel. On the just men of the Old Testament as participators in the glorified Kingdom of God, cfr. Mt. VIII, 11; XXII, 32. Their presence at the last judgment is certain. Of the pagans (Gentiles) Christ Himself has repeatedly declared that they will be judged, no matter at what time they may have lived. He says in general terms that He will judge every man according to his works (Mt. XVI, 27; cfr. Jn. V, 29). It is, of course, undeniable that the Gentiles who lived before the time of Christ will not be judged according to the same standard (love of neighbor) which will be applied to Christians. What standard will be applied to them may be seen from Rom. II, 6 sqq. Jesus does not include them in His remarks on the last judgment, as He refers solely to the nations to which the Gospel will have been preached at the end of the world.

Whom does He mean by *οἱ ἀδελφοὶ οἱ ἐλάχιστοι*? In view of Mt. X, 42 we may say, He means first of all His Apostles and disciples, to whom He has entrusted the preaching of the Gospel (Mt. XXVIII, 19). Whoever charitably assists them in the performance of their duty will find mercy on the day of judgment and be numbered among the elect. Quite different will be the fate of those who have opposed and perse-

cuted them. Christ does not, as we might have expected, make the final judgment depend on faith and Baptism, but simply and solely on the practice of charity. He evidently did not intend to give a complete enumeration of the conditions necessary for salvation. The friendly or inimical attitude taken for or against the disciples of Christ involves a corresponding attitude towards the Master Himself and His teaching. A presupposition of the words of Christ is the propagation of the Gospel among all the nations of the earth. In a certain sense the Gospel was preached all over the world immediately after the Ascension of our Divine Redeemer; but in a higher and fuller sense the prophecy will not be fulfilled until shortly before the Son of man will return as Judge. According to His own declaration (Lk. XVII, *22*), He will manifest Himself in His Messianic glory on several "days." On the "first day" He will appear as the Redeemer and on the following "days" as the Judge of His enemies, and the enemies of His disciples, first of all the Jews. This occurred in the year 70. His Apostles, with the possible exception of John and Andrew, did not live to see this "day," but some of His other hearers probably did. On the "last day" (Jn. VI, 39) He will come back to judge the whole world, especially that portion of humanity that refused to serve Him. The description of the final judgment, therefore, was well calculated to console His disciples, for they readily understood that they would be able to appeal to it as a sort of letter of recommendation in preaching the Gospel of Christ.

PART II

THE HISTORY OF THE PASSION

SECTION I

THE DECREE OF THE SANHEDRIN CONCERNING THE ARREST AND EXECUTION OF JESUS—THE PASCHAL MEAL AND THE LAST SUPPER

I. SURVEY

After having predicted to His disciples on Mount Olivet the fate of Jerusalem and the end of the world, Jesus set out for Bethania (Lk. XXI, 37). This occurred on Tuesday the 12th Nisan. On the same day the Sanhedrin, comprising the chief priests and ancients of the people, convened in the house of the High Priest Caiphas to decide on a course of action in view of the changed situation. On the same day also one of the twelve Apostles, Judas of Carioth, departed at night from Bethania for Jerusalem, via Mount Olivet, to negotiate with the proper persons concerning the delivery of Jesus into the hands of His enemies. The agreement was actually made that night. Meanwhile Jesus stayed at the hospitable house of his friend Lazarus and his sisters, away from the bustle of the city, occupied with the thought of His approaching death. On the 14th Nisan He sent Peter and John to Jerusalem to make the necessary preparations for the celebration of the pasch in the house of a friend, and in the evening of the same day He Himself departed with the rest of His disciples for the Jewish capital to celebrate the pasch at the prescribed hour and, in connection therewith, to institute the Holy Eucharist in fulfilment of a promise made some time before at Capharnaum.

2. The Decree of the Sanhedrin concerning the Arrest and Execution of Jesus

(Mt. XXVI, 1–5; Mk. XIV, 1–2; Lk. XXII, 1–2)

The accounts of this episode given by the three Synoptists differ somewhat. St. Matthew expressly mentions a session of the Sanhedrin in the house of the high priest, whilst SS. Mark and Luke speak only of the intention of the chief priests and scribes to apprehend Jesus secretly and put Him to death. However, there can be no doubt that Mark and Luke mean the same thing and are merely not as explicit in their account as is Matthew. [Note 1.] As to the *time* of the session St. Luke says: "Now the feast of unleavened bread . . . was at hand" (XXII, 1). This is rather indefinite; however, the statements of St. Matthew and St. Mark give us more definite information. The latter writes: "Now it was two days before the passover and the feast of the unleavened bread, and the high priests and the scribes sought how they might seize him by guile and put him to death." Here St. Mark proves himself a genuine Jerusalemite, thoroughly conversant with the origin of the Jewish Easter festival. He discriminates correctly between the celebration of the passover and the seven-day festival of the unleavened bread (azymes). The eight-day celebration of Easter thus signalized began with the killing of the paschal lambs in the Temple in the afternoon of the 14th Nisan and was continued in the evening by eating the lambs in the homes of the people. The 14th Nisan (or paschal slaughtering-day) was reckoned as the first day of the Easter festival.[1] Thus we have, according to St. Mark, the 12th Nisan as the day of the council session, and as the paschal slaughtering-day of the year in which Jesus died was a Thursday, we obtain Tuesday the 12th Nisan as the day of the meeting of the Sanhedrin. St. Matthew confirms this deduction. For according to him the Saviour, when he had finished his discourse, said to His

[1] Josephus, *B. I.*, VI, 9, 3.

disciples: "You know that after two days shall be the pasch, and the Son of man shall be delivered up to be crucified." It is only because the words τὸ πάσχα γίνεται had been translated inaccurately ("after two days is Easter," or "after two days is the pasch," that false conclusions could be drawn therefrom. Τὸ πάσχα γίνεται is the passive of τὰ πάσχα ποιεῖν, which is the technical term for the celebration of the 14th Nisan (Mt. XXVI, 18; Ex. XII, 48; Nm. IX, 2, 5, 6, 10, 12–14; Dt. XVI, 1). Accordingly St. Matthew also names as the day of Christ's prediction of His death and the session of the Sanhedrin (τότε) the time "two days before the paschal slaughtering-day" (14th Nisan), *i. e.*, Tuesday the 12th Nisan. As the *place* of the meeting Matthew mentions the house of the High Priest (Caiphas), where the Sanhedrin later re-assembled to condemn Jesus (Mt. XXVI, 57). It was probably towards evening when the high priests and the Scribes met in the palace of Caiphas. For Jesus had continued His work in the Temple on the last day of His public ministry and then spent some time on Mount Olivet in conversation with His disciples. The meeting of the Sanhedrin took place simultaneously with Christ's prophecy of His Passion (τότε, XXVI, 13, refers to XXVI, 2), hence on the evening of the 12th. This session, and the one mentioned in Mt. XXVI, 57, must be taken as extraordinary, and in view of the subject matter discussed, was a secret one. For this reason, no doubt, the palace of the High Priest and not the customary place on the Temple mountain was chosen for the meeting. [Note 2.]

The outcome was a resolution to apprehend Jesus "by subtlety" and put Him to death; but "not on the festival day, lest perhaps there should be a tumult among the people" (Mt. XXVI, 5; Mk. XIV, 2). As early as the feast of Purim, 783, the Sanhedrin, under the presidency and at the instigation of Caiphas, had formally resolved to put Jesus to death (Jn. XI, 47–53). This resolution could not be carried out, as Jesus had left Bethania, going first to Ephrem in northern Judea.

After his return from Jericho He had entered Jerusalem on Saturday evening, the 9th Nisan, with great pomp and amid the acclamation of the people, and on the three following days had taught unmolested in the city and charmed the crowds that gathered around him. Every evening he left the city so that His enemies did not know His whereabouts (cfr. Jn. XII, 36 and XVIII, 2). In view of this state of affairs the Sanhedrin assembled on the evening of the 12th to discuss the question, not *whether* Jesus should be put to death, but, as St. Luke expressly states, *in what manner* and *when* He should be arrested and executed. A large number of pilgrims had already arrived for the feast from Judea and Galilee, mostly enthusiastic followers of Jesus (Jn. XI, 55; XII, 12), and consequently it was feared that open violence against Him was apt to provoke these "Jews" to espouse His cause and thus lead to a riot (Lk. XXII, 2). Therefore prudence demanded that He be arrested "by subtlety" (ἄτερ ὄχλου; cfr. Lk. XXII, 6). This could not be done "on the festival day," much less was it advisable to execute Him on that day. [Note 3.]

The question may be asked, how the phrase μή ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ, used by SS. Matthew and Mark, is to be understood. Most exegetes apply it to the entire eight-day celebration of Easter (from the 14th to the 21st Nisan). However, this interpretation is unacceptable. For if the Sanhedrists had intended to let the entire octave pass, until the pilgrims had left Jerusalem and dispersed, they would have had to take into consideration the fact that Jesus might leave Jerusalem with them. No, by ἡ ἑορτὴ (the festival day) the Sanhedrists meant solely the Easter day *par excellence, i. e.,* the principal feast on the 15th Nisan, immediately following the slaughtering-day. They calculated that the case of the Galilean had arrived at a point where immediate intervention on the part of the authorities was imperative; however, on account of the attitude of the "people," caution was necessary; the arrest had to be made "by subtlety," and not on the chief festival day of Easter, because at this

time Christ's followers from Judea and Galilee were numerous in the city; after most of them would have left Jerusalem, the danger of an uprising would be negligible. Thus, St. Matthew wishes to say, men schemed, but God frustrated their nefarious plans and disposed everything in such a manner that the predictions of Jesus concerning His betrayal on the slaughtering-day were fulfilled to the letter. After the pasch had passed and the festival (according to the Jewish view) had begun, during the night from the slaughtering-day to the 15th Nisan, Jesus was to be delivered by Judas into the hands of the Jews and handed over to Pilate for condemnation "on the festival day."

1. Christ's prediction concerning His betrayal on the paschal slaughtering-day is recorded solely by St. Matthew. The first Evangelist evidently incorporated it into his Gospel to show his Judeo-Christian readers that Jesus went to meet His Passion and death with a full knowledge of the situation and with perfect freedom, and that He was not outwitted by His enemies. Strangely enough, St. Matthew's account has caused offence. Some exegetes argue as follows: The two parallel accounts (in Mark and Luke) do not mention this prediction; hence it must be a later insertion. Moreover, St. Matthew's Gospel shows traces of an alteration. The decree of the Sanhedrin is contrasted with Christ's prediction of His death on the Cross, which was to occur two days later, on the pasch. Objectively (so far as the arrest and death of Jesus are concerned) the decree coincides with the prophecy of Jesus; in point of time it differs ("not on the festival day"). Spitta and others who take this view do not interpret the terms "pasch" and "festival day" correctly. Besides, what reasonable ground is there to doubt the prophecy of Jesus? Did not the Saviour frequently and with ever increasing positiveness point to His approaching Passion and death? (Jn. II, 19; VII, 33; VIII, 28; IX, 4; X, 15, 17, 18; XII, 7, 24, 32; Mt. XVI, 21; XVII, 22; Mk. VIII, 31; IX, 31; Lk. XVIII, 31 f.) We can readily understand why the Saviour, shortly before the beginning of His Passion, should once more announce to His disciples in definite words His arrest by the Jews and His death on the Cross. He wished to fortify them against doubting His divinity by predicting the exact course of events and thus proving His omniscience. St. Matthew gave close attention to the preceding prophecies, and hence we can readily understand why he also incorporated in his Gospel the last prophecy made by Jesus. The short passage Mt. XXVI, 1–5 bears the earmarks of greater exactitude

than the accounts of the other two Synoptists; the author reveals himself as an eyewitness by recording this prophecy.

The hypothesis that St. Mark was the first Evangelist and that St. Matthew employed his Gospel as a source, is shown to be untenable by a comparison of Mt. XXVI, 1–5 with Mk. XIV, 1–2. St. Matthew's account is clear and definite. Two days before the feast of the Passover, that is to say, on the 12th Nisan, Jesus predicted that on that festival He would be delivered up to His enemies, who would put Him to death. On the same day the Sanhedrin met in official session and decided not to arrest Jesus on the day of the feast. St. Mark makes no formal mention of a session of the Sanhedrin, but merely records the efforts of the high priests and Scribes to capture Him by trickery and execute Him. Both Evangelists agree in designating the subject and purpose of the meeting of the Sanhedrin as δόλῳ κρατεῖν καὶ ἀποκτείνειν. The decision to put Jesus to death had been made several weeks before, as we know from the Gospel of St. John (XI, 45 sqq.). On the face of it, St. Mark's account might be interpreted in this sense that the members of the Sanhedrin simply plotted to arrest and kill the Saviour ἐζήτουν πῶς . . . ἀποκτείνωσιν (XIV, 1). It is not necessary to assume that the Sanhedrin held an extra session, and the passage may simply be interpreted as follows: When the festival was near, the members of the Sanhedrin lay in wait for a favorable opportunity to carry out their design.[2] In matter of fact, however, St. Mark wishes to refer to a session of the Sanhedrin; for he says: ἐζήτουν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς, which means: the high priests thereupon planned the arrest and execution of Jesus, and for this purpose held a meeting. Moreover, the express indication of the time (Mk. XIV, 1) indicates that the second Evangelist wishes to record an important event, namely, the consultation of the high priests held two days before the pasch and the feast of the unleavened bread. Evidently St. Mark's account must be interpreted in connection with that of St. Matthew, who definitely says that the Sanhedrin met in special session for the purpose indicated, two days before the feast of the Passover. To regard this clear and explicit statement merely as an elaboration of the indefinite account given by St. Mark is unreasonable.

2. The situation in Jerusalem at the time immediately preceding the Easter festival U. C. 783 was rather peculiar. When the Saviour on the feast of Purim had raised Lazarus from the dead at the very gates of Jerusalem, the Sanhedrists, under the influence of this act, which set all Judea in commotion, in solemn session decreed His death and at

[2] Cfr. Frey, *Die Probleme der Leidensgeschichte Jesu,* pp. 16 sqq.

the same time issued an order saying that if any man knew of His whereabouts, he should tell, so that they might apprehend Jesus (Jn. XI, 47–57). Now, if already on the feast of the Tabernacles, 782, many Jerusalemites taunted the hierarchs and Sanhedrists with their lack of energy (Jn. VII, 25 ff.), what would happen now, in the days of the Passover? In spite of the decree of the Sanhedrin, Jesus, accompanied by a large number of pilgrims, went from Jericho to Bethania, and on the following day, Saturday the 9th Nisan, entered Jerusalem amidst the jubilant acclamations of the people. On the following three days He not only taught unmolested ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, but also silenced all His adversaries, nay, assumed the offensive against them and ended His labors among them with a stern rebuke to the Scribes and Pharisees (Mt. XXIII, 1 ff.). The position and attitude of the "officials" now became the laughing-stock of the populace, and the Evangelist describes their sentiments by recording the words with which the Pharisees taunted one another: "You see that we prevail nothing; behold the whole world is gone after him" (Jn. XII, 19). The "initiated" among the inhabitants of Jerusalem did not doubt the "good will" of the authorities to carry out the death sentence, but they were also aware of the reason for their inability to do so, which the Evangelist states in the words: The high priests and the Scribes sought to lay hands on Him, in that same hour (the last of Christ's public activity), but they feared the multitude (Judeans and Galileans), because they held Him as a prophet (Mt. XXI, 46; Mk. XII, 12; Lk. XX, 19). Consequently there was danger in delay; something had to be done if the high priests and Scribes were to be preserved from manifesting their impotence "before all the people." Something did happen, and that something was exactly what might have been expected under the circumstances. Caiphas convoked the Sanhedrin for a secret session in his palace on Mt. Sion. Jesus having taught and worked in Jerusalem also on the third day after His triumphal entry (Tuesday the 12th Nisan), until late in the evening, the uneasiness and consternation of the authorities rose to the highest pitch, and therefore the Sanhedrin was convoked at an unusual hour and in an extraordinary place, not in the so-called Gazith, *i. e.*, the hall on the Temple-mount, but in the house of Caiphas. How did the assembled members imagine that Jesus should be seized "by subtlety"? We may doubt whether, when voting for the death decree, they had a clear idea of the manner in which it was to be carried out. Some may have thought that His whereabouts might be ascertained by means of spies and He might be surprised on Mount Olivet or somewhere between Jerusalem and Bethania, and taken into safe custody. At any event the arrest-

must be made secretly (ἄτερ ὄχλου) out of consideration for the people, *i. e.,* for the many pilgrims from Judea and Galilee present in the city. Conditions had grown stronger than the desire of the Sanhedrists and caused a modification of the original plan to seize Jesus by force.

3. The exegetes are not agreed as to the meaning of μὴ ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ. Some interpret it thus: "But we will not apprehend and put him to death on the festival day;" others: "But we will not put him to death on the festival day." The latter interpretation is preferred among recent exegetes by Pölzl, Spitta, and Grimm. Grimm argues that the limiting clause, "not on the festival day," refers solely to the execution of Christ, and not to His secret arrest, as is evident from the motivation given, namely, that the danger of a riot should be avoided by the secrecy of the whole proceeding, and hence it was not necessary to take the festal season into consideration; it was, however, imperative not to wait until after the close of the festal season, because there was danger that Jesus would then leave Jerusalem and escape the vigilance of His enemies. It was different with the execution itself. This argument is unconvincing, as we shall see presently. Spitta bases his interpretation on the account given by St. Mark (XIV, 1–2). The purpose of fixing the precise time, he says, is given in XIV, 2: They must put Jesus to death now, for after the festival has begun, it will be too late. Moreover, in St. Mark's account, in contradistinction to St. Matthew's (XVI, 4), the principal verb is ἀποκτείνωσιν, which is more clearly defined by δόλῳ κρατήσαντες; the meaning of the words therefore is: Jesus cannot be put to death on the festival, but must be executed before the festival begins. To this view we oppose another, according to which *both* antecedent verbs must be referred to μὴ ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ. The true meaning is: The arrest *and* execution must not take place on the festal day. We must start, not from the account of St. Mark, but from that of St. Matthew, which is the more precise and definite. St. Matthew writes: συνεβουλεύσαντο ἵνα τὸν Ἰησοῦν δόλῳ κρατήσωσιν καὶ ἀποκτείνωσιν· ἔλεγον δέ· μὴ ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ. No one can fail to see that μὴ ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ must refer to *both* verbs. Then there is this *objective* consideration: It is incorrect, as Grimm says, that at the arrest of Jesus the danger of a riot was to be obviated by the secrecy of the proceeding, and hence it was not necessary to take the festal season into consideration. If Jesus had been secretly apprehended during the night of the 14th Nisan and kept in safe custody somewhere, to be executed after the octave of the feast, great excitement would have arisen among the populace on the chief festival day, the 15th Nisan; His enthusiastic followers, inhabitants of the province of Judea, and the pilgrims from Galilee, would have sought Him high and low, and even

if the plot had remained secret, would have suspected that the authorities had proceeded against Him; the mere suspicion would have fanned the smouldering embers of rebellion. In consideration of such a possibility the Sanhedrists said on the 12th Nisan: Let Jesus be seized very soon, and secretly, but let the secret arrest not be made on the festival day, *i. e.,* on the principal feast of the Easter celebration (cfr. Jn. XIII, 1). They did not mean to include the whole octave, because after the termination of the latter the Sanhedrists could hardly hope to apprehend Jesus. That the authorities did not intend to slay Jesus on this day is quite generally admitted.

The account given by St. Mark presents some difficulties, especially on account of the ἔλεγον γάρ (γάρ, not δέ, is the correct reading). The high priests and the Scribes sought how they might seize Him by stratagem and put Him to death; for they said, not on the festival, lest there be a tumult among the people. To what do the words ἔλεγον γάρ refer? Surely not to ἀποκτείνωσιν, nor to ἐν δόλῳ, but, as Schegg has correctly surmised, to ἐζήτουν πῶς in general. True, it is an odd expression, but the idea is perfectly clear: the high priests and Scribes sought how they might by some trick apprehend Him and put Him to death *after the festival;* for, they said, on the festival day it would be too dangerous. Thus Mark and Matthew agree in substance. The Sanhedrists did not dare to proceed against Jesus during the festival, in view of the sentiment among the people. But God disposed otherwise. The word ἑορτή in St. Mark must, of course, be interpreted in the sense of: the chief festival day of the Easter season, namely, the 15th Nisan.

St. Luke's account is of a more general tenor. The chief priests and the Scribes, he says, sought how they might put Jesus to death; for they feared the multitude. In spite of his vagueness, however, St. Luke expresses most clearly the fact that the question foremost in the minds of the hierarchs (at the meeting mentioned by Matthew) was how to arrest and kill Jesus. This was quite natural, for the execution had been decreed long ago, and the recent events were of a nature to make the execution of the decree even more urgent. Nevertheless, St. Luke's remark is noteworthy for the reason that the terms he uses give expression to the impotent rage of the Sanhedrists, which vented itself in the formulation of all sorts of plans. The word ἐζήτουν presents to our view the excited council-meeting, in which all manner of schemes are proposed and one after another has to be rejected, because the schemers had not the power to carry it out, being forced to take cognizance of the sentiment and temper of the multitude, especially in view of the approaching festival. The three Synoptists are unanimous in emphasizing the motive of the adopted resolution,—fear of the populace, *i. e.,* of

a riot. Consideration for the sanctity of the holyday played no part in their deliberations. This latter circumstance throws some light on the moot question on what day Jesus died. By their behavior in the secret session of the 12th Nisan the Sanhedrists betrayed their innermost thoughts: even the chief feast of the year seemed to them suitable for apprehending and putting Jesus to death, and it was solely the fear of a riot that deterred them from proceeding against Him during the approaching days.

Does δόλῳ refer solely to κρατεῖν, or also to ἀποκτείνειν? It is not easy to answer this question. The translation of the Vulgate: *"ut [quomodo] Jesum dolo tenerent et occiderent"* (Mt. XXVI, 4; Mk. XIV, 1) permits us to refer *"dolo"* to the second verb also. This reference recommends itself to some, but is doubted by others. The situation is as follows: The death decree had been adopted some time before, but thus far could not be carried out. Irritated still more by the defeats which Jesus was obliged to administer to them recently because they had challenged Him, they were willing to act quickly and to proceed against Him. On the other hand, however, they were fully aware of the attending difficulties: the people would not suffer their great Prophet to be apprehended. The number of His followers in Jerusalem was too large, especially among the inhabitants of Judea and Galilee (cfr. Jn. II, 55), and so they decided to apprehend Him and put Him to death secretly. But even this was not in their power. The secret arrest without the immediate execution of Jesus would provoke a riot, for the people would at once have suspected the instigators of the plot and taken them to task. Hence the plan of the Sanhedrists could only be to arrest Jesus secretly, ἄτερ τοῦ ὄχλου, and then put Him to death without delay. As to the manner of conducting the trial before Pilate, they had no definite plan, nor were they unanimous. Their excitement, no doubt, did not permit them to enter into details. On this point the accounts of SS. Mark and Luke, especially that of St. Luke, are masterpieces; the third Evangelist very pointedly records the three thoughts which were uppermost in the minds of the Sanhedrists: ἐζήτουν; ἀνέλωσιν; ἐφοβοῦντο τὸν λαόν: revenge and the speedy death of Him who would not serve their plans; but fear of the populace; the fear of man, not the fear of God, animates them, as St. Chrysostom truly observes.[1]

Another question: Did the Sanhedrists, at their secret session on the 12th Nisan, consider the possibility of arresting the hated Galilean by stratagem and then immediately hand Him over to the Roman Governor as a revolutionary who had stirred up the people against lawful au-

[1] *In Matth., 27.*

thority? That they contemplated such a *modus procedendi* not long before the meeting, is evident from the plot they hatched against Him when they asked Him: "Is it lawful for us to give tribute to Cæsar, or no?" (Lk. XX, 22). Since, however, this plot had failed egregiously, we may assume that they had given up their plan to denounce Him before Pontius Pilate. That they did so nevertheless, and delivered Jesus up to the Roman Governor on the morning of the 15th Nisan, must be explained in the light of the events that followed the evening of the 14th Nisan, and which had been brought about, not by their crafty designs, but by the almighty will of God. To assume, as some exegetists do, that the result of the debate of the Sanhedrin on the evening of the 12th Nisan was to seize Jesus secretly and then to put Him to death publicly, is unsatisfactory. No doubt the public execution of Jesus in Jerusalem would have satisfied their rage and corresponded to their intention of triumphing publicly over their enemy. But how and when was such a public execution to have taken place? On the morning of the 14th Nisan the multitude of festal pilgrims present in Jerusalem was enormous and the enacting of a spectacle (θεωρία) such as the execution of Jesus would undoubtedly have satisfied His enemies; but the period immediately preceding the Easter season, and the festival itself (15th Nisan), or the immediately following Sabbath (16th Nisan), had been recognized by the Sanhedrists from the very start as absolutely unsuitable for carrying out their plot against Jesus, and the thought of a public execution on one of these days must have been entirely beyond their ken. Moreover, a public execution at any time during the Easter octave was out of the question because such a thing would have been opposed to the religious sentiment of the people and to Jewish usage and tradition (Acts XII, 4). To execute Jesus after the octave would have been incompatible with the desire of His enemies to triumph over the "seducer" before the whole Jewish world, because then the multitude of festal pilgrims would no longer have been present in the city. In matter of fact the "spectacle" *did* take place on the 15th Nisan; not however, as the result of their calculations, but by virtue of a divine decree.

CHAPTER I

THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN JUDAS AND THE HIGH PRIESTS

(Mt. XXVI, 14–16; Mk. XIV, 10–11; Lk. XXII, 3–6)

While the Sanhedrists were deliberating in the palace of Caiphas on ways and means of apprehending the hated Galilean and putting Him to death, Judas, the son of Simon, one of the twelve Apostles, set out from Bethania for the capital city to negotiate with the high priests and chiefs of the Temple concerning the betrayal of Jesus (cfr. the significant statement Jn. XIII, 2). He met with them that very evening, *i. e.,* on the night of the 12th Nisan (Mt. XXVI, 3 and 14) [Note 1.] They rejoiced exceedingly at his offer, probably not only because it showed them a way to apprehend Jesus in secret, but also because the offer seemed to imply a justification of their cause, since one of His own constant companions considered it his duty "to raise his heel against him." They at once declared themselves willing to give Judas the money he demanded (Mt. XXVI, 15) as a reward for his offer and his prospective service (Mk. XIV, 11; Lk. XXII, 5). As to when Jesus was to be delivered into their hands, nothing definite was decided upon at the conference. This is implied by the remark of St. Matthew (XXVI, 16) and St. Mark (XIV, 11) that "from thenceforth he [Judas] sought opportunity to betray Jesus into their hands in the absence of the multitude" (Lk. XXII, 6). Considering the actual course of events we might conjecture that Judas suggested the evening of the 14th Nisan as a favorable opportunity, because he calculated that the

Master on this day would go from Bethania to Jerusalem to celebrate the Passah and then, according to His custom, retire for the night to His favorite refuge on Mount Olivet (Jn. XVIII, 2), where He could be easily apprehended. It is not impossible that Judas reasoned thus and that he made such a proposal to the hierarchs. But if he did, the Sanhedrin did not accept his suggestion in view of the clause in the council decree: μὴ ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ; for if Jesus would not be seen in Jerusalem on the feast of Easter, excitement and tumult would surely arise. Undoubtedly Judas saw that they were right and therefore determined to carry out his plan some time after the feast (15th Nisan), thus meeting the views and wishes of the Sanhedrists. The fact that he unexpectedly put in his appearance before the high priests on the evening of the 14th Nisan and insisted on the immediate execution of his plan, had a special reason, which we shall learn later. It is probable, therefore, that when he made the bargain with the high priests and chiefs of the Temple, on the evening of the 12th Nisan, Judas merely promised to deliver up Jesus, but made no definite agreement as to the time when this was to be done. On this evening both parties agreed that a favorable opportunity would likely arise after the festival. [Note 2.] At the close of the transaction the hierarchs gave Judas thirty pieces of silver, *i. e.*, thirty silver shekels, according to our currency about $20, as a reward for his offer and his promised services. With this money in his pocket, the traitor returned to his master. [Note 3.]

1. Some exegetes regard Wednesday of the Passion week, not Tuesday (12th Nisan), as the day on which Judas bargained with the Sanhedrin. "This opinion," they say, "is the sole possible one in view of the account of St. Matthew, who alone indicates the time (XXVI, 14); and it is confirmed by the circumstance that in post-Apostolic times Wednesday and Friday were kept as days of fasting, because (as St. Peter, patriarch of Alexandria towards the close of the fourth century, says) Jesus was betrayed on the first mentioned day and crucified on the second." We cannot accept this interpretation. We have already shown that the account of the anointing of Jesus is put in the wrong place by the

Synoptists, whereas St. John has it in the right place (XII, 1). Now if we lift the passage describing the anointment (XXVI, 6–13) out of St. Matthew's account, the story of the betrayal (XXVI, 14) snugly fits into the account of the meeting of the Sanhedrin (XXVI, 1–5): At that time one of the twelve, Judas, started off to consult with the high priests. The word τότε (then) must evidently be taken in the same sense as in Mt. XXVI, 3, where it denotes *simultaneousness:* on the evening of the 12th Nisan, when Jesus prophesied that He would be apprehended after two days, the Sanhedrin assembled in the house of Caiphas. If according to Mt. XXVI, 3 both episodes, the prophecy and the meeting of the Sanhedrin, occurred on Tuesday evening (12th Nisan), the incident related in Mt. XXVI, 14, also introduced by τότε, cannot be postponed to the following day (Wednesday). We cannot assume that τότε (XXVI, 14) indicates, not the time, but merely the external occasion of the betrayal.

The question whether Judas arrived in Jerusalem while the council was in session and was admitted to its deliberations, must be answered in the negative. In the first place the Sanhedrin (or rather its presiding officer, the high priest Caiphas) would certainly have hesitated to admit Judas to a regular session. Moreover, according to the express testimony of St. Luke (XXII, 4), Judas negotiated "with the chief priests and the magistrates," *i. e.,* the officers of the guard who were in charge of the public order. These officers, under the command of a captain, had no seat and voice in the Sanhedrin. Hence we are undoubtedly justified in conjecturing that Judas negotiated with a committee of the Sanhedrin, consisting of the high priests Annas and Caiphas and the officers of the Temple-guard, not with the Sanhedrin as such. The reason why the early Christians fasted on Wednesday was because they erroneously believed that the Jews celebrated the pasch on Friday evening.

2. We may here discuss the arrest of St. Peter. According to Acts XII, 1 ff. Peter was arrested "in the days of the Azymes," *i. e.,* when the Easter season of eight days was being celebrated. His trial and execution were to take place μετὰ τὸ πάσχα, *i. e.,* after the octave of the pasch (after the 21th Nisan). Τὸ πάσχα here does not mean the paschal slaughtering-day; but the expression is synonymous with ἡμέραι τῶν ἀζύμων and signifies the eight-day season of Easter. According to this interpretation, St. Peter was not arrested on the 14th Nisan, to be executed on the 15th, but some time *within the octave of Easter.* The execution of St. James took place directly *before* Easter, as is evident from the fact that Herod Agrippa wished to spare Peter until after the festival. Very probably Herod had Peter cast into prison on

the 16th or 17th Nisan, at a time when quite a number of foreign Jews were still in Jerusalem and thus the King had an opportunity of manifesting to them his zeal for the nation and the law by apprehending Peter. We must conclude from this incident that a public execution during the Easter season was contrary to the religious sentiment and custom of *the Jews;* however, we cannot go beyond this conclusion and infer that the public execution of Our Lord was impossible on the principal feast of Easter (783) because of the Jewish tradition. Christ was executed by order and under the supervision of the Roman Procurator, according to the laws and regulations of Roman jurisprudence, and the principal day of the Easter festival was purposely chosen by the Romans for the execution of criminals in Palestine, and the Jews co-operated on the festival to satiate their hatred against the Galilean, as we shall presently see.

As regards Judas's compact with the chief priests and magistrates, it would be a mistake to assume that he agreed to deliver up Jesus on the evening of the 14th Nisan. The thought might have flitted through his mind that a favorable opportunity of delivering the Master to His enemies would present itself after He had taken the paschal supper with His disciples and retired to His favorite retreat on Mount Olivet. But it was not likely that he should cast this thought into the form of a concrete suggestion, for he knew that Jesus was extremely popular with the multitude that filled the city on the eve of the Pasch and that, consequently, this moment would be anything but favorable to the execution of his plan. But even if Judas had deceived himself on this head and suggested to the Sanhedrists to arrest Jesus on that date, they would not have agreed, since they had given out the parole, "not on the festival." That Judas probably was of the same opinion from the very beginning, or at least ceded to the objection of the Sanhedrists, may be inferred from Lk. XXII, 6: "He [Judas] promised, and he sought opportunity to betray him [Jesus] in the absence of the multitude." The plan of the Sanhedrin, therefore, was not modified in any way through the intervention of Judas. Most probably the traitor chose the period immediately following the first days of the Easter season for the execution of his plan, but events shaped themselves differently, for it had been predetermined by a divine decree that Jesus should be delivered up to His enemies on the eve before the principal day of the festival.

3. The Vulgate in Mt. XXVI, 15 has *"constituerunt"* for the Greek ἔστησαν, and as a result many exegetes expound the text thus: They *promised* Judas the sum of 30 silver shekels. But this is an altogether impossible interpretation, for ἵστημι is the technical term for *weighing*

or paying out (cfr. ὁ σταθμός, the balance or scale). The term, it is true, originated at a time when coined money was not in use, and the metal was literally weighed out; but it was retained in subsequent times, when coins were introduced, and meant: to pay out (*i. e.*, money). This interpretation recommends itself also by a glance at Mt. XXVII, 3. The words τά τριάκοντα ἀργύρια refer back to XXVI, 15; Judas returned the thirty pieces of silver received from the chief priests and ancients. Finally, the Evangelist must have had in mind the passage in Zach. XI, 12, where the word is used in the sense of weighing, weighing out to: "They weighed for my wage thirty pieces of silver." True, the prophet does not employ the words τριάκοντα ἀργύρια, but ἀργυροῦς, *scil.*, σίκλους; but ἀργύρια has exactly the same meaning: thirty silver shekels, *i. e.*, so-called shekels of the sanctuary (*sicli sacri*), which were heavier than the ordinary shekels (*sicli communes seu profani*). A shekel is a Hebrew coin of the value of four Attic drachmas.[2] St. Jerome, in whose day some of them were still in circulation, says that a shekel is worth 3⅓ drachmas; according to this, thirty shekels were worth about one hundred drachmas, or $17.

A comparison of the accounts of Matthew and Mark concerning the conduct of Judas shows that the former is probably the more original. Note Judas's own demand ("What will you give me?" Mt. XXVI, 15) and the characteristic phrase: ἔστησαν αὐτῷ τριάκοντα ἀργύρια. How secondary the ἐπηγγείλαντο of St. Mark appears when compared with the ἔστησαν of St. Matthew! The latter clearly indicates an Aramaic original. Significant also is the other phrase (Mt. XXIV, 16): ἀπὸ τότε ἐζήτει εὐκαιρίαν, ἵνα κτλ. (cfr. Lk. XXII, 6): "From thenceforth Judas sought an opportunity to betray him." St. Mark says: ἐζήτει πῶς αὐτὸν εὐκαιρως παραδῷ. This passage has been interpreted as follows: Judas tried to deliver Jesus up to the Sanhedrists at the time he had agreed. But the Sanhedrists had not determined precisely at what time the traitor should deliver up his Master, but had merely declared that Jesus should not be arrested on the pasch nor before that festival. For the rest, Judas was left free to choose what day he pleased. St. Matthew and St. Luke, therefore, did not misunderstand St. Mark, but St. Mark abbreviated the very definite account of St. Matthew in a way that laid it open to misinterpretation.

[2] Jos., *Ant.*, III, 8, 2.

CHAPTER II

THE PRELIMINARIES OF THE LAST SUPPER

(Mt. XXVI, 17–19; Mk. XIV, 12–16; Lk. XXII, 7–13; Jn. XIII, 1–4)

Jesus spent the 13th Nisan (a Wednesday) in quiet retirement on Mt. Olivet (Jn. XVIII, 2) and partly perhaps at Bethania. On the following day, Thursday the 14th Nisan, He sent two of His disciples, Peter and John, to make the necessary preparations for the paschal supper in a certain house at Jerusalem. He does not tell the two messengers the name of the owner of the house, but gives them a sign which will assist them in finding the goodman and the house. Herein also the Saviour manifests his supernatural knowledge, a momentous manifestation, especially at the beginning of His Passion, where it served to confirm the faith of the disciples. The reason why He withheld the name of the goodman, who was evidently a disciple (Mt. XXVI, 18: "the master saith"), is a matter of conjecture. Presumably Jesus did not wish Judas the traitor to know in advance the place of the supper, so that it might be eaten undisturbed. [Note 1.] The three Synoptists fully agree in their account of the preparatory act, with this sole difference that, according to St. Matthew (XXVI, 17) and St. Mark (XIV, 12), the matter of preparing the supper was proposed by the disciples, whilst according to St. Luke (XXII, 8) Jesus seems to have taken the initiative Himself. Here undoubtedly the account of Matthew and Mark is the original one: from the outset the disciples were convinced that Jesus would celebrate the pasch with them, and therefore

asked Him where the celebration was to take place. Jesus thereupon gave the necessary orders and directions. [Note 2.]

The Synoptics in complete accordance name the "first day of the Azymes," *i. e.*, Thursday the 14th Nisan, as the day on which Jesus gave to the two disciples the order to prepare the pasch. The passages in question are chiefly: Mt. XXVI, 17, Mk. XIV, 12, and Lk. XXII, 7. What do the first two Evangelists mean by the expression: "On the first day of the Azymes?" The original distinction between the passah of the Lord (14th Nisan) and the festival of the unleavened bread (Azymes; 15th Nisan; cfr. Lev. XXIII, 5, 6; Nm. XXVIII, 16, 17) was, as a rule, no longer observed among the Jews in the time of of Christ. The passah was a festival lasting eight days, from the 14th to the 21st Nisan. The paschal slaughtering-day (14th Nisan) inaugurated the festival season; the season as a whole was called simply τὸ πάσχα or τὰ ἄζυμα or ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν ἀζύμων.[1] This usage we meet with in the Synoptists. In allusion to the original distinction, St. Mark introduces the eight day festal season with the phrase: τὸ πάσχα καὶ τὰ ἄζυμα (XIV, 1); St. Matthew (XXVI, 17) with τὰ ἄζυμα; St. Luke (XXII, 1) with ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν ἀζύμων ἡ λεγομένη πάσχα, and St. John simply with τὸ πάσχα (Jn. XII, 1; XVIII, 39; XIX, 14) or τὸ πάσχα τῶν Ἰουδαίων (Jn. II, 13; XI, 55). As SS. Matthew and Mark mention as the time of the paschal celebration, or rather of its preparation, "the first day of the unleavened bread," we are able to demonstrate this day to be Thursday. The Evangelists agree in making the day of Christ's condemnation and execution recognizable as the eve of a Sabbath, *i. e.*, a Friday (προσάββατον or παρασκευή; Mt. XXVII, 62; Mk. XV, 42; Lk. XXIII, 54; Jn. XIX, 14, 42). Now, since the day of Christ's death followed the evening and night of the Last Supper and His delivery into the hands of the "Judeans," the Last Supper was held on a Thursday. [Note 3.]

There remains the question whether this Thursday fell on

[1] Josephus, *Ant.*, IX, 13, 2 and 3; II, 15, 1; *B. I.*, II, 12, 1, IV, 7, 2.

the 13th or on the 14th Nisan. If Our Saviour observed the legal term for the celebration of the Paschal Supper, then it was the 14th Nisan, for the Jews were obliged by law to offer the paschal sacrifice on the evening of the 14th Nisan (Ex. XII, 6; Dt. XVI, 1 ff.; Lv. XXIII, 5). What the sacred writers tell us of the attitude of Jesus towards the laws and customs of the Jews speaks in favor of His having observed the prescribed time. By the circumcision He had placed Himself in the rank and file of the Jews subject to the law (cfr. Gal. IV, 4; V, 3), and some time after His appearance in public He solemnly declared that He did not come to destroy the (Mosaic) law, but to fulfil it. It is but reasonable to assume, therefore, that He showed His zeal for the law when, for the purpose of inaugurating His Messianic activity, He celebrated the paschal feast in Jerusalem (Jn. II, 13 ff.), then returned from Galilee to Jerusalem to celebrate Pentecost (Jn. V, 1), unfolded His activity in the Jewish capital on the feast of the Tabernacles (Jn. VII, 1 ff.), went there again on the feast of the Dedication, although duty did not require this (Jn. X, 22 ff.) [Note 4], and glorified the feast of Purim by raising Lazarus from the dead, although He did not at that time enter Jerusalem, to show the Judeans that He knew of their murderous schemes against Him (Jn. XI, 1 ff.). He had openly challenged His enemies, who closely watched all His actions, to convict Him of a sin or violation of the law (Jn. VIII, 46; cfr. IX, 16). It is therefore inconceivable that He should offend against the law by anticipating the paschal celebration on the evening of the 13th Nisan, all the more because the lamb which was eaten at the passah celebration had to be slaughtered in the Temple, which could be done only on the afternoon of the 14th Nisan. A lamb slaughtered and prepared on the 13th Nisan, not in the Temple, but elsewhere, *e. g.,* in a private house, would have been no passah lamb at all. Had Jesus "made the passah" contrary to Jewish law and usage on the 13th Nisan with His disciples, whom such an

anticipation would have scandalized, His enemies would certainly not have failed to reproach Him with this violation of the law in the hour of His trial and condemnation. Now, since the Gospels furnish no evidence that this was done, it may be considered as a settled fact that Jesus chose the legal time for celebrating the pasch.

St. Matthew (XXVI, 17) has in view the normal, *legal* time of the Jews as the day of the passah celebration, *i. e.,* the day prescribed by the Jewish law (Ex. XII, 10; XXXIV, 25; Nm. IX, 12; Dt. XVI, 4) for the eating of the passah lamb. [Note 5.] St. Mark designates "the first day of the unleavened bread" as the one on which the Jews (according to their custom and in obedience to the law) sacrificed the paschal lamb. The slaughtering was done in the Temple in the afternoon of the 14th Nisan between 3 and 5 o'clock. [Note 6.] St. Luke leads to the same conclusion if his statement (XXII, 7) is correctly interpreted. He says that Jesus ordered His disciples (Peter and John) to prepare the passah when "the day of the unleavened bread came" (*i. e.,* Easter), "on which it was necessary that the pasch should be killed," *i. e.,* the 14th Nisan. The same Evangelist's subsequent remark (Lk. XXII, 14) leads to the same conclusion: Having arrived in the Cenacle, Jesus sat down to table "when the hour (ἡ ὥρα), *i. e.,* the hour prescribed by the law for eating the pasch (about 6 P. M. on the 14th Nisan), had come. [Note 7.]

What the Synoptics say in regard to the day of the crucifixion fully agrees with the theory that the 14th Nisan was the day of the Last Supper. They mention Friday as the day of the crucifixion, and designate this day clearly enough (Mt. XXVII, 15 and the parallel passages) by the account of the liberation of Barabbas (of which we shall speak later), as the principal festival of Easter, *i. e.,* the 15th Nisan. To interpret the accounts of the three Synoptics differently would be contrary to the sense and purpose of these writers. The meaning of Mt. XXVI, 5 and Mk. XIV, 2 have been pointed out above. Mt. XXVII,

32 and XXVII, 39 f. do not disprove the theory that Jesus died on the chief feast and ate the passah with His disciples on the evening of the 14th Nisan. For Simon of Cyrene (Mt. XXVII, 32), who was on his way home from the field when he met Jesus carrying His cross, was not a Jew, but a gentile. He worked on the 15th Nisan and, returning to the city, met the cortège on its way to Golgotha. [Note 8.] "They that passed by" were not persons who arrived from a distance on the day of the Saviour's death, but pilgrims coming to the festival, who had pitched their tents outside the city close to Golgotha, and at the time of the crucifixion were on their way to the city, or returning to their tents, which, being a Sabbath's journey, was permitted (cfr. Acts I, 12). What the Synoptics (Mt. XXVI, 47; Mk. XIV, 43; Lk. XXII, 52) say of the weapons, clubs, torches carried by the mob immediately after the Last Supper, of the arrest of Jesus, of the nocturnal session of the Sanhedrin, the examination of witnesses and the passing of the sentence, appears, it is true, incompatible with the law of the Sabbath-rest on the eve and the night of the 15th Nisan as observed at that time. However, this session was no more public than that of the 12th Nisan, but rather an extraordinary one, held at night in the private residence of Caiphas. The slaves of the Temple and of the house, who had been armed by "the Judeans," were probably for the most part proselytes, who were not so strictly bound by the Sabbath law. Moreover, the hierarchs evidently considered themselves justified in rendering innocuous as soon as possible Him, whom they thought to be a menace to their religious and political existence (cfr. Jn. XI, 48) without regard for the festal Sabbath, which was not so strictly enforced.

St. John agrees fully with the Synoptics. In XIII, 1 he virtually says: Before the festival day of the pasch, *i. e.*, on the eve (as to the time of the day cfr. XIII, 30) of the principal festival of the paschal octave, *i. e.*, on the evening of the 14th Nisan, Jesus gave to His disciples at the supper (*i. e.*, the

pasch; XIII, 20), a convincing proof of His love by the institution of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, which followed immediately upon the washing of the feet. That John, by employing the expression δείπνου γινομένου (XIII, 2), really had in mind the paschal supper so plainly described by the Synoptics, is evident from XIII, 26 ff., and from the fact that he relates in essentially the same manner the unmasking of the traitor in close connection with the washing of the feet. The Synoptics (Mt. XXVI, 21; Mk. XIV, 18) describe the unmasking as taking place on the occasion of the washing and the δείπνου γινομένου of St. John is synonymous with their ἐσθιόντων αὐτῶν. As to the expression ἡ ἑορτὴ τοῦ πάσχα, this might *per se* denote the whole Easter festival, but in view of the customary precision of St. John it would be somewhat surprising to meet with such a general chronological statement as: Jesus gave an extraordinary token of His love to His disciples before the Easter festival. Besides, in several other passages (II, 13; XI, 55; XIX, 14) St. John uses τὸ πάσχα to designate the eight-day festival of Easter; therefore, the conjecture naturally suggests itself that XIII, 1 has the same meaning. This conjecture becomes a certainty in view of the use of ἡ ἑορτή in Jn. XIII, 29, where it is stated that the principal festival of Easter, *i. e.*, the 15th Nisan, was about to begin when Jesus celebrated the pasch with his disciples. [Note 9.] Jn. XVIII, 28 does not speak in favor of the 14th Nisan as the day of Christ's death, but rather in favor of the 15th, and consequently for the 14th Nisan as the day of the Last Supper. To understand the expression τὸ πάσχα φαγεῖν correctly, we must start from St. John's idiomatic usage, according to which τὸ πάσχα means the entire octave of the feast of Easter. Hence the sense of the phrase is: to celebrate the Easter festivity by offering the prescribed sacrifices. The expression is elliptical; completed it would read: to eat the sacrifice or sacrifices of the Easter festival. For the celebration on the evening of the 14th Nisan not φαγεῖν, but θύειν or ποιεῖν τὸ πάσχα is the standing technical term; thus Mt. XXVI, 18 and especially

Josephus, *Antiq.*, IX, 13, 3: *θύσαντες τὴν λεγομένην πάσχα, τὰς ἄλλας τὸ λοιπὸν θυσίας ἐπετέλουν ἐφ' ἡμέρας ἑπτά*, where a clear distinction is made between the celebration of the 14th Nisan and the offering of the sacrifices during the remaining seven days of the octave of Easter. *Φαγεῖν τὸ πάσχα*, it is true, also means specifically to eat the paschal lamb, but only when the context requires it, *i. e.*, when either *θύειν* or *ποιεῖν* or *ἑτοιμάζειν* is in close proximity, as may be seen from Lk. XXII, 8: *ἑτοιμάσατε ἡμῖν τὸ πάσχα, ἵνα φάγωμεν*. The killing, offering, and preparing of the paschal lamb preceded the eating thereof. Therefore if the hierarchs on the morning of the crucifixion had had in view the evening celebration of the 14th Nisan, they would have said: We will not enter the pretorium because we must keep ourselves fit to kill, offer, and eat the paschal lamb in the afternoon; not simply: so that we may eat. They feared that, by entering the palace of Pilate, they would be contaminated by the unleavened bread kept therein and thus be barred from offering the customary sacrifices of praise and thanksgiving on the Easter festival and from partaking of the festal sacrifices. Hence the meaning of Jn. XVIII, 28 is: We (hierarchs) will not enter the court-room of Pilate, in order that we may be able to eat the pasch unimpeded, *i. e.*, celebrate the feast of Easter by celebrating the sacrificial banquets (*shelamim*) and offering the customary sacrifices of praise and thanksgiving.[2] Such a levitical contamination through contact with unleavened bread was not possible on the morning of the 14th Nisan because the unleavened bread had to be removed in the forenoon and the early part of the afternoon. On the other hand, it was possible on the morning of the 15th, when any leaven that was present would contaminate a Jew.

No inference can be drawn from Jn. XIX, 14 as to the *date of the crucifixion* or that of the Last Supper. The statement shows that St. John, like the Synoptics, has Jesus die on a Friday, and hence the day of the Last Supper must have been

[2] Josephus, *Ant.*, IV, 13, 3: *τὰς θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖν*.

a Thursday; for he says: Jesus was sentenced by Pilate on the *παρασκευὴ τοῦ πάσχα, i. e.,* the Friday of the octave of Easter; here, as elsewhere in St. John's Gospel, *τὸ πάσχα* is the technical term for the entire Easter season of eight days.

Jn. XIX, 31 has been misinterpreted by many exegetes. Correctly understood this text proves that the 15th Nisan was the day of Christ's death, and hence the 14th was the day of the Last Supper. According to remarks made by Philo[3] and Josephus,[4] the Jewish doctors applied the statute of the Mosaic law (Dt. XXI, 22 f.) to those who were nailed to the cross alive in Palestine, and hence the crucified were taken down from the cross before sunset for burial. The Romans on their part, accommodating themselves to the religious views of the Jews, permitted such removal in Palestine, whereas in the other provinces of the Empire the bodies of the crucified were left to decay on the cross. If this be so, the petition of the hierarchs (Jn. XIX, 31) to proceed to the *crurifragium* appears somewhat strange; for they might simply have awaited the death of Jesus and the two thieves and then taken the bodies down unmolested by the Romans. Quite so if death ensued on the day of the crucifixion; but if Jesus and the thieves crucified with Him died only on the following day, as was the rule with persons crucified,[5] the hierarchs had to apprehend a collision of duties if the following day was the regular weekly Sabbath, for then it would have become their duty on the one hand (Dt. XXI, 22 f.) to take the bodies down from the cross before sunset, on the other hand to let them hang on the cross on account of the strict rest prescribed for the Sabbath. Now, this very coincidence did actually occur on Easter U. C. 783. The day following the crucifixion was a Sabbath, as St. John indicates by the phrase *ἐπεὶ παρασκευὴ ἦν,* since the day of the crucifixion was a Friday (cfr. XIX, 14) and the following day consequently was

[3] II, 324.
[4] *Ant.,* IV, 8, 6; *B. I.,* IV, 5, 2.
[5] Cfr. Origen, *Comment. in Matth.,* 140.

a Sabbath. Hence the meaning of the passage is: The day on which the crucifixion took place was a Friday, and in order that the bodies might not remain on the cross during the approaching Sabbath, on which death would most likely occur, the hierarchs petitioned Pilate to break the bones of the three crucified men and thus hasten their death, so that the bodies could be taken down by the Jews. It may be objected that if the crucifixion of Jesus and the two thieves occurred on the first day of the Easter festival (15th Nisan), and if the following day (16th Nisan) was a regular Sabbath, the hierarchs could not escape a collision of duties even if their petition was granted; for since the day of the crucifixion, being the chief feast-day, possessed Sabbatical character (Ex. XII, 16; Lv. XXIII, 3 ff.), it was not lawful for them to take down the bodies in the afternoon or before dusk. This objection is meaningless in view of the remark added by St. John: "For that was a great sabbath day" (XIX, 31), meaning the regular weekly Sabbath following the παρασκευή or first festival day of Easter. The Evangelist evidently wishes to say that the Sabbath falling on the 16th Nisan and, according to the Jewish view, beginning on the evening of the 15th Nisan, was a *shabbath shabbathon* demanding the strictest rest, stricter even than the festal Sabbath, on which the preparation of food (Ex. XII, 16) and everything connected with the burial of the dead, the taking down of bodies from the cross, embalming and interment, were permitted. Here, too, St. John fully agrees with the Synoptics. The latter, who make the day of crucifixion positively discernible as the 15th Nisan, the first chief festival day of Easter, report that Joseph of Arimathea took down and embalmed the body of Jesus and the Galilean women prepared spices for that purpose (Lk. XXIII, 50–56), at the same time expressly emphasizing the full observance of the prescribed rest on the Sabbath immediately following the crucifixion. The highly important addition made by St. John, "for great was the day of that Sabbath," makes the agreement fully evident, for by these words

the fourth Evangelist describes the Sabbath following the crucifixion of Jesus as "great," *i. e.*, one requiring absolute rest, in contradistinction to the festal Sabbath of the 15th Nisan, as the Synoptics also do, if not literally, at least according to the sense.

Conclusion: All four Evangelists name Thursday the 14th Nisan, the legal day of the Jewish pasch, as the day of the Last Supper. [Note 10.]

As to the *place where the Last Supper was celebrated,* the sacred writers give us at least a clue. According to them it was a large dining-room (*ἀνάγαιον*; Mt. XIV, 15; Lk. XXII, 12) in a house belonging to an aristocratic and distinguished disciple of Jesus (cfr. Mt. XXVI, 18). It was probably the same room in which the Master appeared repeatedly to his disciples after his Resurrection (Lk. XXIV, 36 ff.; XXIV, 44 ff.; Jn. XX, 19 ff.; XX, 26 ff.), the same room to which the disciples of Jesus repaired after His Ascension and where they assembled on Pentecost and thereafter (Acts I, 13: *ὑπερῷον* = *ἀνάγαιον*, and II, 2 ff.). The owner of the refectory, or rather of the house, was the husband of Mary, the mother of John Mark, the Evangelist (Acts XII, 12; cfr. Mt. XIV, 51 [b]). Through the celebration of the Eucharistic Supper immediately after the pasch and the events on the day of the Resurrection and Ascension (cfr. Acts I, 4 ff.; X, 41) this house was consecrated by Christ Himself as the first Christian church. It was situated on Mount Sion and is probably the one to which Epiphanius refers when he relates that Emperor Hadrian, upon his visit to Jerusalem, which resulted in the rebuilding of the city as Aelia Capitolina, found the city and the Temple in ruins, with the exception of a few dwelling-houses and "the church of God, which was small and stood on the place where the disciples, coming from Mount Olivet after the Ascension of the Redeemer, withdrew to the upper room" (IV, 17). Theodosius (c. 530), writes: *"De Golgotha usque in sancta Sion passi numero CC, quae est mater omnium ecclesiarum, quam Sion domnus noster Christus cum*

[6] *De Situ,* 7; ed. Geyer, p. 141.

apostolis fundavit; ipsa fuit domus sancti Marci evangelistae." [6] The upper chamber, according to St. Mark (XIV, 15) and St. Luke (XXII, 12), was very spacious.[7]

1. A much discussed phrase is Mt. XXVI, 18: "Go ye into the city to a certain man (*πρὸς τὸν δεῖνα*). Ὁ *δεῖνα* means some one whom the speaker for some reason does not care to name. The account of the first Evangelist is the most concise, as may be seen from the fact that, deviating from Mark and Luke, he does not mention the cue given by Our Lord to the two disciples, by which they could find the house that He meant. However, we are permitted to interpret this idiomatic expression, so familiar to the Greek language, to mean: Jesus did not communicate to His disciples the name, but gave them indications by which they could find the man whom He meant. We may consider the expression as one not actually used by Our Lord, but introduced by the Evangelist, as a glance at the two other Evangelists plainly reveals. Some suggest in answer to the question why Our Saviour indicated the goodman of the house in this manner, that it was His intention to manifest His superior divine knowledge. There is no objection to such a view, if we add the above-mentioned reason: Jesus intended to conceal from the traitor the place of the Last Supper and thereby make it possible to spend the evening undisturbed in the company of His disciples. The owner of the house was a disciple of Jesus, hence His positive order: "With thee I will make the Pasch," which is further motivated by the intimation that He was about to die.

2. The discrepancy between Matthew, Mark, and Luke is not altogether insignificant. In following St. Luke, some endeavor to gain a point in favor of the anticipation theory by arguing thus: The disciples did not as yet think of celebrating the Pasch, as they surely would have done had the incident occurred on the morning of the 14th Nisan, since Jesus had to call their attention to the Pasch and request them to make immediate preparations for celebrating it. This plainly shows that the 13th Nisan was the day of this occurrence. But this argumentation is wrong. Matthew and Mark surely give us the more precise account. The disciples of their own accord asked Jesus: Where shall we prepare the Pasch?—in other words, they took it for granted that He would "make the Pasch" with them according to custom and law; all they wanted to know was the place where it was to be done. It is not St. Luke's intention to enter into details; he merely states the fact, and

[7] Cfr. Zahn, *Dormitio S. Virginis,* Leipsic, 1899; Mommert, *Die Dormitio,* Leipsic, 1899.

hence records without comment Christ's order to Peter and John and represents them as asking Him where the preparations should be made. In this matter we may follow St. Mark, or rather his informant, St. Peter. According to this writer the disciples, as they had often done before, addressed to Jesus, through Peter, the question: Where shall we prepare the Pasch? He thereupon gave the necessary directions to Peter and John. St. Matthew gives us, as he does also on other occasions (cfr. XXVI, 8), a more general wording; in regard to the spontaneity of the question, however, he leaves no room for doubt, no more than does St. Mark, with this sole difference that he does not expressly name Peter and John as the delegates.

3. The Septuagint translates the Hebrew term for week by *τὰ ἕβδομα* or *ἡ ἑβδομάς*. The latter word, ordinarily used also by Josephus, is not found in the New Testament, which employs *τὰ σάββατα* (Mt. XXVIII, 1; Mk. XIV, 2; Lk. XXIV, 1; Jn. XX, 1, 19; Acts XX, 7). However, *τὸ σάββατον*, meaning the individual Sabbath day (Mt. XXII, 2; Jn. V, 16), also occurs for "week" (Lk. XXVIII, 12; Mk. XVI, 9; 1 Cor. XVI, 2). The seven days of the week were named as follows *ἡ μία* (= *ἡ πρώτη*), a Hebraism; *ἡ δευτέρα, ἡ τρίτη, ἡ τετάρτη, η πέμπτη τῶν σαββάτων, παρασκευή* or *προσάββατον* = Friday (Mk. XV, 42), and *σάββατον* or *σάββατα*. The latter term not infrequently also means an individual Sabbath day (*e.g.*, Mt. XII, 1, 11 and XXVIII, 1: *ὀψὲ σαββάτων*; Mk. I, 21, II, 23). The day of Our Lord's Pasch was, therefore, *ἡ πέμπτη τῶν σαββάτων*.

4. Here the question as to the *duration of Christ's public life* cannot very well be avoided. Research on this point can hardly be said to have made any real progress of late. Van Bebber's theory that the public life of Jesus lasted only one year has been vehemently assailed; nevertheless, I believe the problem will find its final solution in this sense. Lk. VI, 1 is no argument against the theory, because the *δευτεροπρώτῳ* is undoubtedly spurious. The *τὸ πάσχα ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων* (Jn. VI, 4) is suspicious, because John designates the Jewish Easter by *τό πάσχα* or *τὸ πάσχα τῶν Ἰουδαίων*; if this reading is genuine, we must conclude that Jesus at one time remained in Galilee during the paschal festival, remote from the center of the theocracy. This is difficult to believe; for Our Lord acknowledged the public worship of the Old Law and therefore surely followed the custom of going to Jerusalem each year to celebrate the Pasch (Lk. 11, 41–42) also during His public life. Even His enemies expected Him to come to Jerusalem on the chief holydays (Jn. VII, 11), and though in the days immediately preceding the Pasch of 783 some

pilgrims expressed the opinion that perhaps He would not come to the festival, the fourth Evangelist expressly states the reason for this apprehension, namely, the decision of the hierarchs and the measures adopted by them for the purpose of apprehending Jesus and putting Him to death (XI, 56 f.). From this it follows with certainty that the general opinion prevalent among the Jews at that time was that Jesus missed none of the chief Jewish festivals. Indeed, the manner in which the fourth Evangelist reports the events creates the impression that he wished to record the visits of Jesus in Jerusalem as they occurred in turn on each regularly succeeding festival (from the Pasch of 782 until the next Pasch, 783). The omission of the regular visit, especially on a Pasch, would have been used by the hierarchs as the basis of a criminal charge against Jesus during His public life, and especially during His trial, of which, however, the sacred documents say nothing whatever. Jn. IV, 35, correctly interpreted, is no evidence against this hypothesis. The statement in Lk. III, 1 is a positive argument in its favor.

5. St. Matthew's account of the preparation for the Pasch is lucid in spite of its terseness. The Evangelist begins by calling the attention of the reader to the proximity of the Jewish Paschal season (XXVI, 2). In XXVI, 17 he speaks of the inquiry of the disciples where they should prepare the Pasch; in XXVI, 18 he intimates that the Saviour shared the views of His disciples as to the necessity of celebrating the Pasch. Now this very verse (Mt. XXVI, 18) has been used as a proof in favor of the anticipation-theory; however, this is wrong. When Our Saviour, through Peter and John, asks the owner of the house (*οἰκοδεσπότης*) for the use of his dining-room to celebrate the Pasch, He does not wish to express the idea: the time of my death is near at hand, I must *even now,* before the legal time, celebrate the Pasch and farewell-supper, and beg you to accommodate me with a room. There is no *σήμερον* = "even now," "yet to-day" added to *ποιῶ τὸ πάσχα.* The sense of the entire phrase, in which *πρὸς σέ* and *ὁ καιρός μου ἐγγύς ἐστιν* are the words on which the emphasis rests, is: I beg you to let me use your refectory for the celebration of the Pasch, hoping that you will do me this favor in view of the approaching death of your master and teacher, and in spite of the threats of the Sanhedrists (cfr. Jn. IX, 22; XI, 47 ff.; XI, 57; XII, 42). There is, therefore, in these words no indication that Our Lord anticipated the Pasch; while on the other hand the two predicates, *ἐστρωμένον ἕτοιμον* (Mark XIV, 15) and *ἐστρωμένον* (Luke XXII, 12), added to *ἀνάγαιον,* may be taken as evidence that the legal time (14th of Nisan) was strictly observed; for in this context these terms can only mean that the owner of the room

had already prepared it for himself and his family and hence intended to celebrate the Pasch on the same, *i. e.*, the legal day.

Mt. XXVI, 19 briefly reports the carrying out of the order of Jesus and XXVI, 20 the beginning of the celebration. A close examination of the entire account, therefore, gives us the same result, namely, that, according to Matthew, Jesus celebrated the Pasch with His disciples in Jerusalem on the legal day and in compliance with the laws and customs of the Jews.

6. Spitta regards the paragraph on the preparation for the Last Supper as an interpolation. The manuscript codices offer not the least ground for such a surmise, and the so-called internal reasons are purely subjective, *e. g.*, when a glaring contradiction is discovered between this paragraph and the statement in Mk. XIV, 1–2. Spitta in the latter passage interprets μὴ ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ thus: the execution of Jesus must take place not *on,* but *before,* the festival. We have already demonstrated the incorrectness of this interpretation. The grammatical form in Mark (XIV, 1–2) may appear to us somewhat peculiar; however, he certainly wishes to say, in agreement with Matthew, that the Sanhedrists on the 12th Nisan expressed the opinion that Jesus must under all circumstances be apprehended and put to death; however (on account of the presence of such a large number of His followers), this could not be done before and on the festival (*i. e.*, the principal festival day). But even if Mark does say here: the plan of the Sanhedrists on the 12th Nisan was to put Jesus to death before the festival, no contradiction can be construed. The Evangelist, it is true, does not say before he begins his narrative: the plan of the high priests and the efforts of Judas have come to naught; however, such a plain statement was not at all necessary, because the reader can see for himself that the plan evidently was a failure on account of the impossibility of executing it, and hence Jesus could, unhindered, give the order to prepare the Pasch on the morning of the 14th Nisan.

Neither does the objection drawn from Mk. XIV, 17: "and when evening was come, he cometh with the twelve" appear well founded. Matthew (XXVI, 20) and Luke (XXII, 14) report the arrival of Jesus for the purpose of celebrating the supper with the same brevity; Mark no more than the other two needed to add expressly that Jesus came for the celebration of the "Paschal supper"; and inasmuch as he had immediately before related the preparation for that supper, the reader knows that Jesus came in order to celebrate the Pasch. The ὀψίας γενομένης, which occurs literally also in Matthew, appears well established in both Evangelists; the parenthetical thought is: in the mean

time, while the supper was being prepared, evening came. The phrase "he cometh with the twelve" sounds somewhat strange in view of the fact that the Evangelist mentions shortly before the sending of two Apostles to Jerusalem on the morning of the 14th Nisan. However, the account contains no real contradiction; for it is possible that Peter and John returned from Jerusalem to Bethania after finishing their errand, say, about 5 o'clock in the evening, and that the Evangelist does not mention this fact. More probably, however, Mark, regardless of the departure of the two disciples, chose the phrase *μετὰ τῶν δώδεκα* in order to designate the disciples in a solemn manner as partakers of the paschal banquet.

It is noteworthy that St. Luke, when noting the beginning of the Pasch (XXII, 14), also employs the solemn expression *οἱ δώδεκα ἀπόστολοι*, thus emphasizing that no one but Christ and His twelve Apostles were present at the Last Supper.

7. The supper which Jesus ate with His Apostles on the evening before His death was primarily a Jewish Passah banquet. Of the three Synoptics, St. Luke's account is the plainest. The first verse to be considered is XXII, 1: "now the feast of the unleavened bread, which is called the passah, was at hand." Then the positive statement in XXI, 7: "and the day of the unleavened bread [*i. e.*, of the eight-day Easter celebration] came, on which it was necessary that the passah [lamb] should be killed"; furthermore (XXII, 8) the order to Peter and John to prepare the passah; XXII, 13 the execution of the order; XXII, 14 the very significant remark: Jesus reclined at table with his Apostles when *the* hour was come, *i. e.*, the hour fixed by law and custom for the celebration of the Pasch to begin. Again XXII, 15: "with desire have I desired to eat this passah with you, before I suffer,"—words which show that the Saviour's thoughts had been for some time previously occupied with this celebration in the company of His disciples,—not for *their* sake, of course, but because on this occasion He desired to fulfill the promise made by Him at Capharnaum to give them the bread of life (Jn. VI, 26 ff. and XIII, 1). Finally, Luke XXII, 16: "from this time I will no more eat of the passah," because it will receive its fulfilment by my death, or rather by the supper preceding my death, and will thereby be abrogated, and XXII, 18: the drinking from the passah-cup will henceforth cease; in the kingdom of God the type will receive its fulfilment in the chalice of the New Covenant. St. Luke's account, in its further course (Eucharistic Supper) reminds us strongly of 1 Cor. XI, 23–27, and it is plain that the Evangelist here follows his teacher. What does St. Paul say about the time of the Last Supper? In his

letter to the Corinthians he speaks only of the Eucharistic Supper as being instituted on the night of Christ's betrayal. The Apostle certainly presumes, as do Luke and the other three Evangelists, that this institution immediately preceded the condemnation and crucifixion of Jesus. The statement in regard to the "night" agrees fully with Jn. XIII, 30, according to which Judas left the Cenacle when it "was night." Immediately upon his departure followed the institution of the Holy Eucharist. However, we can discover in St. Paul at least a trace of the paschal supper. The words spoken by Our Lord and reported by Paul: "This do for a commemoration of me," contain an allusion to Ex. XII, 14: "This day shall be for a memorial to you" (referring to the Jewish Pasch). St. Paul certainly did not fail to see this and clearly betrays a knowledge of the relationship existing between the Last Supper and the Pasch.

8. Simon of Cyrene has been pretty generally taken for a Jew, though anyone accepting this view must admit that the mention made of him in the Synoptics (Mt. XXVII, 32; Mk. XV, 21; Lk. XXIII,26) seems to militate against the 15th Nisan as the day of the death of Jesus. For if Simon returned from his labor in the field at the hour of the crucifixion, on the 15th Nisan, he as a Jew must have violated the law which forbade servile work on the sabbatical Easter festival (Ex. XII, 16; Lv. XXIII, 3 ff.). Such a violation can hardly be expected of any Jew, particularly of one from Cyrene, in view of Acts VI, 9 ff. In the face of the many weighty arguments which speak in favor of the 15th Nisan as the day of the crucifixion, the words of SS. Mark and Luke concerning the coming of Simon ἀπ' ἀγροῦ have been interpreted in a manner which does away with the idea of a violation of the law by Simon. According to this interpretation, Simon did not come from the field, *i. e.,* from work, but returned from a walk (thus Hilgenfeld), or from the country, *i. e.,* from the environs of Jerusalem. Simon was no Jerusalemite, and during the festal season many pilgrims had taken lodging in the surrounding country, as Jesus Himself did in Bethania (thus Nösgen and Brandt). This interpretation does not fully satisfy. One will naturally ask: Why did the Sanhedrin, under whose supervision Jesus was dragged from the palace of Pilate to Golgotha (Jn. XIX, 16), give their consent to this violation of the law and allow the Jew Simon to carry the cross on the first festival day of Easter? Van Bebber has shed light upon this hitherto obscure problem by the following explanation, based on Jn. XIX, 17. True, he says, Jesus was obliged to carry the cross personally on the day of the crucifixion, al-

though it was a sabbatical Easter festival; but as the crucifixion was decided upon in the morning of the 15th Nisan, and carried out at once, there was no substitute at hand in the pretorium, and thus the hurriedly prepared cross was laid upon His shoulders, and the hierarchs on their part gave their consent because they were in a great hurry to have Jesus executed, on condition, however, that the Sabbath law be complied with and public scandal avoided as soon as an opportunity presented itself on the way. This opportunity presented itself when the cavalcade came out of the city and met Simon of Cyrene, whom the soldiers, with the approval of the hierarchs, promptly compelled to take the cross and carry it after the Saviour. Thus it is plain that Simon was no Jew, but a pagan. The Evangelists do not call him Simeon (2 Peter I, 1), but Simon, which is an abbreviation of Simonides, a Greek name, as were the names of his two sons, Rufus and Alexander (Mk. XV, 21; cfr. Rom. XVI, 13). The man actually came from work in the field, and the Roman soldiers, recognizing him as a pagan by his clothes and tools, compelled him to carry the cross.

9. The phrase in Jn. XIII, 1: *πρὸ τῆς ἑορτῆς τοῦ πάσχα*, is of extraordinary importance; but though the exegetes have turned their full attention to it, no uniform interpretation has resulted. By the majority *ἡ ἑορτὴ τοῦ πάσχα* is understood to mean the entire octave of Easter, and they argue as follows: Inasmuch as the festival proper began with the Paschal supper on the evening of the 14th Nisan (*i. e.*, on the eve before the 15th Nisan), the evening of the 13th Nisan must be meant here (thus Meyer-Weiss). This view proves impossible when we take into consideration the idiomatic usage of St. John, who employs *τὸ πάσχα* or *τὸ πάσχα τῶν Ἰουδαίων* to designate the eight-day festival of Easter (II, 13; XI, 55; XII, 1; XVIII, 28, 39; XIX, 14). In XIII, 1 we meet with *ἡ ἑορτὴ τοῦ πάσχα*, by which latter he means the principal day of the Easter festival, the 15th Nisan, which was introduced as the festival of the Passah in the Pentateuch (Nm. XXVIII, 16) in contradistinction to the paschal slaughtering-day and the six days from the 16th to the 21st (cfr. Mt. XXVI, 5 and Jn. II, 23: *ἐν τῷ πάσχα τῇ ἑορτῇ, i. e., ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ τοῦ πάσχα*). This festival day, it is true, began in the evening of the 14th Nisan, with the setting of the sun; however, the fourth Evangelist, whenever he personally fixes the time, follows the natural computation from midnight. This computation we meet with in XIX, 14 and also in XIII, 29, where John relates: When Judas left the supper-room, about 9 o'clock P. M., the disciples supposed that he, as treasurer, intended to make purchases for the festival, or give alms

to the poor that these might be able to buy meat for the Passah. In reference to the eve before the 14th Nisan (*i. e.*, the 13th Nisan) this remark is meaningless; for at this time the thought could not arise in the disciples that Judas went out to make purchases for the festival, for he had the whole following 14th Nisan at his disposal for this purpose. On the other hand, such a surmise is perfectly comprehensible on the eve of the principal festival, inasmuch as the purchasing of the things necessary for the Passah was thereby certainly avoided in the morning hours. Thus John, by his chronological statement in XIII, 1, in conjunction with XIII, 29 f., points to the eve of the 15th Nisan or principal festival day, *i. e.*, to the evening of the 14th Nisan, when the Saviour gave to His disciples the greatest proof of His love for them by fulfilling the promise He had made at Capharnaum. Hereby the δεῖπνον (supper) in XIII, 2 and 4 is clearly designated as the Passah-supper of the 14th Nisan. Berning holds that πρὸ τῆς ἑορτῆς τοῦ πάσχα is neither the evening of the 14th Nisan, not yet the 13th Nisan, but rather a general term for the time in which the supper was prepared and celebrated. The Evangelist, he says, does not present to our view the scene of the supper, but takes us to the morning hours of the 14th Nisan, when the Passah celebration was begun with the order given by Our Lord. This is a sophistical interpretation. Πρὸ τῆς ἑορτῆς must be joined with ἠγάπησεν and means first of all the institution of the Holy Eucharist, which occurred immediately after the δεῖπνον, *i. e.*, the Passah-supper, hence on the night of the 14th Nisan. St. John had in view this moment, the evening and night before the principal festival day, as Berning might have known if he had taken the εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν (XIII, 29) into due consideration. Luthardt, in his commentary on the Gospel of St. John (pp. 102 and 105) is on the whole correct when he refers the statement of the Evangelist (XIII, 1) to the evening of the 14th Nisan and ἡ ἑορτὴ τοῦ πάσχα to the principal festival day of Easter, the 15th Nisan; but he has no clear conception of the latter (midnight according to the computation of John). R. Schäfer also misses the real point at issue when he says: Since πάσχα can mean only *one* day, and since Jn. XVIII, 28 shows beyond cavil that the Jews had not as yet eaten the Passah on the day on which Jesus was sentenced, but merely intended to eat it, St. John (XIII, 1) undoubtedly means a point of time preceding the Passah; hence the supper mentioned in XIII, 2 must not be identified with the one reported by the Synoptics. This argumentation rests upon a complete misunderstanding of the Johannine idiom, according to which τὸ πάσχα does not mean a single day, but the entire octave of the Paschal festival, hence ἡ ἑορτὴ τοῦ πάσχα is the fes-

tival *par excellence* of this Passah, *i. e.*, the 15th Nisan. If due attention is paid to this idiomatic usage, we obtain a different result in regard to the expression τὸ πάσχα φαγεῖν, that is to say, expound it in the sense of "to celebrate the Passah (by a sacrificial banquet)." Although the expression τὸ πάσχα φαγεῖν ("to eat the Passah") is borrowed from the Jewish language, nevertheless the pagan converts and readers of St. John's Gospel could easily understand him on account of analogous Hellenisms, such as θύειν τὴν ἑορτήν, etc.; they were familiar with the idiom of St. John, who was for many years their teacher and the metropolitan of Ephesus.

10. The socalled Gospel of Peter is said to attest the death of Jesus on the 14th Nisan and thereby to prove that Jesus could not have celebrated the Jewish Passah on the day prescribed by law (thus Spitta). True, we find in a rediscovered fragment of this apocryphal "gospel" the statement that Joseph of Arimathea asked Pilate for the body of Jesus even before the crucifixion; Pilate referred him to Herod, and the latter said: "Brother Pilate, even if no one had asked for him [Jesus], we would have buried him, because the Sabbath is at hand; for it is written in the law that the sun must not set upon one who has been executed." And he [Herod] gave Him [Jesus] over to the people before the first day of the unleavened bread—their festival (πρὸ μιᾶς τῶν ἀζύμων τῆς ἑορτῆς αὐτῶν; v. 3–5 ed. Schubert). In my *Einleitung* (pp. 809 ff.) I have expressed my opinion on the Gospel of Peter, and, in answer to the almost incredible overrating of this heretical and tendentious pamphlet I have pointed out its numerous blunders and showed that it has scarcely any value as a historical document. In order to exculpate the Roman authorities and to represent them as friendly to the Christians, the author charges the Jews with the sole blame for the execution of Christ. Herod and the Judeans he places in the foreground of the drama: the Jewish King has the right of disposal over the living and the dead Jesus; to him Joseph has recourse at the direction of Pilate, and this, too, before the crucifixion has taken place; at this moment Herod could, of course, only promise to hand over the corpse later, not issue an order for its immediate delivery. The author, therefore, does not relate the handing over of the corpse, but by παρέδωκεν simply the handing over of the living Jesus to the mob for crucifixion, which is said to have taken place before the first day of the unleavened bread, *i. e.*, on the 14th Nisan. On the other hand, he represents the day of the crucifixion as a Friday by saying: ἐπεὶ καὶ σάββατον ἐπιφώσκει. The former chronological statement, of course, deserves no

serious consideration in view of the positive statement in our canonical Gospels. It is possible that the author misapprehended the fourth Evangelist, but even more probable that he contradicted the canonical tradition on purpose, as he elsewhere betrays a strong interest in the Easter controversy of the second century.

CHAPTER III

THE PASSAH BANQUET—THE STRIFE FOR PRECEDENCE—THE WASHING OF THE FEET AND THE UNMASKING OF THE TRAITOR

(Mt. XXVI, 20–25; Mk. XIV, 17–21; Lk. XXII, 14–18 and 21–30; Jn. XIII, 5–32.)

Towards evening, Jesus departed from Bethania, going with His disciples into the house indicated by Him to Peter and John, *i. e.*, the abode of the father of John Mark and Mary on Mt. Sion. All preparations had been made, and thus Our Saviour could begin the celebration of the Passah at the customary hour, six P. M. The account given by the Evangelists does not permit us to doubt that the celebration of the Passah preceded the institution of the Holy Eucharist. True, the historical account of Matthew and Mark is restricted to a few words: XXVI, 20 and 21[a]; XIV, 17 and 18[a]; but taking into consideration the preceding command of the Master to prepare the supper, these brief remarks assure us that the meeting of Jesus with His disciples on the evening of the 14th Nisan in the dining-room in Jerusalem was primarily arranged for the purpose of celebrating the Jewish Passah. More definite is the account of St. Luke, because he very clearly distinguishes the Passah from the Eucharistic Supper (XXII, 15–20) and the preface (XXII, 14) plainly indicates the beginning of the Passah at 6 P. M. To justly appreciate the Synoptical accounts we must bear in mind that the Evangelists did not intend *to give an account of the Passah-meal,* that is, enumerate the various liturgical stages thereof. St. Matthew assumes that his Judeo-Christian readers are familiar with all this. SS. Mark

and Luke wrote for pagan converts, but it cannot have been their object to instruct their readers on the external rite of the Jewish Passah. On the contrary, they aimed to place in the foreground the new things said and done by Jesus in connection with the Jewish festival; and if they touch upon the ancient customs at all, it is only to give a frame and background to the scene. The Christians of Asia Minor, for whom St. John wrote at the close of the first century,—at a time when the Temple of Jerusalem was already in ruins and the entire Jewish form of worship had changed,—it was of no importance to know the details of the ancient Passah, but sufficient to know the occasion on which Our Lord had given the proof of "his greatest love for his own who were in the world." With this they were familiar from the three first Gospels and from the sermons of their spiritual father, St. John; hence the latter in his Gospel merely makes a cursory mention of the Passah-supper preceding the institution of the Eucharist (XIII, 2, 4, 26). For the rest, it was John's purpose to incorporate in his Gospel the more significant words and acts of Jesus during the last evening when He was with His disciples, and especially the washing of the feet and the farewell discourse. The supper on the evening of the 14th Nisan, described by the Evangelists, therefore undoubtedly was the Jewish Passah. The simple words: "Jesus sat down with his twelve disciples," or "when they were at table and eating" fully suffice after the account of the "preparation made for the Passah," to characterize the meal as a liturgical banquet.

1. The Passah Banquet on the Evening of the 14th Nisan

Christ accepted the Old Testament order of worship and announced that he would obey the whole law in all things, and thus fulfill it. Though the one or other precept of the Jewish ritual of that time may have been a "human invention," the Paschal ceremonies at any rate were a living custom, having

the approbation of lawful authority, and Our Divine Saviour, by His allusion to the rite of the 14th Nisan (Mt. XXIII, 39), at least indirectly expressed His approval thereof. Therefore it may safely be assumed that, on the evening of the 14th Nisan, He made use of the rite prescribed for the Passah-meal as then in vogue. What was this rite? The Mosaic law prescribes but very little as to the manner of celebrating the Pasch, and even this little, according to the testimony of Jewish tradition, referred chiefly to the Passah as anciently celebrated in Egypt. The rite which the Talmudists (Mishna, Tosiphtha, etc.) describe no doubt coincides essentially with the rite of the Jews at the time of Christ, although there is every indication that the Talmudists have made several amplifications. [Note 1]. According to this rite, Our Divine Saviour began the celebration by washing His hands, in which ceremony His disciples took part; upon this followed the mingling of the first ritualistic cup, from which Jesus drank after pronouncing a blessing over it, and then handed to the Twelve to drink. In the meantime the Paschal lamb with its accessories (bitter herbs, *charoseth*) was brought in, and, after a second washing of the hands, Our Lord with His disciples reclined on cushions at table. At the mixing of the second ritualistic cup He delivered a short discourse on the origin and meaning of the Passah (Easter-haggadah), and then, after reciting the Hallel (Ps. 113 and 114) drank of the second cup, as did also the disciples. Then followed the meal. The loaves were blessed, broken, and eaten. This was followed by the eating of the Passah-lamb. At the moment when the eating of the lamb began [Note 2] Jesus, deeply moved, said: "With desire have I desired (*ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐπεθύμησα*; cfr. Gn. XXXI, 30) to eat this Passah with you before I suffer" (Lk. XXII, 15). Whence this longing desire? At His first appearance in Jerusalem on the Passah of 782 (Jn. II, 13 ff.) Jesus had surely celebrated the Passah according to the Jewish custom; not, however, together with the Twelve, who at that time had not yet all been chosen or elevated to the dignity

of Apostles. Therefore, Our Lord longed to celebrate the Passah in the company of the Apostles, who were to remain on earth as His representatives and *continue His work,* and this so much the more as it was to be at the same time a *farewell supper* to His beloved ones and to mark the institution of the supper of the New Covenant. St. Luke lays stress on the presence of *the twelve Apostles,* in order to call the attention of his readers to the eminent importance for the Apostles of the Eucharistic Supper that followed upon the Passah. The words: "I will not eat it, till it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God" (Lk. XXII, 16) are not to be taken in an eschatological sense, but mean: I now eat of the symbolic Passah-lamb for the last time; the symbol is to be replaced by its archetype, the true Paschal sacrifice and banquet of the Covenant in which my flesh and blood will be given to the faithful to eat and drink; at this moment I shall give you my flesh and blood to eat and drink and give you the command to perform this rite "for a remembrance of me." In conformity with the Jewish ritual, after eating the lamb, a *third* cup was filled, called the cup of benediction, because grace was said over it before it was emptied.

There are not a few learned exegetes who hold that Our Divine Saviour did not drink the third ritualistic Passah-cup on the evening of the 14th Nisan, but substituted for it the cup of the New Covenant. This assumption is based principally on 1 Cor. X, 16: "the cup of blessing which we bless, is it not fellowship in the blood of Christ?" This expression St. Paul is said to have taken from the Jewish Passah-rite, in which the third ritualistic cup was called by this name. Paul contrasts with the Jewish cup of blessing the cup of blessing of the Christians (the cup of blessing which *we* bless.) However, this assertion has no foundation in fact, because the word ἡμεῖς, on which so much stress is laid, is not contained in St. Paul's text. Hence there can be no question of contrasting a Jewish with a Christian cup. The entire conclusion which has been drawn from this passage is wrong. It is an unfounded assertion that

St. Paul connects the phrase τὸ ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας ὃ εὐλογοῦμεν with the Jewish Passah rite. Even those writers who identify the Eucharistic chalice with the third Passah-cup (*e. g.*, Schanz) are forced to admit that the expression quoted from St. Paul is not a technical term taken from the Jewish Passah-rite, but a Christian phrase, borrowed from the long prayer of praise and thanksgiving addressed to God the Father for the creation and redemption, and closed with the Amen of the people which immediately preceded the Eucharistic chalice. [Note 3]. There are also considerations that speak positively against the thesis. Jesus, who, according to His own declaration, came to fulfill the law, could not without some special reasons deviate from the *traditional celebration,* but had to bring the customary rite to a close before He instituted the Holy Eucharist. According to the Jewish rite then in vogue, the drinking of the third and fourth Passah-cup was a *strict duty* for every participant. Our Lord, according to the Gospels, admitted Judas to the Passah. Having once decided to do this, He had to tolerate him in the Cenacle until the Paschal supper had been finished according to the Jewish rite. It follows from this that Jesus not only drank the third ritualistic Passah-cup together with all of the twelve Apostles, but also recited with them the second part of the Hallel Ps. (115–)118, and drank the fourth Passah-cup before He proceeded to the Eucharistic Supper. Had Judas not taken part in the Hallel and the fourth cup, he would not have celebrated the Jewish Passah *in a proper manner* because both of these ceremonies were integral parts of the Passah rite, and thus Jesus would have been guilty of an ἀνομία, —an utterly impossible assumption. Accordingly, after reciting Ps. 118, Jesus drank the fourth Passah-cup and gave it to His disciples to drink with the words: Take it [the chalice] and divide it among you; for I say to you that I will not henceforth drink of the fruit of the vine until the kingdom of God come (Lk. XXII, 17–18; cfr. Mt. XXVI, 29; Mk. XIV, 25), *i. e.*, with the commencement of the new kingdom, the drinking of

my blood, which I shall this day give to you, takes the place of the symbolical drinking of the fruit of the vine at the Passah. [Note 4].

2. The Strife for Precedence

When Jesus mentioned the approaching Kingdom of God, a strife for precedence arose among the disciples; this was followed by the washing of the feet and the unmasking of Judas, the traitor; which, in turn, was followed by the institution of the Holy Eucharist. Is this succession of events actually indicated by the Gospel accounts? According to St. Luke, it might appear that the institution of the Holy Eucharist followed immediately upon the celebration of the Jewish Passah. However, this sequence, as we have already intimated, is a result of St. Luke's aim to show his readers the institution of the Holy Eucharist as the fulfilment of its type (the Passah). By narrating the quarrel (XXII, 24–30) before the account of the Eucharistic celebration (XXII, 19, 20) and Christ's utterance regarding the traitor (XXII, 20–23), the third Evangelist himself indicates ("and there was also a strife amongst them") that the episode by no means followed immediately upon the institution of the Sacred Banquet of the New Covenant and upon the conversation regarding the traitor. Moreover, it is hardly conceivable that, after the solemn celebration of the Eucharist, such a sentiment as the strife for precedence presupposes, could have animated the Apostles. On the other hand, it is quite comprehensible that Christ's utterance concerning the kingdom of God (Lk. XXII, 18) at the conclusion of the Passah-supper should stir the hearts of the Apostles and cause a debate among them as to who would be the greater in the Messianic Kingdom. Already on the way to Jerusalem Jesus had been obliged to censure a certain petty jealousy caused by the petition of the two sons of Zebedee (Mt. XX, 25–28), and now in the supper-room, when He spoke of the Kingdom of God, the notion of a glorious Messianic Kingdom was revived in the

Apostles (cfr. Acts I, 6) and also the desire to know who of them would surpass the rest in rank and honors. Our Lord on this occasion abstains from rebuking His disciples for such genuinely human, though sinful, emotions, but proceeds to instruct them in the fundamental principles of His Kingdom in opposition to the principles of the kingdom of this world (Lk. XXII, 28–30). In the latter, though the welfare of the governed is a matter of purely secondary importance, they in their servile mind give to their oppressors the honorary title of "benefactor," *i. e.,* of their country; whereas in the Kingdom of Christ, *i. e.,* the Church, those distinguished by dignity and rank are bound to serve others in humility, and thereby to be benefactors of mankind in name and deed. That Our Lord here contemplates the establishment of various ranks in His future Kingdom is evident. The Apostles were all "great," but one of them was to be the greatest (ὁ μείζων; Lk. XXII, 26); all possess authority and dignity, but he who is highest in dignity and authority is to be the greatest in humility; by the exercise of this virtue the fundamental evil of the pagan world, domineering pride, is to be overcome. [Note 3.] To His exhortation Jesus adds a word of acknowledgment and praise for the fidelity of the disciples, encouraging them to continue to persevere in future trials and struggles. At the same time He calls their attention to the abundant reward which He will give them in His future Kingdom, where the disciples shall eat and drink at the table, *i. e.,* have a share in the banquet of eternal life, in the marriage-feast of the Lamb (cfr. Apoc. XIX, 9), and reign with Jesus forever and ever. (Lk. XXII, 28–30; Mt. XV, 1–13; 1 Cor. IV, 8; 2 Tim. II, 11).

3. The Washing of the Feet

The strife for precedence was followed by the washing of the feet, of which ceremony St. John alone gives an account (XIII, 3 ff.). He mentions, as the time and occasion thereof, a supper

which Jesus ate with His disciples before the (principal) festival day of the Paschal octave; but means by this supper the Passah-meal on the evening of the 14th Nisan, for he connects with the washing of the feet Christ's discourse concerning the traitor (Jn. XIII, 21–30), in essential agreement with the Synoptics, according to whom this discourse was delivered on the occasion of the Passah-supper. Moreover, John reports, in connection with this supper, the departure of the whole company for Mount Olivet and the beginning of the Passion (XVIII, 1 ff.), precisely as the Synoptics place the departure of Jesus from the supper-room and from the city for Mount Olivet after the narrative of the Last Supper (Mt. XXVI, 30; Mk. XIV, 26; Lk. XXII, 39). Finally, the remark of the fourth Evangelist concerning the morsel shows that he meant the Passah-meal which Our Lord celebrated with His disciples according to the Jewish rite; he speaks of it as something well-known (*τὸ ψωμίον*) which bore this name in the Passah-ritual (XIII, 26).

There can be no doubt as to the close connection of the washing of the feet with the strife for precedence. Christ Himself clearly expressed the purpose of this washing (Jn. XIII, 7–15): it was to produce an interior, moral purification. Jn. XIII, 10 gives more particulars on this point. By *ὁ λελουμένος*, etc., Jesus alludes to the Levitical cleansing bath which the Apostles had taken before the beginning of the Passah-supper according to the Jewish custom (*τῶν ἔπὶ τὰ συσσίτια συνειλεγμένων ἁγνευτικοῖς περιῤῥαντηρίοις κεκαθαρμένων*[1]). Having entered the Cenacle, they need but a cleansing of the feet, which, because uncovered, were again soiled after the bath. According to the second part of verse 19 (*καὶ ὑμεῖς καθαροὶ ἐστε, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ πάντες*), Jesus spoke at the same time of a moral purification which had taken place in the Apostles, with the exception of Judas. How was this moral purification brought about? Some critics answer: By their association with Our Lord: it is more correct to say:

[1] Cfr. Philo, II, 292.

first of all by the Baptism which some of the Apostles received in Jerusalem at the time indicated by Jn. II, 23, others later. Although, as Tertullian says,[2] the Scriptures furnish us direct evidence only of the Baptism of Paul (Acts IX, 18), the fact that Jesus administered Baptism to his Apostles and disciples is certified by His discourse reported in Jn. III, 3 ff., by the account in Jn. II, 22 ff., and by the words of Our Lord reported in Mt. XXVIII, 19. For the command of Our Saviour: "Make disciples of all mankind," *i. e.,* make them Christians by baptizing them, presupposes that the Apostles themselves had been made τέκνα Θεοῦ and μαθηταί of Jesus in the full sense [Note 6] by the reception of Baptism. Hence in the supper-room Jesus means to say to His Apostles: By the Baptism administered to you by me you have been morally purified; however, many petty faults have crept in since then; sins of frailty and rashness have been committed by you, *e. g.,* only a few moments ago, when a jealous quarrel occurred, as also on former occasions, when you repeatedly succumbed to slight attacks of jealousy, rivalry, envy, and anger (Mt. XVIII, 1 ff.; Mk. IX, 33 ff.; Lk. IX, 46 and 51–56). Therefore, excite in yourselves a sense of sorrow and contrition for your sins, in order that the remaining blots may be wiped away. This blotting out of faults, this perfect interior purification of the disciples, was to be symbolized by the washing of the feet. If we ask why the Apostles needed such a thorough and perfect purification of soul at this particular moment, there is but one satisfactory answer: This symbolic action was to be the final and immediate preparation for the sacred repast. [Note 7].

Such was the actual importance of washing the feet of the Apostles at that time. But this ceremony also had a future significance, as intimated in Jn. XIII, 13 ff. The highly significant words of Jesus recorded in this passage are usually interpreted as follows: As our Lord, on His part, performed an

[2] *De Bapt.,* 12.

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act of profound humility by washing the feet of His apostles, he taught them and all the members of His Kingdom a lesson in the duty of self-denying charity. It is not our intention to impugn the correctness of this interpretation; however, we may be permitted to ask: How was and is this humility and love to be manifested according to the intention of Jesus? Is it by literally fulfilling His words, *i. e.*, by washing the feet of Christian brethren, especially the poor and lowly? This would be carrying out the words of Jesus (XIII, 14 f.) either not at all, or very imperfectly. As a matter of fact we hear nothing of such an exercise of humility in the primitive Church. And yet the command of Our Lord sounds definite enough; for according to the sense He says: If I have washed your feet to cleanse your soul perfectly, and thus to prepare you for the impending Eucharistic repast, then you must also wash one another's feet (ἀλλήλων νίπτειν τοὺς πόδας) and thus cleanse your souls from sin as often as you prepare to renew this sacred banquet. How this admonition of Our Lord was complied with in Apostolic times, the fourth Evangelist shows in his first epistle (Jn. I, 9), where he speaks of an open confession of sins, and it is worthy of note that he does this immediately after speaking (I, 7) of the power of the blood of Jesus Christ, *i. e.*, of the Eucharistic banquet. The Saviour on the evening of His Resurrection communicated of His spirit, His divine nature, to His Apostles, and conferred on them the power of forgiving sins (Jn. XX, 21–23), which power presupposes a knowledge based upon confession. St. James attests the existence of confession (ἐξομολόγησις) when he exhorts the faithful to confess their sins to the priest alone, or to the priest and the assembly of the faithful, for the purpose of obtaining forgiveness. Hence the washing of the feet, according to the intention of Our Lord, was symbolical of confession, where one person kneels down before another for the purpose of openly and unreservedly confessing the sins committed by him, to obtain absolution, and thereby prepare himself for the same sacred

repast, *i. e.*, the Holy Eucharist. This interpretation alone explains why St. John records the utterances of Jesus in this connection (XIII, 12 ff.) verbally.

Between the washing of the feet and the institution of the Holy Eucharist occurred the unmasking of the traitor. In our opinion, Judas was dismissed before the Eucharistic banquet. For Matthew (XXVI, 21) and Mark (XIV, 18) place the account of the announcement of the treason immediately before the celebration of the Eucharistic banquet and thereby indicate that the traitor was unmasked at that moment. True, St. Luke records the prediction of the treason after the institution of the Eucharist (XXII, 21). However, we must take into consideration the peculiar purpose of his narrative mentioned above. The third Evangelist wished to connect the sacred banquet directly with the Passah-supper as a type of the Eucharist. And thus he was forced to place the strife for precedence and the designation of the traitor, both of which occurred towards the end of the Passah-supper, after the Eucharistic celebration. According to St. John, Judas was still present in the supper-room at the washing of the feet, which preceded the Eucharistic banquet. The Saviour declared him to be interiorly unclean. No doubt Judas also had at one time received Baptism, but had lost his baptismal innocence by grievous sins, finally by his intended treason (Mt. XXVI, 14; Mk. XIV, 10; Lk. XXII, 3 f.; Jn. XIII, 2), and thus, in consequence of his impenitent disposition, he was excluded from the purification effected in the other Apostles by the washing of the feet (cfr. Jn. VI, 7 and XII, 4 ff.). Our Divine Saviour followed up His first rather general declaration in regard to Judas (Jn XIII, 10) by further intimations of the approaching crime (XIII, 18 f.). Then He designated the traitor as one of the Apostles (XIII, 21), and finally, at the solicitation of the beloved disciple, he indicated the person of the traitor (XIII, 22–26). The passage in question, as so many others in St. John's Gospel, is of the nature of a supplement to the Synoptics. The difficulties of har-

monizing the accounts are undeniable, but by no means insurmountable. According to Mt. XXVI, 25, Judas, before the institution of the Holy Eucharist and after Jesus had announced the treason, addressed to Him the question: "Is it I, Rabbi?" The answer was: "Thou hast said it," *i. e.,* indeed, you are the traitor. When precisely did Judas ask this question? Evidently not at the same time with the other Apostles (Mt. XXVI, 22; Mk. XIV, 19), but later. Our Saviour left the question of the disciples unanswered, and in consequence thereof all were exceedingly perplexed (Lk. XXII, 23; Jn. XIII, 22). A sort of answer He gave by declaring: One of the twelve who dips his hand in the dish with me is the traitor (Mt. XXVI, 23; Mk. XIV, 20). Peter's attempt to discover the identity of the traitor, which is recorded by the fourth Evangelist alone, was attended by success in so far as John received an answer from Jesus (Jn. XIII, 26): "He it is, to whom I shall give the morsel." Evidently Judas, induced thereto by observing the secret conversation between Jesus and John, addressed to Our Lord at this moment, *i. e.,* when He was about to give him the morsel, the question: "Rabbi, is it I?" Jesus, while giving him the morsel, also gave him the answer: Yes, it is you! Besides Judas, this remark was understood only by John, who subsequently gave an account of the episode, and thus the other Apostles obtained knowledge of it. Of course, this explanation still leaves a slight difficulty. It may be argued: If John heard a "Yes" from the lips of Our Lord to the question of Judas, why the mysterious sign? Was it superfluous? The salient point of the Johannine account is the sentence: The beloved disciple alone received knowledge of the person of the traitor by the communication of the sign. In my opinion there is but one satisfactory solution of the difficulty: Judas put the question after Jesus had given the sign to John. Our Saviour gave the answer by handing Judas the parting morsel. This was for Judas a very intelligible "Yes," and for this reason John was certain of his point. Later Matthew also learned of the circum-

stances; with this information as a basis, he says in his Gospel (XXVI, 25): Jesus answered in the affirmative the question of Judas: Am I the traitor? This affirmative answer was not expressed in words, but by a deed; materially there is no difference, and hence the account of Matthew is unimpeachable.

Upon the unmasking of the traitor, according to St. John, directly followed the challenge of Our Saviour: That which thou dost, do quickly, *i. e.*, at once, without delay (XIII, 27). These words (Jn. XIII, 28) were heard by everyone at the table, because they were spoken audibly. However, the Apostles did not understand their meaning, consequently even John himself did not at the time refer them to the treason, although he knew Judas to be the traitor. How is this to be explained? Even before the unmasking of Judas, Jesus had said: One of you shall betray me (Jn. XIII, 21). That was also the opinion of John after he had received definite information as to the person of the traitor, inasmuch as he expected the treason to occur at some future time, still far off. Accordingly, John had conceived the idea that all the disciples present in the room were as yet loyal; but that a time would come when Judas would break the faith and betray the Master. That the disciples, John included, expected the death of Our Lord soon, or even the next day, is highly improbable. Of course, in Gethsemani the meaning of the exclamation of Jesus (XIII, 21 and 27^{b}) flashed with terrible lucidity upon John and the other disciples, as John intimates in his account: "and Judas also, who betrayed him, stood with them" (XVIII, 5). After receiving the morsel, Judas immediately left the supper-room. It was late, about 9 o'clock P. M. (Jn. XIII, 30). His departure occurred without incident, without any intimation on the part of Judas as to his plans. [Note 8.] For at the betrayal he still feigned the rôle of a friend,—a proof that he had not betrayed himself when leaving the supper-room. Of course, his heart was already pitch-dark. At the moment when he saw his plot discovered and was expelled by Jesus from the company, his traitorous design assumed

the form of a firm resolve, and without further delay he hurried directly to the high priests and temple-officers (cfr. Lk. XXII, 4), apprised them of the situation, and insisted on the immediate seizure of Jesus. The "Judeans" abandoned their misgivings (Mt. XVI, 5) and approved the proposal regarding the arrest of Jesus during the night of the 14th to the 15th Nisan. As to the departure of Judas from the Cenacle, this occurred before the institution of the Holy Eucharist. On what grounds do we base this by no means universally accepted view?

a) According to St. John, the washing of the feet was intended to prepare the disciples for the reception of the Holy Eucharist. A sound exegesis can arrive at no other result. Now the unmasking and dismissal of the traitor occurred during, or rather immediately after, the washing of the feet. St. John's account of these two incidents (XIII, 1–30) is so complete and coherent that there is no room between them for an event such as the institution of the Eucharist.

b) St. Matthew (like St. Mark) places the unmasking of the traitor before the Eucharistic banquet (XVI, 21–25). True, he does not, like Jn. XIII, 30, report that Judas left the supper-room at once after the unmasking; but it will be prudent to supplement Matthew from John and to expound the one in harmony with the other.

c) St. John himself gives us a clew to the fixing of the τάξις. According to him, Jesus immediately after the departure of Judas said to the eleven: "Now is the Son of man glorified, and God is glorified in him. If God be glorified in him, God also will glorify him in himself, and immediately will he glorify him." (Jn. XIII, 31–32). As to the meaning of the first part of this utterance (XIII, 31) no doubt prevails: νῦν, just now, refers to the moment fixed by the Evangelist by τότε in v. 27, *i. e.*, now, when Judas has been forced to come to a decision, the Son of man is glorified. Jesus says: he is glorified, not "will be glorified." By the definite resolution of Judas to betray Jesus the death of the Master is as certain and as near as if it were

already an accomplished fact, and thus is it regarded by His Heavenly Father. If it be asked: In what measure can the death on the cross be called a glorification of Jesus, the answer will not be difficult. By the various miraculous occurrences and events in the hour of His suffering and death (the eclipse of the sun, the rending of the temple-veil, the opening of the graves; Mt. XXVII, 51 f.), Jesus was attested in unequivocal form before the whole world as the promised Messias and Son of God (cfr. Jn. XVIII, 6). His death Jesus called a glorification because it was the basis of the glorification of His name among all nations of the earth (Jn. XII, 23–29),—a glorification which was at the same time a glorification of the Father; for the death on the cross is *per se* a proof of the sanctity, justice, love, and mercy of God, and the work of redemption redounds in its historical course to the honor and glory of God. St. John (XIII, 31) represents the death of Jesus on the cross under the viewpoint of testimony to His Messiaship and His Divinity, just as he uses (XXI, 19) δοξάζειν in reference to the death of Peter on the cross, and as Paul (1, Tim. I, 13) speaks of giving testimony of a good confession by Jesus Christ, by which he likewise means the latter's death on the cross. But what is the meaning of the words: "And God will glorify him [the Son of man] in himself, and he will glorify him at once" (XIII, 32)? Commonly these words are interpreted thus: Because Christ glorified God by accomplishing the redemption, God in His turn will glorify Him in Heaven. This interpretation is not correct. The underlying idea plainly is: Just now was the Son of man glorified, and in him God; in return, God will glorify the Son of man, and that at once. If the words, δοξάσει ὁ Θεός, are applied to the Ascension, how are we to account for εὐθύς and ἐν ἑαυτῷ? The latter is by no means synonymous with παρὰ σεαυτῷ (XVII, 5), but, on the contrary, expresses the thought: As God was glorified in and through the Son of man, so will He glorify the Son of man at once, or transfigure him in himself, *i. e.,* He will, as God, confer on Him, as

the Son of man, His own heavenly, divine δόξα. But this can apply only to the transfiguration of the human nature of Christ, which, of course, took place later, at the Resurrection and Ascension, but was in a sense conferred on Our Saviour already at the institution of the Holy Eucharist. Thus when the "Judeans" and some of His disciples had doubted His promise to give men His flesh to eat and His blood to drink, He had told them: Indeed, I mean my flesh and blood and a partaking thereof in the literal sense; but I do not mean my crude and material flesh, but my flesh transfigured and filled with divine life, as it shall be at my Ascension (Jn. VI, 53–63). These words were about to receive their fulfilment after the departure of Judas, inasmuch as God the Father conferred on the Son of man His divine δόξα, so that the latter could give to His Apostles His body and blood in a glorified state under the elements of bread and wine. Let it not be objected to this interpretation that δοξάσει must have precisely the same meaning in the dependent clause (apodosis), as ἐδοξάσθη in the principal clause (protasis). For in XVII, 4, 5 δοξάζειν likewise occurs in two correlative sentences without expressing exactly the same idea: "I have glorified thee on earth; I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do; and now glorify thou me, O Father, with the glory which I had before the world was." Here ἐδόξασα signifies the glorification of God and of His name on earth on the part of the Son by accomplishing the work of redemption, especially by dying on the cross, whereas δόξασόν με, on the other hand, refers to the glorification and transfiguration in Heaven of Our Lord in His human nature. The relation in both cases is very similar,[3] but there is this difference, that in the second case (XVII, 5) the permanent transfiguration of the Son of man in Heaven is meant, whilst in the first case (XIII, 32)

[3] Cfr. νίπτειν in a different sense than ἔνιψα in Jn. XIII, 14: Jesus had washed the feet of His disciples; the disciples should assist one another in obtaining moral purification.

the conferring of the δόξα for the transfiguration of Christ's human nature in the sacrifice of Himself in the Holy Eucharist. If this view is correct, then the institution of the Eucharist occurred immediately after the departure (*i. e.*, expulsion) of Judas, so that the account of the Eucharistic celebration in John must be inserted between XIII, 32 and 33. The corporal eye does not detect the interruption of Christ's discourse at this point; but the trained mental eye of the reader can easily discover it. The endearing epithet "little children" (XIII, 33) has long been considered worthy of notice, though it has not, we think, received the right interpretation. It is commonly held that Our Saviour here addresses His Apostles with the paternal and tender word τεκνία in order to console them and cheer them up in view of His approaching Passion and death. This interpretation does not satisfy. The tenderness of the epithet, the gentleness and cordiality of the tone which thenceforth pervades the discourses of Jesus, find their explanation rather in the mood that must have animated Our Lord after having manifested towards His disciples the greatest imaginable love, the ἀγάπη εἰς τέλος, by offering and instituting the Eucharistic sacrifice. After this institution, He gives them to understand, He will not remain with them on earth much longer, but the time has come when He is to pass through death and sepulchre from this world to His Father in Heaven. We have in Jn. XIII, 33 an external indication that the discourse of Jesus begins anew, and this is no small recommendation of our interpretation of the passage.

Preliminary result: after the washing of the feet the traitor was first unmasked and expelled from the room, and then the Holy Eucharist was instituted. We arrived at this conclusion solely by exegetical, not by psychological reasoning, to which latter we attach no importance. We merely wish to call attention to the agreement of our result with the account given in the Apostolic Constitutions, which says: "After Jesus had given us the typical mysteries of His most precious body and blood

(Judas was no longer present), we went up to Mount Olivet." [Note 9.] [4]

1. The Paschal rite as described by the Talmudists coincides, at least substantially, with the rite observed by the Jews at the time of Christ. In course of time more than one ordinance had been added to it through the activity of the Scribes since Esdras. Many a detail of the Mosaic law (Ex. XII, 1 ff.) was more clearly defined and more uniformly arranged; witness among other things the ordinance prescribing that the company at table must not be less than twenty.[5] Perhaps the Talmudists themselves added the one or the other amplification to the Paschal rite. Since the Passah lamb, formerly the main object, was abolished by the destruction of the Temple, we readily understand the tendency of the Jewish scholars to substitute minor details. This is evidently the case, *e. g.*, in regard to the ordinance that every participant should have his own cup. One is amazed at the enormous number of cups which would have been needed in Jerusalem at each Passah celebration. As each person at the table ate with the goodman of the house from one and the same dish (Mt. XVI, 23), it would be but natural that each should also drink from the same cup, and this so much the more because the Passah, the type of the Holy Eucharist, was based on the idea of fraternal communion. And we do find in St. Luke's remark (XXII, 17) a sure indication of the use of but one cup in the supper-room at Jerusalem. As for the so-called Hallel (Ps. 113–118), the Mishna tells us of a difference of opinion between the school of Shammai and that of Hillel concerning the first portion (Ps. 113–114). The former maintained that solely Ps. 113 need be sung, whilst Hillel's school insisted on both Psalms 113 and 114.[6] This remark proves that either the longer or the shorter Hallel was actually used. Since, however, Rabbi Akiba (at the close of the first century) directs that a short word of praise and thanksgiving be said in place of the Hallel, we are justified in doubting the universal acceptance of the entire Hallel (Ps. 113–118) at the time of Christ. It seems that originally only one psalm (the hymn of joy in Is. XXX, 29) was sung, *i. e.*, probably this very same 118th Psalm; at least we can prove that the latter, and it only, was universally recited (or sung) in Christ's time at the celebration of the Passah. Our Saviour, when bidding farewell to the Temple and the City, alludes to this

[4] *Const. Apost.*, V, 14; cfr. Aphraates, *Hom.*, XII, 4 p. 118, ed. Bert: "After Judas had gone out from them, He [Jesus] took the bread, and gave thanks, and gave it to His disciples and said to them. . . . "

[5] Josephus, *Bell. Iud.*, VI, 9, 3.

[6] Cfr. Bickel, *Messe und Pascha,* p. 60.

use of the Psalm on the evening of the 14th Nisan (Mt. XXIII, 39; cfr. Mt. XXVI, 30) by saying (according to the sense): You shall not see me henceforth (after the evening of the 12th Nisan) until, at the celebration of the Passah, you will sing the Hallel and say: Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord! (Ps. CXVIII, 26). It is hardly credible that the knowledge of Psalms 113 to 118 and in addition thereto Psalm 136 was imposed upon all pilgrims who came to Jerusalem for the festival. However, such conjectures regarding "amplifications" made by the Talmudists do not alter the fact that, in the time of Jesus, the drinking of the four cups and the psalmody were essential parts of the Passah-rite, besides the eating of the Passah-lamb and the unleavened bread, which, like the customary bitter herbs, had to be dipped into a liquid or broth.

2. The question at what moment Jesus spoke the words recorded by St. Luke (XXII, 15) receives no uniform answer. Nebe in his History of the Passion (p. 118) places them at the very beginning of the banquet. This writer interprets the order of the incidents in the supper-room in the following manner: Our Saviour after his arrival in Jerusalem from Bethania reclined at table with the Twelve Apostles. Seeing that John reclined close by the side of the Master, the others, accustomed to look upon Peter as their chief, were surprised and raised the question: Whom does the Master consider greater, Peter or John? It was by no means an idle question, since upon the answer to it depended their behaviour towards the one who was placed higher. Because the Apostles thus disputed among themselves as to who was the greater, Jesus taught them a lesson (Lk. XXII, 25 ff.). After He had settled the controversy and in humble and self-abasing love washed their feet, He began the Passah-supper. Reclining on the cushion, He disclosed to them the sentiments of His soul to put them in a proper frame of mind. He said: Ardently have I desired to eat this Paschal lamb with you.—This view is well founded. We will not insist on the fact that the strife and the washing of the feet, which followed each other immediately without interval, and are so closely connected, could not have taken place at the beginning of the supper, but occurred at the close, immediately before the institution of the Holy Eucharist; we will merely settle the question regarding the chronological position of the saying of Jesus in Lk. XXII, 15. The words, τοῦτο τὸ πάσχα cannot be interpreted: *"hoc singulariter memorabile pascha," i. e.,* this Pasch immediately preceding my Passion and death. The words must rather be viewed as pointing to the prepared Passah-lamb: Ardently have I desired to eat with you the Passah-lamb now ready on the table.

However, the Passah-lamb, as Nebe is well aware, was not brought in until the goodman of the house had inaugurated the supper by handing around the first cup. Accordingly, the words in question were spoken by Jesus at the beginning of the supper. After having called attention to the origin and meaning of the Passah-supper (haggada), and drunk of the second cup and given it to His disciples, and after all participants had reclined on the cushions and begun eating, at the climax of the festal solemnity, Jesus addressed these words to His Apostles, and at the same time indicated thereby that the Passah was abolished because the time of its fulfilment had arrived. Up to this point we fear no serious contradiction. Now, however, the objections begin. It is objected first of all: If those words were spoken by Jesus at this point of the supper, the presentation of the third Passah-cup must have followed immediately (Lk. XXII, 17), and then (*i. e.*, in the place of the fourth ritual cup) the institution of the Holy Eucharist. Those who hold this view appeal to the account of Luke, who to the words of Jesus concerning the fulfilment of the typical Passah joins directly the statement: *καὶ δεξάμενος*, etc. (XXII, 17). However, this interpretation is untenable. St. Luke not infrequently connects historically disjointed events and occurrences and makes the transition from one to the other by a simple *καί* (cfr. II, 39 and XXIV, 44). Thus he attaches to the words of Jesus on the not-eating of the Pasch and its fulfilment the remark concerning the drinking and presentation of the last ritualistic cup and the words spoken on the same occasion concerning the abrogation of the Passah-cup. This is an objective, not a historical, connection, made by St Luke with respect to the homogeneous character of the two elements. The connection between XXII, 17 and 18 and XXII, 15 and 16 is conditioned by the parallelism. St. Luke by this juxtaposition wishes to call attention to the importance of both sayings, not to their simultaneous pronouncement. From the introductory words: "and having taken *a* chalice" it can be seen that by the general nature of the expression an historical separation of the sayings in question is indirectly indicated by the Evangelist. Hence the identification of the cup mentioned in XXII, 17 with the fourth Passah-cup is positively justified.

3. Lk. XXII, 15–20 calls for a brief examination. In Codex D and in five Itala manuscripts the words we read in Lk. XXII, 19^{b} and 20 are omitted, and not a few Biblical scholars of the present day have discarded them as spurious. However, the verses 19^{b} and 20 (in fact 15–20) certainly belong to the original text of the Gospel. We offer the following considerations on this matter:

a) The text-variations of Codex D in the Acts of the Apostles deserve the greatest consideration, as the majority of them go back to St. Luke himself. The matter, however, is different with the third Gospel. The Codex Cantabrigiensis, it is true, offers a large number of peculiar variants; they, however, prove to be for the most part apocryphal additions, idle fancies of the copyists, based on arbitrary conjectures, or a collation of Lucan passages with parallel texts in Matthew and Mark; or they are simple paraphrases, liturgical or dogmatic interpolations. It therefore seems extremely hazardous to consider the version which Codex D gives of Lk. XXII, 15 ff. as original and take it as a basis in determining the text or in preferring it to all other Greek manuscripts.

b) *Per se* we must reckon with the possibility that Luke *intentionally* omitted to give a detailed account of the Eucharistic Supper, being contented with the mere intimation that the Eucharistic Supper followed upon the Passah-supper. The account of the transubstantiation of the bread would in this case suffice, for the readers already knew (from Matthew and Mark, and from the practice of the Church) that the changing of the wine would follow. In order to give this view greater support, attention might be called to the silence of the fourth Evangelist regarding the act of institution. But what could have determined St. Luke to proceed in this manner? If, perchance, it could be shown that the pagan calumnies in vogue in the days of Trajan (Pliny) concerning the Eucharistic worship of the Christians were already in circulation when St. Luke wrote his Gospel, this would account for a certain reserve in Lk. XXII, 15 ff. However, no one dares to admit or to assert this. Zahn[7] is of the opinion that even without the above-mentioned conjecture one may readily understand why St. Luke was averse to disclosing the greatest mystery of Christian worship to the uninitiated and by a misconstruable discourse on the eating of the flesh and the drinking of the blood of Jesus expose it to the suspicion of those still outside the Christian pale. This opinion, however, must be rejected as untenable. For the notion underlying it, that the third Gospel was written for Theophilus as a pagan who had not yet been received into the Church, is at variance with the statement of St. Luke in the prologue (I, 3–4) and with the general character of the Gospel, which is intended for those who are already Christians. If St. Luke was anxious, for one reason or another, about "the safekeeping of the mystery," why did he not pass over the conversion of the bread in silence? No! St. Luke intended to give an account of the institution of the Holy Eucharist, and, as emphasized in I, 3, was guided by the desire to

[7] *Einleitung*, II, 376.

give to Theophilus and others a correct idea of the Eucharistic Supper, based on careful research. This may be seen from his positive statement that the celebration of the Jewish Passah by Jesus immediately preceded the Eucharistic Supper. The incompleteness or inaccuracy of SS. Matthew and Mark in their accounts of the Last Supper induced the third Evangelist to supply the deficiency, and evidently St. John, in view of this supplementary account, thought it unnecessary to add another of his own.

c) If the longer lection presented by all the Greek manuscripts with the exception of Codex D is the original one, then, of course, the genesis of the shorter text contained in D and the five Itala manuscripts demands a plausible explanation. For it is a recognized rule of textual criticism that the shorter text is to be preferred to the longer. Such an explanation is possible. According to the longer text, St. Luke mentions a chalice in XXII, 17, and forthwith another in XXII, 20. Here one would be tempted to take the first chalice (mentioned in XXII, 17) as the cup of the Eucharistic Supper. St. Augustine [8] succumbed to this temptation when he unhesitatingly declared the chalice mentioned in Lk. XXII, 17 to be the cup of the Eucharistic Supper. The temptation was all the greater because St. Luke adds to the mention of this chalice Christ's remark concerning the non-drinking (XXII, 18), which SS. Matthew and Mark, although in a somewhat different form, connect with the chalice of the Eucharistic Supper. Whoever accepted the first chalice in Lk. XXII, 17 as the Eucharistic cup, must have found the mention of a second chalice (XXII, 20) strange, and would be inclined to omit it as a needless repetition. This probably happened at a very early date to a copyist, who eliminated as superfluous Lk. XXII, 20, and also the remark of the Evangelist added to the Eucharistic bread, *τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον*, because these words are not to be found in Matthew and Mark, as also the words of institution, and therefore eliminated, besides XXII, 20, also XXII, 19 b. In view of what has been said, the *textus receptus* of Lk. XXII, 15–20 cannot be shaken. A re-arrangement of the text or a mechanical use of the sources, is out of the question.

4. The *logion* reported in Lk. XXII, 18, in spite of the differences between them, is undoubtedly identical with that in Mt. XXVI, 29 and Mk. XIV, 25. The chief question that arises in connection with this saying of Our Lord is whether Matthew, Mark or Luke have assigned to it its correct position. The two former Evangelists record the *logion*

[8] *De Consensu Evang.*, III, 2.

immediately after the institution of the Holy Eucharist. Did St. Luke really give it its proper place? Could not the words in question have possibly been pronounced *after* the institution of the Eucharist? Surely no one would be so bold as to assert this, for the assertion would involve the following reconstruction: The Saviour said: "I tell you that I will not (again) drink of the fruit of the vine, until the day when I shall drink it anew with you in the kingdom of my Father." What does He mean by the phrase ἡμέρα ἐκείνη? Does He mean the day of the Resurrection? He spoke repeatedly of this day, though in a somewhat mysterious manner, on that same evening (Jn. XIV, 20; XVI, 23, 26). He is saying that when He returned on this day and reappeared among the Apostles, He would drink wine with them. The wine would be real wine, kept in the Cenacle, that to which He had pointed by the word τούτου. The καινόν would mean that He expected to drink that wine in a new condition, essentially different from that in which it previously was, namely, converted into His blood of the New Covenant (καινὴ διαθήκη; Lk. XXII, 20; cfr. Jn. XIII, 34; καινὴ ἐντολή). The words may have been uttered by Jesus after the institution of the Eucharist, during the distribution of the ψωμίον among His Apostles (cfr. Jn. XIV, 31), only that in this case Our Lord would have said: ἐκ τούτου τοῦ γενήματος τῆς αμπέλου, instead of ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου τούτου, in order to introduce the parable of the vine (Jn. XV, 1 ff.) The meaning of the words is perfectly intelligible. Having drunk of the juice of the vine,—He wishes to say,—and having handed the last cup to you to drink, I will not drink wine again until the day of my return, and the wine I shall drink then will be converted into my blood. This interpretation would entail two necessary consequences, namely (1) that the "dining-room" (ἀναγαιον, Mk. XIV, 15 = ὑπερῷον, Acts I, 13) was identical with the "upper room" in which Our Lord repeatedly appeared after His Resurrection, and which was thus consecrated by Him as the first Christian church,—an assumption which in other respects has everything in its favor; (2) that the Master received communion with His disciples, both at the Last Supper and after His Resurrection. With regard to the Last Supper this assumption was favored by several of the early Church Fathers (Irenaeus, Jerome, Chrysostom, Jacob of Edessa). However, it is an assumption which has no foundation whatever in the Gospel accounts of the Last Supper, and appears untenable also for other reasons. One of these reasons is that it is contradicted by St. Luke. It is true that St. Luke's account of the Last Supper is rather fragmentary and lacks logical order (τάξις); but it creates the distinct impression that the author wishes to show his readers that Our Lord first celebrated the Pasch according to the Jewish rite

and then, in connection therewith, instituted the Blessed Eucharist. The words recorded in Lk. XXII, 17 and 18 were spoken *before* the institution of the Eucharist, towards the end of the Passah-meal, when Jesus handed His disciples the fourth ritual cup. How can we prove that it was precisely the fourth cup? The ritual in vogue at that time prescribed a fourth cup, and Jesus evidently followed this ritual. From the words with which He asks the Apostles to drink from this cup (Lk. XXII, 18) it follows that He Himself had already drunk from it. This excludes a reference to the chalice of the Eucharist, though St. Augustine assumed such a reference.[9] That Jesus so solemnly commanded the Apostles to pass the cup among themselves may be explained by His thought that drinking from the wine-cup had now reached its end and was to be continued, in communion with the Apostles, in a new form only after the Kingdom of God would have arrived. The latter phrase (Lk. XXII, 18) would hardly be interpreted in an eschatological sense by any serious critic, were it not for the fact that the words ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης in SS. Matthew and Mark practically force one to adopt this interpretation. That the passage has an eschatological coloring is undeniable and has never been disputed by the present writer. It is quite likely that, in spite of all, it represents the original form of the words of Jesus, and applies to the Messianic banquet which the Master will eat with His disciples in Heaven at some future time. We therefore have to reckon with the fact that St. Luke has preserved for us this very important saying of Jesus (Lk. XXII, 17 f.) in its proper *historical setting,* while SS. Matthew and Mark reproduce it in its *original form.*

5. The strife for precedence was preceded by the washing of the feet. The latter ceremony, according to the unequivocal declaration of Our Lord Himself, was intended to blot out the sin committed by the Apostles, which in no small measure was inspired by egotism and the excitement and jealousy caused by the φιλονεικία. Since the washing of the feet took place at the close of the latter ceremony, the strife must have occurred immediately before. Moreover, the outbreak of the strife as a result of Christ's remark concerning the proximity of the kingdom of God (Lk. XXII, 16 and 18) is quite intelligible. No doubt, the egotistic sentiments were aroused when the word "kingdom of God" was uttered for the first time at the beginning of the Passah-supper (Lk. XXII, 16), and when Our Lord later on spoke more definitely of the "coming of the kingdom," they could no longer be repressed. Even on previous oc-

[9] *De Consensu Evang.,* III, 2.

casions the Apostles had jealously quarreled among themselves about the "order of precedence" (Mt. XVIII, 1 ff.; Mk. IX, 33 ff.; Lk. IX, 46 ff.; Mt. XX, 20 ff.; Mk. X, 35 ff.), and then, too, the question was not as to the order at table, but about ranking in the Messianic Kingdom. Those exegetes who place the strife of the Apostles *after* the Eucharistic Supper and after the departure of the traitor, are guilty of a serious blunder. St. Luke, it is true, places the narrative of the strife after the account of the Eucharistic Supper; he could not do otherwise after he had, from motives easily comprehensible, deemed it advisable to connect directly Passah-supper and Eucharistic Supper, type and fulfilment. The only conclusion that would *per se* be justified in view of his account is that the strife occurred after the announcement of the treason and the traitor, since Luke reports these events in the order here indicated. But is it conceivable that the words of Jesus concerning the traitor should give rise to a dispute among the Apostles as to their respective rank in the Messianic Kingdom? Did not this disclosure cause embarrassment, consternation, and fear among them? (Mt. XXVI, 22; cfr. Jn. XIII, 22.) No; the strife was over and its effects removed by Jesus through the washing of the feet. Only then did our Lord broach the subject of His betrayal. This is indicated by the fourth Evangelist, who, with due attention to the Synoptics, has made it possible for us to discover the historical order. The account of St. John has also been misunderstood and the institution of the Holy Eucharist inserted after XIII, 20 and thus the washing of the feet severed from the unmasking of the traitor, whilst the two events obviously occurred in immediate succession, and hence the institution of the Holy Eucharist must be inserted after XIII, 30, or perhaps after XIII, 32.

In fixing the above chronological order: Eucharistic Supper, departure of the traitor, strife, an obvious consideration has remained altogether without influence, namely, that the extraordinary impression which the reception of the Holy Eucharist for the first time was apt to produce on the Apostles, would have prevented the rise of a dispute concerning precedence. The following τάξις may be regarded as fully reliable; drinking of the last Passah-cup; discourse of Jesus on the coming of the kingdom; strife; washing of the feet; announcement of the treason of Judas; unmasking of the traitor; the Eucharistic Supper.

6. To justify our interpretation of Jn. XIII, 10, another question must here be touched, at least briefly,—what was the relation of the Messianic Baptism to the Baptism of John? The prevailing opinion of theologians is that, according to Jn. IV, 2, Jesus Himself did not baptize, but let His disciples administer Baptism during the early part of His public

ministry. This Baptism administered by the disciples, was, like that of John, purely a Baptism of water, similar to the former in purpose and effect. It was not a sacrament.[10] Weighty reasons move us to uphold this opinion.

a) According to the testimony of the three Synoptics, "there went out to John [into the desert and to the Jordan] all the country of Judea, and all they of Jerusalem, and were baptized by him in the river Jordan, confessing their sins" (Mk. I, 5; cfr. Mt. III, 5 f.; Lk. III, 7 ff.). The supposition that those baptized by John were for the most part Galileans, is barred by the wording of the narrative; it was Judea and Jerusalem above all that shared in this baptism. However, in view of Lk. VII, 30, a certain restriction must be made, inasmuch as the Pharisees and the Scribes (*i. e.,* doctors of the law) did not ask to be baptized by John. Nevertheless, it remains true that very many of the inhabitants of Judea (including the capital city) received the baptism of John. Now, if in the time after the Easter festival 782 (Jn. II, 13 ff.) Jesus and his disciples, or at least the latter, administered Baptism for weeks (or according to the commonly prevailing interpretation of Jn. IV, 35, for months), whom did they baptize? Those already baptized by John the Baptist? This is highly improbable, as such a repetition would have been to no purpose if it was the same Baptism John and they administered. The difficulty can only be solved by the assumption that Jesus and His disciples in the first weeks after Easter, 782, administered to those already baptized by John another Baptism in the sense of Jn. III, 3 and 5, *i. e.*, the Baptism "of water and the Holy Ghost."

b) John the Baptist had positively and solemnly designated Jesus as the one who would come after him, and who would baptize men with water and the Holy Ghost (Mt. III, 11; Mk. I, 8; Lk. III, 16; Jn. I, 33). As John himself baptized, his hearers could understand this prediction only of a baptism administered *personally* by the one who was to "come after him." This prediction was fulfilled, as his disciple and eyewitness, John the Evangelist, expressly confirms (Jn. III, 22). Efforts have been made to weaken or invalidate the passage by pointing to Jn. IV, 2, where it is said that after Easter, during His sojourn in the province of Judea, not indeed Jesus Himself, but His disciples, administered Baptism, the Johannine Baptism, of course. The correctness of this interpretation of IV, 2 is exceedingly doubtful, as a glance at Jn. III, 26 shows, where it is stated that the disciples of John the Baptist reported to him on their return that Jesus baptized, and John accepted this statement without correction or contradiction,—a thing he could not have done

[10] Thus St. Chrysostom, *Hom. 29 in Ioa.*

in view of his own words spoken on a former occasion (I, 33), had he understood the report in the sense that Jesus and His disciples baptized with the same baptism of penance as he did. But Jn. IV, 2 f. has an intelligible meaning as a correction of the rumor mentioned in Jn. IV, 1: the spies sent into Judea by the Pharisees brought back the information that Jesus personally administered Baptism to His followers. To show up this assertion as a pure invention, or an exaggeration, the Evangelist denies that Jesus personally baptized in Judea; that He did so in Jerusalem is not denied. But even if we admit that Jesus let His disciples baptize in Judea after the Easter festival, we cannot regard the baptism administered by them as a Johannine baptism of penance. Our Saviour in Jn. IV, 36 and 38 gives the reason why he at that time gave His disciples the mission and the command to baptize: they were to reap that in which they had not labored. He himself had by his teaching on the Easter festival excited in many Judeans (*i. e.*, natives of the province of Judea) a disposition to accept the faith (cfr. Jn. II, 23) and thus had prepared the ground. During the weeks that followed the disciples gathered in the harvest by administering Baptism. Since Our Saviour Himself calls their activity a "gathering of fruit (θερίζειν) unto life everlasting," *i. e.*, for the Messianic Kingdom, the Baptism administered by them must have been spiritual Baptism. We are forced to accept this view also by the words (Jn. I, 12 f.): "To them that believed him He [Jesus] gave the power to be made the sons of God," *i. e.*, by receiving Baptism at the hands of the disciples.

c) Jn. III, 1–12 is altogether unintelligible without the assumption that Jesus had previously (on the festival of Easter) preached a public sermon on Baptism, which was heard also by Nicodemus and his associates. We must carefully examine Jn. III, 3 and III, 12 to obtain a thorough understanding of the situation. He who desires to enter the Messianic Kingdom, declares Our Saviour (III, 3 and 5), must first be begotten from above, of water and the Holy Ghost, which statement no one could understand as applying to the Johannine baptism, as it clearly referred to the Messianic spiritual Baptism. Such teaching would have been purposeless if Our Saviour had merely intended to stress the necessity of the Baptism which He subsequently instituted. It is false to say that the fourth Evangelist tells us no more of the institution of Baptism than of the institution of the Holy Eucharist, but merely records the *promise* of its institution (Jn. III, 3 and 6), as if chap. III contained even so much as one word which could be construed as such a promise. No, indeed! Our Saviour speaks only of spiritual Baptism as a *conditio sine qua non* for entering His Kingdom, which evidently presupposes that He had instituted the Messianic ministry of Baptism already

on the first Easter festival in Jerusalem, for the purpose of inaugurating His Kingdom, and had invited all His hearers to receive Baptism. No doubt he had, during His sojourn in the city, baptized the disciples who had come with Him from Galilee, and who had been confirmed in their faith in Jesus as the Messias by the miracle of Cana, and hence were well disposed (cfr. Jn. I, 37–52 and II, 11).

d) Jn. III, 25 ff. is worthy of the closest scrutiny. The passage tells us that, when Jesus baptized with His disciples in the province of Judea, a Judean got into a dispute with some of John the Baptist's disciples concerning purification (*περὶ καθαρισμοῦ*). It is almost unanimously admitted that this purification had an immediate relation to the Baptism of John and Jesus. The dispute turned on the question whether the Baptism of Jesus or that of John produced a higher degree of purification. According to the context the episode arose as follows: the Judean, who was from the country, had received Baptism from one of the disciples of Jesus (cfr. Jn. IV, 38) and subsequently got into an argument with the disciples of John about the cleansing power of the Messianic as compared with the Johannine Baptism; in other words, he maintained that Jesus administered, or rather had His disciples administer, the spiritual Baptism of water which blotted out sins and sanctified the receiver, whereas the Baptism of John was solely a baptism of water and preparatory in its nature. Who was right? Everything depends on the answer to this question. Fortunately we are able to decide it positively. If we examine the answer given by John the Baptist when the matter was brought before him, we find that he refutes the objection raised by his disciples against the ministry of Jesus by saying: "A man cannot receive any thing, unless it be given him from heaven" (Jn. III, 27). These words appear to have a general tenor, and views differ as to their meaning. However, it is plain at first sight that this general remark has some special import, and the context makes this perfectly clear. John the Baptist immediately thereafter (III, 28 ff.) calls the attention of his disciples to the dignity of the new Baptist, His divine mission and nature, and also to his own inferiority, his earthly birth and limited vocation. Accordingly it can only be his intention in III, 27 to say: I can administer merely a preparatory baptism of penance, but I cannot confer justification; Jesus, however, can do this; He receives the Holy Ghost from Heaven and communicates Him to others by Baptism. Hence it is true what the Judean said: far greater value attaches to His baptism than to mine; it has a sin-forgiving and sanctifying power; He, as I said in the beginning, is the Messias and the Son of God; I am his forerunner. It is worthy of note that John forthwith concludes from the public ministry of Jesus in Judea that his own mission has come to an end (III,

30); he saw in the activity of Jesus as one baptizing with the Holy Ghost (I, 33) the inauguration of the Messianic Kingdom, and rejoiced, and did not allow his joy to be disturbed by the thought of the approaching termination of his own office as forerunner. As a matter of fact his imprisonment occurred soon after, in the first half of the month of May, 782, as is evident from Jn. V, 35: at Pentecost "the light burned no more," that is to say, the work of John had come to an end in consequence of his arrest by Herod Antipas.

It is objected that the fourth Evangelist expressly says that Our Saviour on the feast of the Tabernacles promised to send the Holy Ghost some time in the future, and remarks: "for as yet [during the public activity of Jesus] the Spirit was not given" (Jn. VII, 37 ff.). To be sure; but St. John here does not mean the operation of the Holy Ghost in Baptism, but the effusion of the Spirit on the Apostles on the feast of Pentecost and on the faithful through the Sacrament of Confirmation, as may be seen *inter alia* from the words ὅτι ὁ Ἰησοῦς οὔπω ἐδοξάσθη (VII, 39), which call attention to the Resurrection and Ascension of Our Lord and the outpouring of the gifts of the Holy Ghost on Pentecost (Jn. XVI, 7).[11] When taking leave of His Apostles in the Cenacle, Jesus declared the eleven, who remained after the expulsion of Judas, to be clean (*καθαροί*), and this too διὰ τὸν λόγον, ὃν ελελαλήκει αὐτοῖς (Jn. XV, 3). But this saying must not be understood of the purification and justification wrought by the salvific doctrine brought by Christ (διὰ τὸν λόγον, *instrumental cause* of the purification). The question at issue here is not purification, but *purity*. Jesus says to His eleven Apostles: You are in a state of purity, in a certain degree of perfection, and possess this favor "by reason of my word." By this phrase He wishes to say: By my doctrine I have shown you the way and proposed the motives for preserving purity. He therefore presumes that the purification or justification has been accomplished long ago, and merely attests that the disciples have gradually reached a higher degree of perfection. How this justification took place He indicated at the washing of the feet by the use of the general, but nevertheless quite intelligible term λελουμένος, alluding to the Baptism previously received. The institution of Baptism by Jesus Christ, it is further said, is expressly recorded by St. Matthew (XXVIII, 19). I reply that an unprejudiced examination cannot discover an account of the institution in this passage. Jesus exclusively addresses the eleven; if He had wished to make it their duty not to administer Baptism until the day of

[11] Compare on this distinction between the operation of the Holy Ghost in Baptism and in Confirmation, Acts VIII, 12 and 16; XIX, 5 and 6.

His apparition in Galilee, He would have appointed these eleven Apostles and their successors, and these only, as ministers of Baptism, which would contradict the teaching of the Church regarding the validity of Baptism when administered by lay-persons. A careful collation of Mt. XXVIII, 19 with Jn. IV, 1, 2 leads to quite a different conclusion. By means of the Baptism administered by the disciples immediately after Easter in Judea, the inhabitants of that province who submitted to it were made disciples of Jesus, just as Peter, Andrew, John, and James had become His disciples by believing in Jesus and receiving Baptism at His hands on the feast itself. Such reception into the discipleship of Jesus could not be effected by the Johannine baptism of penance, but only by the Messianic Baptism of the spirit—the same which the risen Saviour made obligatory for the entire duration of His Kingdom here on earth. By this Baptism of the spirit the nations and generations succeeding one another in the course of centuries were to be made *μαθηταί* of Jesus and received into the Kingdom of Christ (*μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτούς* Mt. XXVIII, 19), just like Peter and others. Our Lord, therefore, made Baptism obligatory for the Israelites at the beginning of His public ministry in Israel; for all other nations, only after His departure from this world. Hence we cannot view Mt. XXVIII, 19 as an account of the institution of Baptism, but merely as a statement of the duty imposed upon the Apostles by the risen Lord, to receive all nations into the Kingdom of God by preaching the Gospel and administering Baptism, from which follows as a matter of course the duty of every man to receive the latter. In short, the command here given by Jesus Christ did not concern Baptism, but the mission to go and preach the Gospel to all nations, and no more presupposes that the disciples were not previously baptized, than that they had not previously preached. This very passage (Mt. XXVIII, 19) and the parallel passage in Mk. XVI, 15, 16 should be seriously considered by those who regard the Baptism mentioned in Jn. III, 22 and IV, 1, 2 merely as a baptism of penance, like that of John the Baptist, calling attention to the alleged silence of the Synoptics and arguing as follows: If the Baptism in Jn. III, 22 were a sacramental Baptism, the three first Evangelists would have had to take notice of the fact. However, not only do all four Evangelists leave unnoticed the Sacraments of Confirmation and Extreme Unction, but the three Synoptics do not describe the Judean ministry of Jesus, and hence their silence regarding the Messianic Baptism explains itself. However, they emphasize just as strongly as St. John the words of the Baptist concerning Jesus as the one who baptizes with water and the Holy Ghost, which is quite sufficient. The reader can draw the conclusion that the Lord during His ministry fulfilled this prophetic utter-

ance of His forerunner. If we consult the supplemental account of the fourth Evangelist, we arrive at complete certainty. That the grace of forgiveness of sins and sanctification flowing from the Messianic Baptism is based on the sacrifice of the Cross, goes without saying. We may add that before the death, Resurrection and Ascension of Christ this Baptism was administered to comparatively few, since the Scribes and Pharisees at first deterred the people (Mt. XXIII, 13);—to the disciples gained shortly before the festival of Easter in Jerusalem; then to a number of inhabitants of Judea, who thenceforth constantly followed Jesus, but later left him on account of His discourse on the Bread of Life delivered at Capharnaum, but undoubtedly again professed their faith in the Messias after His Resurrection and Ascension. The statement in Jn. IV, 1 does by no means suggest the idea of "myriads" of baptized followers, for the Evangelist represents the report of the spies as an exaggeration; and, moreover, the spies did not take all who were baptized by John into the comparison, but only those who went out to John during Christ's baptismal activity in the province of Judea. In Galilee also the number of those who received the Messianic Baptism was probably limited. It comprised above all the women who accompanied Our Lord and ministered to His wants. All of these together formed the nucleus of the new Kingdom of God, which was in course of formation. The divine decree of election during the single year of the public ministry of Jesus evidently extended only to a *pusillus grex*, and the tentative mission of the twelve Apostles (Mt. X, 5 ff.), which applied only to Galilee and Judea, perhaps only to one of these two provinces (to the exclusion of Samaria and the pagan countries), had for its purpose not the increase of this small band by the administration of the Messianic Baptism, but the preaching of the Gospel and the working of miracles. This decree, in fact, was issued above all for the sake of the Apostles themselves, in order that they might be initiated into the *"rudimenta militiae"*; nevertheless, it is not impossible that Baptism was *occasionally* administered by the Apostles thus sent out on trial, though no mention is made of it in the Gospel account. Since they had already received the commission to baptize sometime before (Jn. III, 22; IV, 1, 2; IV, 38), it was not necessary to repeat it when they were sent out anew.

7. Not all exegetes are unanimous in their opinion regarding the meaning of the ceremony of the washing of the feet. Those who place this episode after the institution of the Holy Eucharist will never arrive at an adequate appreciation of the act. But even if the proper position is assigned to it, the details of the Johannine account must be carefully scrutinized. When did Our Lord speak the words recorded in

Jn. XIII, 10 to Peter? Berning says, *after* the washing of the feet. I consider this answer incorrect. Jesus spoke to Peter while He washed his feet. Whether this happened at the start or at the finish of the ceremony, is not easy to determine. Many authors maintain that Jesus started with Peter. They argue thus: According to the Gospel records Our Lord assigned to Peter a distinguished and unique position, which from the outset suggests the idea that on the eve of his Passion He washed Peter's feet first. Neither the ἤρξατο nor the ἔρχεται in St. John's account (XIII, 5, 6) militate against this assumption. The former merely indicates that Jesus began the sacred act; to this general expression may well be added the specific statement: "He cometh therefore to Simon Peter," *i. e.*, as the first. On the other hand, it is difficult to imagine how Peter, in case Jesus had first washed the feet of the others, could have repressed his feelings until the Saviour knelt down before him. This view does not appeal to me. In my opinion it runs counter to the wording of the text, which, if interpreted without prejudice, shows that Jesus washed the Apostles' feet in an ascending order, and finally "cometh to Simon Peter." This method was sufficient to distinguish Peter. The words recorded in Jn. XIII, 10 were spoken by Christ not after He had completed the ceremony, but while He was about to wash the feet of Peter. John observes the chronological order, and reports in XIII, 12, not in XIII, 10, what Jesus did after the washing of the feet. The interpretation of this verse is involved in considerable difficulty. The Biblical coloring is quite incontestable: Whosoever hath taken a bath possesseth, aside from the necessary washing of the feet, perfect purity. By means of καὶ ὑμεῖς Jesus applies this general statement to the Apostles: "You are clean," He says, "but not all." For the better understanding of the words "but not all," the Evangelist adds (XIII, 11) the remark that Jesus knew who would betray Him, and therefore excepted Judas from His statement. But to conclude (as Berning does), that no interior operation of grace is to be ascribed to the washing of the feet, since Judas was not affected by it, is incorrect. Of course, a proper disposition was necessary, and this disposition (contrition, penance), we may assume, was produced in the remaining eleven Apostles largely by the kind and paternal words addressed to them by Jesus upon their strife for precedence (Lk. XXII, 25–30). On Judas, who was meanwhile planning his treason, these words made no impression, and he let the Master wash his feet without changing his purpose, without the slightest sentiment of contrition or penitence. Therefore the ceremony could not produce in him forgiveness of sins, any more than can the Sacrament of Penance when received perfunctorily. What Our Saviour meant to say (Jn. XIII, 10) before washing the feet of His disciples is this: You

are all clean *praeter pedes,* with the exception of one (Judas), *i.e.,* you possess sanctifying grace, interior righteousness; all you still need is to be cleansed of your minor faults and this I intend to do by washing your feet, in order that you may become fit to receive my body and blood in perfect purity. Note Christ's words to Peter: "What I do thou knowest not now; but thou shalt know hereafter" (Jn. XIII, 7). In saying this He had in view the institution of the Holy Eucharist. His meaning is: When I shall (according to the promise I made at Capharnaum) give you my flesh and blood, my own self (VI, 55 and 57), to eat and drink, you will understand why you must previously be cleansed from sin.

But what is meant by the words addressed to Peter: "If I wash thee not, thou shalt have no part with me" (XIII, 8)? There is no doubt that ἔχεις is the same as ἔξεις, and therefore must be translated by the future tense. Some exegetes think that no reference is intended here to the subsequent communion. But we do find such a reference. Our Lord means to threaten Peter with exclusion from the Eucharistic banquet. The only question is how this passage must be judged from an idiomatic point of view. The expression οὐκ ἔχεις μέρος μετ' ἐμοῦ is worthy of attention. Our Saviour does not simply say ἐμοῦ: thou shalt have no part in me; but μετ' ἐμοῦ: thou hast no part with me; in what, He does not say. But He certainly means the δόξα which God confers on the Son of man for the purpose of transfiguring His human nature in the Holy Eucharist (Jn. XIII, 32). In this δόξα the Apostles and all who receive His flesh and blood have a share; this food implants in the human body, prone to decay, the germ of immortality, and, as Our Lord's body on the day of his Resurrection was a σῶμα πνευματικόν, so also will the faithful who have been nourished with His body and blood receive on the great day a "body in glory" and forever participate with Christ in the divine δόξα (cfr. 1 Pet. V, 1; 1 Cor. XIII, 35 ff.). The threat addressed to Peter therefore amounts to this: If Peter will not permit Jesus to wash his feet for the purpose of cleansing him of every stain of sin, Jesus will not admit him to His Eucharistic banquet, and as a consequence he will be excluded from the transfiguration that will be the portion of the Son of man. Peter at the time most likely did not fully grasp the idea suggested by his Master, but probably felt that any further resistance on his part would result in a separation between them. The idea of being excluded from union with Jesus filled his soul with fear and consternation (cfr. Jn. VI, 69), and therefore he begged that his whole person be cleansed (XIII, 9), thereby confessing his sinfulness and lack of perfection and expressing his ardent desire for an intimate union with Jesus. We hear much about the *symbolical* mean-

ing of the washing of the feet, as if Jesus by this ceremony merely gave to His disciples an example of love and humility, and drew their attention to the necessity of moral purification. The washing was, on the contrary, a *"sacramentale ex opere operantium":* it aroused in the Apostles a sense of frailty, unworthiness, and guilt, of sorrow and repentance, and produced in their soul the same effect as the washing of the feet ordinarily does on him who, having taken a bath, has walked again, though but a short distance, *i. e.,* the action of Jesus caused a perfect cleansing from all sinful dross that may have accumulated in the soul since the laver of Baptism and before they entered into the most intimate union with the Godman by partaking of His flesh and blood. Although Our Lord, by the words in Jn. XIII, 15, 16, exhorted the Apostles to act in like manner, this must not be viewed simply as an exhortation to humility and active charity, but as an exhortation to the Apostles to wash one another's feet in the same sense and for the same purpose as He washed their feet, *i. e.,* to assist each other in cleansing the soul of all sinful dross before partaking of the Eucharistic banquet. In what manner the Apostles complied with this direction we learn from the Epistles and the early ecclesiastical writers. They introduced confession (ἐξομολόγησις), which was made in the presence of the priest and of the congregation for the purpose of obtaining forgiveness. A witness to this is St. John the Evangelist in his first letter (I, 9), where the connection between the confession of sins and the reception of the Holy Eucharist is unmistakable (ου ἐξομολογεῖσθαι cfr. Mt. III, 6; Mt. I, 5). Another witness is St. James (V, 16). True, this passage contains no direct testimony in favor of sacramental confession to the priest, but it does contain an Apostolic utterance on the necessity of confessing sins committed after Baptism.[12] Confession, therefore, precedes the Eucharistic sacrifice. The conclusion that the Apostles and their successors, the bishops, together with the priests, assisted the faithful in the ἐξομολόγησις, by giving them absolution upon contrition and confession, is warranted, or rather forced upon us, by Jn. XX, 22, 23. At any rate, Jn. XIII, 14 has in view confession of sins for the purpose of blotting out all stains before partaking of the Eucharistic repast. Whoever collates XIII, 14 with VI, 51 ff. and XX, 31 will find in it the firm conviction of the Evangelist that Jesus, the Godman, is as truly present under the Eucharistic species as He was in

[12] Cfr. 1 Clem. 51, 3; 57, 1; Barn., 19, 12, and especially *Doctrina Apost.* (14 ed. Bryenn.): *καὶ κυριακὴν δὲ κυρίου συναχθέντες κλάσατε ἄρτον καὶ εὐχαριστήσατε, προεξομολογησάμενοι τὰ παραπτώματα ὑμῶν, ὅπως καθαρὰ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν ᾖ.*

the supper-room, for the purpose of giving life to the world (VI, 51 = XX, 31 *in fine*).

8. Vague notions are current regarding the Gospel account of the unmasking of Judas, the traitor. How does Jesus designate the traitor? After having broached the subject of the one unclean disciple among the Twelve and applied to him the words of the Psalmist (Ps. XLI, 10): "He that eateth bread with me, shall lift up his heel against me" (Jn. XIII, 18), He says positively that one of the Apostles will betray Him (Mt. XXVI, 21; Mk. XIV, 16; Jn. XIII, 21). In answer to the questioning of the disciples He declares with emphasis: He whom I mean and designate as the traitor, is one *who is with us at table* (Mk. XXVI, 23; Mk. XIV, 16; Lk. XXII, 21). Matthew writes: ὁ ἐμβάψας μετ' ἐμοῦ τὴν χεῖρα ἐν τῷ τρυβλίῳ, οὗτός με παραδώσει, whilst Mark presents to us the actual wording: εἷς τῶν δώδεκα, ὁ ἐμβαπτόμενος μετ' ἐμοῦ εἰς τό τρύβλιον. Substantially the saying of Jesus is the same in both Evangelists: The traitor reclines with me at table; as long as "the morsel" has not been given, the Passah-meal continues, and Judas is still one of the company. This is what ἐμβαπτόμενος is intended to convey. With this dipping in the dish mentioned by Matthew and Mark, the "dipping of the bread" (Jn. XIII, 26) has nothing in common. The words, ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν, ᾧ ἐγὼ βάψω τὸ ψωμίον καὶ δώσω αὐτῷ, are not addressed to all the Apostles present, but only *whispered* into John's ear. Τὸ ψωμίον is not "unleavened bread." Suidas interprets ψωμός by ὁ ἄρτος; however, the question is not about ψωμός, but about τὸ ψωμίον. This is an essential distinction. The passage in Psalm XL, 10 (Jn. XIII, 18) must not be connected with ψωμίον, as if the Old Testament prediction was fulfilled by giving the morsel to Judas; it receives its fulfilment only when Jesus admitted Judas into most intimate fellowship and by receiving into the company at the Last Supper a man who had lifted up his heel against the Lord, *i. e.*, had planned to betray Him. By the morsel must be understood, as Van Bebber has correctly seen, a slice of the Passah-lamb. The definite article τὸ (ψωμίον) proves that John had in view the morsel κατ' ἐξοχήν, the morsel (*afikoman*) customary at that time in the Passah-ritual, which he who presided at the ceremony (the goodman of the house) gave at the end of the meal and which served as a signal that the supper was at an end and that those who so desired might leave. Only on the assumption that the dipping and the giving of the morsel was nothing extraordinary, but an act in perfect conformity with the Easter ritual, can we account for the fact that the departure of Judas did not surprise the other disciples. Judas, of course, perceived at once that

Our Lord did not wish to have him present any longer, because He gave to him alone the morsel of dismissal. Enraged at this, he said to himself: Now I will do it! At this moment he opened his heart fully to the influence of the devil (Jn. XIII, 27), and his traitorous intent (Lk. XXII, 3) assumed the form of a firm resolve. Jesus urged him to carry out his resolution at once (Jn. XIII, 27) and thus his premature departure caused no surprise, for the disciples understood the Master's words as referring to some business to be attended to, Judas being the treasurer of the little group (Jn. XII, 6), and purchases for the festal sacrifices having still to be made.

9. Tradition does not help us to decide the question whether or not Judas was present at the institution of the Eucharist. The Evangelists are difficult to reconcile on the subject. St. Luke seems to favor the affirmative view. But his words must not be pressed, because it is quite possible that he has departed from the chronological order. The decision is given by St. John (John XIII, 1–32), who plainly says that the traitor was unmasked immediately after Our Lord had washed the feet of His disciples. The two events are very closely connected, as XIII, 10–11 and XIII, 18–19 show. XIII, 20 presents itself as a sort of parenthetical consolation, added for the benefit of the faithful disciples. The institution of the Eucharist follows after XIII, 32.

CHAPTER IV

THE INSTITUTION OF THE HOLY EUCHARIST

(Mt. XXVI, 26, 28; Mk. XIV, 22–24; Lk. XXII, 19, 20; Jn. XIII, 1 ff.; VI, 25–63; 1 Cor. XI, 23–26)

1. The Preliminaries

Upon the washing of the feet and the unmasking of the traitor followed the institution of the Holy Eucharist. Let us first examine the words with which the Gospel writers introduce this sacred action. Common to the three Synoptics are the words: Jesus took bread, blessed it, broke it, gave it to His disciples and said. St. Paul omits the words "gave it to them," but this is of no moment, because the ἔδωκεν is included in the ἔκλασεν; the breaking was done for the purpose of distribution. SS. Matthew and Mark have the statements: ἐσθιόντων δὲ αὐτῶν, and καὶ ἐσθιόντων αὐτῶν. SS. Luke and Paul do not record these words, but have: μετὰ τό δειπνῆσαι. Both the last mentioned writers, it is true, make this chronological statement only when they speak of the chalice; however, it must be admitted as possible that the statement may refer also to the preceding consecration of the bread. The consecration of the chalice, *i. e.*, of the wine contained therein, was performed after the supper just like (ὡσαύτως) the consecration of the bread. Some object to this explanation and point to the position of the words μετὰ τὸ δειπῆσαι. The ὡσαύτως as well as the absence of the verb in the description of the second act decidedly suggest the above view. It is possible to understand the phrase μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι of the eating of the Passah-lamb; however, we would rather apply the expression to the entire Passah-supper, in the sense of "after

they had eaten," because peremptory considerations force us to take the view that Jesus first completely finished the Passah and then instituted the Holy Eucharist. [Note 1.]

But is there not a discrepancy between Paul-Luke and Matthew-Mark, who introduce the beginning of the Eucharistic celebration with the words, ἐσθιόντων αὐτῶν? These two words, as is almost universally admitted, merely mean: Whilst they were sitting at table, in connection with the supper. According to the sense they coincide with St. John's δείπνου γινομένου (XIII, 2), *i. e.,* on the occasion of the supper.

For the rest, the Passah-supper, begun "at the legal hour," was not yet fully concluded when Jesus began the Eucharistic celebration. From Jn. XIII, 26 we learn that Our Lord handed the ritualistic morsel (το ψωμίον) solely to Judas, to signify that for him the Passah-supper was at an end, and the time had arrived to depart. The other Apostles did not receive the morsel because He wished them to stay. Then He combined the institution of the Eucharistic cup with the fifth Jewish Passah-cup, which, according to custom, no one was obliged to drink. Therefore the expulsion of Judas involved no breach of the Passah ritual, while on the other hand "the supper" still continued in the Cenacle, because Our Lord desired to give to his faithful Apostles of the "fruit of the vine," a new drink, the wonderful drink of the New Covenant. [Note 2.]

"The Lord took bread." What kind of bread was this? The Passah ritual also prescribed the use of bread. After the *haggada, i. e.,* the narration of the episodes of the Exodus of the Jews from Egypt, and after the drinking of the second cup, the goodman of the house washed his hands, took bread, broke it in two, and, having said the blessing and reminded all present of the commandment to eat nothing but unleavened bread on this day, he ate of it, broke off small pieces, and gave them to the participants to eat. This ritualistic bread was not the bread which Jesus took for the consecration, as we can plainly see from the fact that the article is missing (it is dif-

ferent with τὸ ψωμίον, Jn. XIII, 26); it was not ritualistic, but simple unleavened bread.

Let us examine the meaning of εὐλογήσας (Matthew-Mark) and εὐχαριστήσας (Luke-Paul). We may take the εὐλογήσας to be synonymous with εὐχαριστήσας in view of Mt. XIV, 19 and Mk. VI, 41, collated with Lk. IX, 16 and 1 Cor. XIV, 16. Εὐλογεῖν means: to bless, praise, extol; εὐχαριστεῖν, to give thanks. To explain the words as if they signified the blessing of divine omnipotence as cause of the transubstantiation of the bread, is inadmissible. Against this assumption is the sequence of the words: εὐλογήσας (εὐχαριστήσας) ἔκλασεν, ἔδωκεν καὶ εἶπεν (λέγων); and furthermore the non-repetition of them before the second part of the sacred action in 1 Cor. XI, 25, and finally the view taken by the Fathers of the Church.[1] This thanksgiving, blessing, or praising was, therefore, a preparatory action; the bread was prepared for consecration by the blessing. [Note 3.]

After having blessed the bread, Jesus broke it. This act must also be taken as a ceremony preceding the consecration, as the Vulgate does by translating: *accepit, benedixit, fregit.* Concerning the words καὶ δοὺς εἶπεν (Matthew) and καὶ ἔδωκεν καὶ εἶπεν (Mark), the "giving and saying" must evidently not be viewed as coördinate actions; the giving or handing was performed rather during or after pronouncing the words: this is my body, as St. Luke says: ἔδωκεν λέγων, and Paul, omitting the ἔδωκεν: ἔκλασεν καὶ εἶπεν. While giving, Our Lord said: λάβετε, φάγετε (Matthew) and λάβετε (Mark). The phrase in Matthew is considered by many as an amplification of the simple λάβετε in Mark,—upon the supposition, of course, that Mark is the prior author and the source of Matthew. We do not agree with this view, but regard the amplified phrase of St. Matthew as original, and that of Mark as an abbreviation. Our Lord means

[1] *E. g.,* Justin, *Dial.,* 41; *Apol.,* I, 66: εὐλογεῖν, εὐχαριστεῖν τὸν ἄρτον or τῆν τροφήν, εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφήν, where the μεταβολή is not mentioned until afterwards. Irenaeus (V, 2, 2); τὸν ἄρτον εὐχαριστηθέντα = *panem in quo gratiae actae sunt.* These Fathers take εὐλογεῖν and εὐχαριστεῖν in the sense of "to bless or praise with thanksgiving."

to exhort the Apostles to take the proffered food into their hands, carry it to the mouth, and consume it. At Capharnaum He had promised to give His disciples a material, sensible bread, to eat (φαγεῖν, τρώγειν, Jn. VI); by "eat ye," which he spoke to them in the Cenacle, He reminds them of His former saying and announces to them the fulfilment of the promise. At the presentation of the chalice the exhortation reads according to Matthew: πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες. This is again quite intelligible, because Christ on the same occasion had promised also a wonderful "drink." Mark (XIV, 23) says: καὶ ἔπιον ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες; but an unprejudiced examination leaves no doubt as to the originality of the text in Matthew. The very position of the words is noteworthy: they precede the declaration "this is my blood"; the drinking of the cup occurred, of course, only after this declaration. One can clearly see how Mark changed the πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες of Matthew (XVI, 27) into ἔπιον ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες. Substantially this makes no difference, for no one could be in doubt that the Apostles complied with the exhortation: πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ. The πάντες receives a fully satisfactory explanation by our assumption that the Lord used the fifth Passah-cup for the Eucharistic chalice; because this fifth cup was not prescribed by the ritual, He expressly declared that *all* must drink of the chalice prepared by Him.

2. The Words of Institution

a) *The wording in the various accounts.*—According to Matthew and Mark, Jesus, taking the bread into His hands and blessing it with praise and thanksgiving said: τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μοῦ; according to Paul and Luke, τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά το ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν; and, τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μοὺ τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον. We may view the Pauline τὸ ὑπὲο ὑμῶν as also uttered by Jesus and the διδόμενον in Luke as an addition made according to the sense. Concerning the consecration of the chalice, the words spoken are not reported in exactly the same manner. Matthew and

Mark agree very closely. The former says: *τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τὸ αἷμά μου τῆς διαθήκης τὸ περὶ πολλῶν ἐκχυννόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν*; the latter: *τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ αἷμά μου τὸ τῆς διαθήκης τὸ ἐκχυννόμενον ὑπὲρ πολλῶν*. Apart from the words: *εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν*, the agreement is perfect. That Matthew has *περί* and Mark *ὑπέρ* constitutes no essential difference because in New Testament usage *περί* and *ὑπέρ* (= for, instead of) are virtually synonymous. More noteworthy is the discrepancy between the account in Matthew-Mark and Paul-Luke. Paul has the phrase: *τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ αἵματι*; likewise Luke (with the omission of *ἐστι* and instead of *ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ αἵματι*: *ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου*), however with the addition: *τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον*. The latter harmonizes with Matthew-Mark, except that *ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν* takes the place of *ὑπὲρ πολλῶν*. Though according to Paul-Luke the covenant is expressly designated as new, this does not constitute a real discrepancy. At the moment when Jesus pronounced the words, a covenant already existed, the covenant of Yahweh with Israel, and the Apostles, despite the fact that Our Lord surely did not use the word "new," could think only of the covenant or kingdom which the prophets had long ago foretold (Jer. XXXI, 31 ff.) and whose establishment Jesus himself so often declared to be the real purpose of His coming into the world (cfr. especially Mt. V ff.). We do not scruple to declare that the form of consecration contained in Matthew-Mark is the original, as compared to the one in Paul-Luke. What leads us to entertain this view is, first of all, the formula of consecration pronounced over the bread. To the words, "this is my body," correspond the words, "this is my blood, the blood of the covenant." Secondly a glance at Ex. XXIV, 8, which, as is universally conceded, Our Lord had in mind when consecrating the chalice. This text speaks of the blood of the covenant, which circumstance induced St. Paul, who was followed by his pupil St. Luke, to give to the formula for the consecration of the chalice a different wording, as will be shown later. As to the *ὑπὲρ πολλῶν* (Matthew-Mark), as com-

pared with ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν (Paul-Luke), some give Matthew-Mark the preference of originality, because not only the Apostles share in the covenant established by Christ and in its blessings, but all who fulfill the conditions required for admission into the new covenant. Though not all, very many will seek admission, and it must be assumed that Jesus uttered the word πολλῶν. However, He certainly considered in the first place as participants in the covenant established by His blood the eleven Apostles present in the Cenacle and therefore probably said: ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ πολλῶν. The words, τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν, are recorded only by Paul and Luke; the latter assigns to them a position between both sacred actions (XXII, 19), while Paul places them at the end of each. [Note 4.]

Concerning the *originality* of the words: "do this in commemoration of me," not the least doubt exists. Some think that while the will of Jesus regarding the repetition of the act performed by Him is unequivocally expressed, it is very strange that the words are omitted by Matthew-Mark, as we cannot imagine any reason why they should not quote them. However, it must be borne in mind that the account of these two Evangelists is of a fragmentary character; we need only compare it with the account given by St. John of the episodes at the Last Supper to be convinced of the scantiness of the narrative in Matthew-Mark. These authors did not write their Gospels for persons who needed first instruction, but for such as were already informed. For these the custom of the Church, the actual repetition of the Eucharistic celebration, supplied ample instruction. They knew that the Apostles ordained and performed this sacred rite, the central neucleus of Christian worship, only at the express command of the Lord. Paul and Luke mention the words: "do this in commemoration of me," because they desire to place in a strong light the significance of the Last Supper for future ages. Paul in particular wishes to say to the Christians of the church at Corinth: I have ordained among you the Eucharistic celebration; I did so

because Our Lord himself ordered it in commemoration of His death. Therefore it behooves us to celebrate this holy rite with becoming seriousness.

Hence the Lord, on the night of the 14th Nisan, expressly directed His Apostles to repeat the Holy Eucharist, as Paul and Luke report and Matthew and Mark presume to be a well known fact by alluding to it at least indirectly. Justin Martyr [2] expressly declares that the words "do this for a commemoration of me," originated with Jesus Christ Himself. [Note 5.]

b) *Sense and meaning of the words of institution.*—According to the four accounts of the Last Supper, Jesus declared to the eleven Apostles that He was giving them His body and blood to eat and drink. The words: "this is my body," spoken in the first act, are, as we have seen, common to all four writers. Τοῦτο can point only to what Jesus held in His hand and was about to give to His disciples. Hence the ἐστίν is declared by many to be more or less superfluous because Our Saviour pronounced the words of institution in Aramaic, and therefore the ἐστίν was not used by him. Others rightly reject this opinion and point out that a copula, when not spoken, is mentally supplied. We might boldly go farther and say that Jesus certainly did pronounce the copula (or instead of it the Aramaic pronoun of the third person). However, we may rest content with the fact that all four writers, including St. Paul, who was well versed in Aramaic and acquainted with the Rabbinic idiom, report the ἐστίν in the words of institution. Their complete agreement on this point furnishes an absolutely reliable guaranty that they correctly render the words used by Our Lord. The copula ἐστίν they, of course, use in the same sense as do all who speak the Greek language. Now, ἐστίν in Greek means "is," not "signifies," and implies that the subject and predicate bear to each other the relationship of identity. This is now admitted also by Protestant scholars like Schultz, Schultzen, Schäfer, etc. Hence the sense of the words of Jesus is: That which I hold in my

[2] *Dial.*, 70.

hand, is my body. Under the appearance of bread, therefore, He gave his body to the eleven Apostles.

For the Apostles it was natural to think of the material body which they saw with their eyes. If, however, they recalled what Our Lord had told them some time before (Jn. VI, 62), the idea might occur to them that the Saviour now intended to give them His σῶμα πνευματικόν, *i. e.*, His spiritual, transfigured body to eat. What, then, is the purpose of adding to τὸ σῶμα the words, τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν? We cannot take the κλώμενον of the *textus receptus* to be original, as it is absent from the most ancient manuscripts and there can be no doubt as to its spuriousness, although some critics hold it to be genuine. [Note 6.] It presumably originated with a copyist, who regarded the phrase τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν as incomplete. The simplest way will be to supplement the phrase in St. Luke by a διδόμενον. Even if this participle was not used by Our Lord, but originated with St. Luke, the addition may be taken as having been made in the sense and spirit of Paul. But what is the meaning of διδόμενον? Some exegetes interpret it: that which is given to you as food. Others declare this to be impossible. Hence some explain διδόμενον as: this is my body, which is given for you, *i. e.*, shall be delivered unto death for you. Hence we could add to διδόμενον the words εἰς θάνατον and, according to the Pauline-Lucan redaction, Jesus would be made to say: I give you my body to eat, the same body which shall be put to death for you on the Cross, violently broken and destroyed. According to this exegesis the sacrificial character, not of the Holy Eucharist, but of Christ's death on the Cross, is plainly expressed. This idea is excellent and agrees fully with the other statements of Paul about the value of Christ's death on the cross; but it is questionable whether this interpretation does full justice to the words of Paul (τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν) and those of Luke (τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον). Before we try to settle this question, let us carefully examine the formula of consecration used for the chalice.

"This is my blood of the covenant, which shall be shed for

many unto remission of sins" (Matthew); "this is the blood of the covenant, which shall be shed for many" (Mark). These words mean: that which is contained in the chalice, and which I give you to drink, is my blood, the blood that seals a new covenant and shall be shed for many. The reference to Ex. XXIV, 8 is evident and generally admitted. The covenant on Mt. Horeb was made with blood; in like manner Jesus established a covenant with His own blood. This covenant is not merely a continuation of the old, but an altogether new one. It was not necessary to employ the predicate "new," because of the manifest allusion to the first covenant recorded in the Scriptures. By comparison with the blood used in the Sinaitic covenant, Our Lord declared His blood, as mediating the New Testament, to be *sacrificial blood,* and thus the reference to His death is quite plain.

In the second act the sense of Christ's words was: Here in this cup I give you my own blood to drink, the blood which I shall shed at my death, and by which the new covenant is established. The addition in Matthew of the words "unto remission of sins" seems to make the reference of ἐκχυννόμενον to the death of Christ, and to this alone, a necessity. The blood of Christ, shed on the Cross, effects the forgiveness of sins and the reconciliation of man to God. According to the formally divergent account of the consecration of the chalice in Paul and Luke, Christ designates the cup in His hand as the new covenant effected by His blood. But by τὸ ποτήριον He means not the cup as such, but that which is contained in it. If we properly appreciate the value of the words ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ αἵματι, which belong to διαθήκη, we will interpret the passage thus: This drink is the establishing of the New Covenant, effected by my blood; consequently, this drink is my blood. It is quite evident that this formula ranks far below that of Matthew-Mark in originality; it is connected with the purpose of the argument in chap. XI of 1 Cor., where the Apostle calls the drink itself "new covenant," in order to bring home to the Corinthians the unique

importance of the Holy Eucharist. St. Luke retains this peculiarity of his master by inserting the additional phrase: *τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον*. To what does this addition refer? According to the form, to *τὸ ποτήριον*; logically, it is said, to *ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου*, which words are interpreted as suggesting a relation of the cup, *i. e.*, its contents, to the death of Christ on the Cross; as if He wished to say: That which is contained in the cup is my blood, mediating the new covenant, which shall be shed for many on the Cross. Accordingly, not a few exegetes interpret the sense of the words of institution as follows: What I give to you now as a food and a drink, is my body, which shall be put to death on the Cross, and my blood, which shall be shed on the Cross for the remission of sins. That which the Saviour held in His hand was, according to His words, His body, and the contents of the proffered cup was His blood; what He had taken into His hands, was bread, and what He had poured into the cup, was wine. Hence, previous to giving it to the Apostles, a transubstantiation had taken place by His all-powerful will. Two modes of transubstantiation are possible here: either Christ performed the change by a purely interior act, or by the words which He pronounced over the bread and wine when He gave them to the Apostles, namely, "This is my body," "This is my blood." The second hypothesis may unhesitatingly be accepted as the more probable. The earliest Church Fathers ascribed to the words recorded not only a declarative, but an *operative* or *effective* meaning. Justin Martyr in his treatise on the Holy Eucharist[3] says: This food [bread and wine mixed with water, over which the "minister" has spoken the prayer of thanksgiving] is called Eucharist among us. No one may partake of it but those who believe our doctrine, whose sins have been forgiven, and who have been washed in the laver of regeneration and live as Christ has commanded; for we partake of these things not as ordinary bread, and not as ordinary drink, but as our Redeemer Jesus Christ, made flesh by the

[3] *Apol.*, I, 65, 66.

word of God, has received both flesh and blood for our salvation; in like manner, according to our teaching, is the food, by which our flesh and blood are nourished by way of transformation, when it is blessed by pronouncing over it the traditional words, both *flesh and blood* of the Incarnate Jesus. Bread and wine are, therefore, converted into the body and blood of Christ by pronouncing the words which have come down to us from Him. But if the bread and wine are the body and blood of Christ, then a *transubstantiation* must have taken place.[4] Justin teaches: Bread and wine become the flesh and blood of Christ in much the same way as they are made flesh and blood by the process of digestion. By adding the words: "flesh and blood of Jesus, who received His flesh and blood by the almighty power of God," St. Justin shows that he means the individual flesh and blood of Christ. The transubstantiation of the bread and wine is brought about δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ ("by reciting the words which have come down to us from Him.") According to the context, the words handed down to us from Christ can be none other than the words spoken by Him in the Cenacle when instituting the Holy Eucharist, namely, "This is my body," "This is my blood." For Justin reports only these words, followed by: "do this in memory of me." The latter phrase cannot be taken into account as effecting the transubstantiation; hence there remain only the former two. [Note 7.] This is also the view of Irenaeus, a pupil of Polycarp and Papias. The chief passage applying to our subject is: Jesus took bread, which is a product of creation, and gave thanks, saying: "This is my body"; in like manner He declared the chalice (= wine), which is of our creation, to be His blood and taught the new sacrifice of the New Testament, and gave orders to His disciples accordingly. In other words, according to St. Irenaeus, the Incarnate Son of God, Jesus Christ, took bread and wine, the products of

[4] *Adv. Haer.*, IV, 17, 5: τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφήν, ἐξ ἧς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν, ἐκαίνου τοῦ σαρκοποιηθέντος Ἰησοῦ καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν εἶναι.

creation, and declared them to be His body and blood by the words: "This is my body," "This is my blood," and thus instituted the new sacrifice. In chap. XVII, 18, Irenaeus says that the Catholic Church alone offers this sacrifice in the manner willed by the Father, because the Catholic Church alone acknowledges Jesus Christ as the Son of God, by whom He has created bread and wine; only he who believes that the natural world belongs to God the Father, that bread and wine can be transformed into the flesh and blood of the Son solely by Him, and that by this flesh and blood man is nourished unto the life of the Father in body and soul,—he alone can celebrate the new sacrifice, which consists essentially in offering to God the Father a bread changed into the flesh of Christ and a wine changed into the blood of Christ, both being taken from His creation to serve as man's representative and firstfruits. The transformation is effected by pronouncing the words: "This is my body," "This is my blood," by which Christ Himself, on the eve of his Passion, changed bread into His body and wine into His blood.

However, we have not yet exhausted the meaning of the words of institution. Thus far we have learned that the essence of the sacred rite in the Cenacle consisted in the preparation by Christ of His body and blood and the eating and drinking thereof by the Apostles. It was a sacrificial act, closely related to the sacrifice of the Cross on the 15th Nisan, inasmuch as the body prepared and eaten in the Cenacle and the blood prepared by Jesus and drunk by the Apostles were the same as that immolated on the Cross on the following day.

Whoever stops at this interpretation of the words of institution must not, however, imagine that he has done justice to the full sense of the words recorded by the sacred writers. Let his attention be first of all directed to the two participles διδόμενον and ἐκχυννόμενον. To justify a reference to the sacrifice of the Cross as the blood which shall be shed on the Cross, one may point to the translation, *qui effundetur* and *fundetur,*

in the Vulgate. However, we must not rest satisfied with this as final, because in not a few cases the translation of the Vulgate is admittedly faulty or even positively incorrect. There is plenty of evidence for this.[5] The assertion, however, that the New Testament writers make practically no distinction between the present and future participle[6] is unfounded. To maintain it, more striking proofs from the usage of these writers would have to be produced than Jn. I, 29: *ἴδε ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ αἴρων τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου.* John the Baptist, who was quite familiar with the writings of the Prophet Isaias, wished to say by these words: Behold the lamb of God, which Isaias (LIII, 2 ff.) saw at the moment when it is slaughtered and takes away the sins of the world. To quote this passage is of no avail, and other proofs there are none. It is, therefore, a task of the exegete to expound the present participles in the narrative according to the rules of grammar and syntax. Our Lord says: "This is my body, which shall be given for you; this is my blood, which shall be shed for you." As regards the account of St. Mark, some call attention to the necessity of referring the *ἐκχυννόμενον* to the supper of Our Lord; in Matthew, however, they prefer to refer it to the sacrifice of the Cross on account of the addition, "for the forgiveness of sins." Now it is true that the body and blood given by Our Lord to the eleven Apostles could not have the purpose of effecting in them the remission of sins. Because, according to Jn. XIII, 10 ff., the Apostles received the sacred gifts in a state of interior purity, and according to the statement of St. Paul (1 Cor. XI, 27 ff.) the Church from the very start set up as conditions for partaking of the sacramental food, first, Baptism, and then self-examination and penance. However, we must bear in mind that man, as long as he is in this world, is never absolutely pure, and that even in those purified by sorrow and

[5] Let it be remarked, however, that some of the older Vulgate codices have *effunditur* instead of *effundetur*.

[6] Renz, *Geschichte des Messopferbegriffs*, 1901, p. 128.

penance, there still remain some stains to be removed. Therefore the Fathers of the Church, while they require purity and innocence for the reception of the Holy Eucharist, on the other hand urge its reception, because the flesh and blood of Christ produce the remission of sins.[7] However, we readily grant that a *direct* reference of the words τὸ ἐκχυννόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν to the *partaking* does not exist. Above all the sacrificial character of the Holy Eucharist is here expressed: a shedding of the blood (in the chalice) takes place for the remission of sins; in other words, the supper was above all a sacrifice of propitiation, and such it is also when repeated in the service of the Church. The sacrifices of the Old Testament were not merely sacrifices of praise, thanksgiving and petition, but chiefly sacrifices of propitiation, which, of course, merely typified the reconciliation of man to God, but did not actually effect it; hence, the perfect sacrifice of the New Testament, which was to take the place of these types, must necessarily be above all a propitiatory sacrifice.

Mark well the double form of the consecration; by this Jesus desired to represent *per anticipationem* as perfectly as possible, that is, compatibly with the transfiguration of his sacred body, His death on the Cross, the act of dying by the shedding of his blood. It was His intention, by the words spoken over the bread ("this is my body") to effect that, and only that which the words convey, *i. e.,* His body without causing the blood to be present, and in like manner by the words over the wine ("this is my blood") to produce the blood without the body. This intention he expressed by the additions in the present participle: "This is my body, which now is to be delivered unto death," "This is my blood, which now is shed for the remission of sins." This shedding of blood, intended by Our Lord and represented by word and sign (elements of bread and wine), corresponds exactly to his death on the Cross, because on the Cross He, by an act of his omnipotence and love, rent

[7] Hippolyt., *In Prov.* IX, 1.

his heart and spilled his blood; only the manner of sacrificing is different,—there bloody, here unbloody. No one has grasped the sense and significance of the words of institution satisfactorily if he does not conceive the described action as being done *at present;* the present participles inevitably demand this exegesis. [Note 8.] To connect the phrase of St. Luke (XXII, 20) τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον with τῷ αἵματι instead of with τὸ ποτήριον, is by no means justified; the connection with ποτήριον, demanded by the rules of grammar, does not at all result in the meaningless phrase: the cup that shall be emptied for you. By τὸ ποτήριον are evidently meant the contents of the cup, and hence the words mean: the liquid contained in the cup, *i. e.,* the blood of Christ, shall be poured out and immolated under the elements of wine (in a sacramental state).

Let us see what the fourth Evangelist has to say; perhaps his supplementary account will shed some light on our difficult as well as highly interesting subject. But St. John does not record the institution of the Eucharist. [Note 9.] True, we find in his Gospel no report of the act or the words of institution; but as to the rest, he presents many important points, especially in chap. XIII. We have already called attention to this peculiar version of the washing of the feet. This entire account, and especially the literal report of the discourse delivered by Christ on this occasion (cfr. XIII, 12 ff.), can be explained only by assuming that the Evangelist viewed this episode as an introduction to, and a direct preparation for, the sacred banquet, and desired to represent it to his readers from this point of view, namely, to show that the Godman was really and truly present in the Eucharistic species at the first celebration in the Cenacle and is present in like manner at its subsequent repetitions, in order to give life to the world,—assuredly one of the strongest arguments for the proposition (XX, 31) which he intended to prove. Had he seen in the washing of the feet nothing but a symbolical act, and in the accompanying discourse nothing but a general exhortation to mutual submission, he would not have

reported them in the manner in which he did, because such an exhortation proves nothing for the divinity of Christ and His mission to be the life of the world.

Furthermore, note the remarkable manner in which the Evangelist introduces the account of the washing of the feet (XIII, 3–4). Jesus, who was well aware that the Father had given all things into His hands and that He came from God and went to God, rises from the Passah-supper, takes off his upper garment, etc.,—in other words, He performs the washing of the feet although He is fully conscious of His Messianic dignity and His divine majesty. By pointing out this fact the Evangelist endeavors to make us realize the self-abasement of the Master, and from this alone it is clear that he wishes to describe this act of Jesus not primarily or chiefly as an act of love, but as an act of humility and self-abasement, following Our Lord Himself, who unequivocally expressed this idea (XIII, 13–16).

And thus I have again touched upon the point of which I treated in a previous work,[8]—I mean the sense and scope of Jn. XIII, 1. There can be no doubt as to the correctness of the translation there given: Before the chief festival day of the Passah, Jesus knowing . . . , manifested to His own in the world His love in the highest degree, or He gave to His own in the world the greatest imaginable proof of His love. To the question whether by this He meant the washing of the feet, the answer may be, if you will, a timid yes, and it may be pointed out that the washing effected a perfect purification of the soul, which was a proof of Christ's love. However, in substantiating this view, no appeal can be taken to the account of St. John, since he describes the washing not as an act of love, but of humility. Mark the wording, especially: *τοὺς ἰδίους τοὺς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ*. According to the will of His Father, Jesus was to leave the world, that is, return to His Father in Heaven, after having manifested His great love for His own in the world. *Τοὺς ἰδίους τοὺς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ* is the object of the participle *ἀγαπήσας*,

[8] *Einleitung*, pp. 309 sq.

but also of the principal verb ἠγάπησεν, where it is taken up again by αὐτούς. Who are these ἴδιοι? Ordinarily the answer is: the Apostles. The Evangelist, it is said, instead of οἱ ἀπόστολοι or οἱ μαθηταί, wrote οἱ ἴδιοι οἱ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ in view of the approaching departure of Jesus and the stay of the Apostles in the world. Others pay no attention to the significance of the expression, but simply say, "His own, those whom He had acquired by grace and love." In my opinion the greatest attention ought to be given to these words. Jesus, on the point of leaving the world and returning to His Father, does not wish to leave his own as orphans in a cruel world filled with hatred against His followers (cfr. XV, 18 ff.; XX, 19, 26), but to compensate them by an eminent proof of His love. This idea is expressed most uequivocally by the words: ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου—τοὺς ἰδίους τοὺς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ. It is evident that the Evangelist intentionally chose this expression instead of τοὺς μαθητάς. If we collate it with τα ἴδια πρόβατα (Jn. X, 3, 4, 12, 16), *i. e.*, those who by faith and Baptism enter the fold or Church of Jesus Christ, we obtain the idea of XIII, 1; the proof of His love given by the Saviour on the eve of His Passion was intended not only for the Apostles, but for all who at any time would be His sheep. All these, no matter where they might be in the world, even those yet unborn, the Father had given to Him (Jesus) as His own (Jn. XVII, 2, 6). But if this be so, ἀγαπήσας and ἠγάπησεν cannot refer to the ceremony of washing the feet; for this ceremony was no substitute for the personal presence of Jesus, and was, moreover, restricted to the person of the twelve Apostles. Both conditions, however, are present in the Holy Eucharist. By instituting the Eucharistic banquet, in which He is *actually present* with His flesh and blood, Jesus furnished the substitute in question and manifested His infinite love, not only towards His Apostles, but also towards all who through the preaching of the Gospel would believe in Him. And now compare the words of institution in Lk. XXII, 19 f. (ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν) with Mt. XXVI, 28 (περὶ πολλῶν). This institution was to last

until the end of time (1 Cor. XI, 26). Though St. John does not mention the command, he nevertheless gives expression to it indirectly in his account. If, then, τοὺς ἰδίους, etc., has this meaning, the Evangelist, in employing the words ἀγαπήσας and ἠγάπησεν, could have had in mind only the Eucharistic sacrifice of love, in which the Godman Jesus Christ immolated to His Father in advance His body, which was to be delivered unto death on the principal feast, and His blood, which was to shed on the 15th Nisan, and then gave both to His Apostles in a *transfigured* form, to be consumed as a sacrificial food, according to His promise at Capharnaum. But He instituted this precious sacrificial food and drink for all, even for *the most remote generations,* by commanding that the sacrificial banquet should be repeated until the end of time.

Our interpretation implies no interpolation. We readily understand why St. John does not mention the act of institution. He writes for readers who were acquainted with this act from having frequently seen it re-enacted, from the Synoptic Gospels, and who had been thoroughly instructed by himself (John). It sufficed that by the choice of his expressions he recalled to their minds the mystical transaction in the Cenacle. The words ἀγαπήσας and ἠγάπησεν as an allusion to the Holy Eucharist were at once intelligible to them, and the agreement of the underlying idea in John (ἠγάπησεν τοὺς ἰδίους) with the account of the institution in the Synoptics is complete. For according to the latter the Saviour said: This is my body, which is given, *i. e.,* immolated for you *now and forever* (Luke); this chalice is the new testament in my blood, which shall be *poured out* (*i. e.,* offered) for you now and forever.

Perhaps it will be argued against this interpretation that if the Evangelist (Jn. XIII, 1) has in mind the institution of the Eucharistic banquet, he places it before the washing of the feet and the unmasking of the traitor, which seems to be precluded by what has been said before (namely, that the washing of the feet was a preparation for the Eucharist). This objection is

irrelevant. In XIII, 1 St. John merely places the fact of institution at the head of the entire section, because he considers it most important, since by it Our Lord fulfilled the great promise He had made at Capharnaum. He then proceeds, with the explicative καί, to produce the necessary proof and shows from the action and conversation of Jesus,—in chronological order as usual,—that He had become really and truly, though invisibly, present under the elements of bread and wine. The account of the washing of the feet contains this proof: the Apostles had to be perfectly purified before the Lord could give Himself to them as the living bread of Heaven. Therefore the statement stands, that the washing of the feet was performed before the institution of the Holy Eucharist so that by it the disciples would be most perfectly prepared for the reception of the Eucharistic banquet. This exegesis alone corresponds to the wording and to the purpose of the Evangelist and is satisfactory from every point of view. The notion that the proof of love given by Our Lord to the disciples consists in the washing of the feet has always given more or less offence. Thus the commentary of Meyer-Weiss (p. 504) protests against it on the very pertinent ground that the washing of the feet is described by St. John as an act not of love, but of humble condescension.

Preliminary result: the account of the fourth Evangelist (chap. XIII) contains unmistakable and unequivocal allusions to the institution of the Holy Eucharist on the evening of the 14th Nisan, and this in the definite sense that Christ was really and truly present under the Eucharistic species and gave Himself as food to His Apostles. Perhaps chapter VI of St. John's Gospel may throw still more light on the significance of the Holy Eucharist!

Some writers deny that Jn. VI, 25 ff. treats of the Eucharistic Supper. However, this view is contrary to the tradition of the Church as well as against the plain wording of the text. From the earliest times the relation of the discourse of Our

Lord in Jn. VI to the Holy Eucharist has been acknowledged. As the first and sole witness we will cite St. Ignatius of Antioch, a disciple of St. John, who calls the Holy Eucharist after Jn. VI, ἄρτος (τοῦ) Θεοῦ, δωρεὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ [9] and says: I desire bread of God, heavenly bread, bread of life, which is the flesh of Jesus Christ.[10] Indeed, the discourse of Jesus in Jn. VI so clearly refers to the Holy Eucharist that unprejudiced Protestant theologians declare it to be peremptory, provided Jn. VI, 51–59 is genuine, as it undoubtedly is. [Note 10.]

After the miraculous multiplication of loaves in the desert, Our Lord discoursed on the bread of life in the synagogue at Capharnaum. He starts from the ordinary earthly bread and speaks of giving men a heavenly, everlasting bread to eat (VI, 26–27). This bread He compares to the manna and shows its infinite superiority over the latter, first as regards its origin (the manna merely came down from the sky; the promised bread really came from Heaven), and secondly in respect to its substance and effects. He says that He Himself is this true, antitypical bread (VI, 31–35). As the giver and dispenser of it He designates primarily his Father, but only to emphasize the descent of the bread *from Heaven,* from the throne of God. Next with an emphatic ἐγώ He declares Himself to be the giver, contrasted with the Father: but the bread which I promised to give (VI, 27) am I, is myself, *i. e.,* my flesh for the life of the world. The learned hierarchs (οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι) present at this discourse had already disputed among themselves on account of Christ's previous declaration that He was bread come down from Heaven (VI, 41); now give vent to their ire because of what He said of His flesh, with which they involuntarily associated the idea of edibility. They now began to quarrel about the pivotal question whether the words of Jesus were meant to be taken in their literal or in a figurative sense. Jesus decides the dispute by declaring solemnly: Not only my flesh, but also

[9] *Ep. ad Smyrn., 7; Ep. ad Ephes.,* 5.
[10] *Ep. ad Rom., 7.*

my blood will I give as food and drink; whosoever partakes of it shall be nourished (in his soul) and receive the right to a glorious resurrection of his body. My flesh is a true food and my blood is a true drink, *i. e.,* not merely a symbolic food, but one capable of being consumed with the mouth (my blood a drink; Jn. VI, 53–55; the original reading in VI, 55 is ἀληθὴς βρῶσις and ἀληθὴς πόσις).

But, it is objected, does not Our Saviour finally suggest the figurative interpretation of His words by what he says in Jn. VI, 61–63? No! What He says there is a new and vigorous testimony for the necessity of interpreting His words *literally.* He means to say, according to the sense: There would be just reason for taking scandal at my words if I meant the eating of the crude, material flesh; but I do not speak of this kind of flesh; the words I addressed to you (τὰ ῥήματα ἃ VI, 63 = ὁ λόγος οὗτος, VI, 60) refer to my divine, spiritual, and living flesh, *i. e.,* to my flesh imbued with the divine spirit and the divine life, as it shall be at my Ascension (VI, 62). By these words Our Lord retracted nothing, but *confirmed* His former promise that He would give His flesh and blood to His followers literally as a food. All He endeavors to do is to remove the scandal which might justly be taken in case "flesh and blood" were to be understood in a coarse, material manner, by pointing to the great miracle of His Resurrection and Ascension, the elevation of His human body into a supernatural, heavenly, transfigured state; this heavenly transfiguration was to be transiently anticipated when He would some day give them His body and blood. To prepare the way for a correct understanding of His words concerning the transfiguration of His body, which is to be a food for the soul, Our Lord, by walking on the water (Jn. VI, 14–21), had already demonstrated to His disciples that He had the power of transforming His earthly body of flesh and blood into a supermundane, spiritualized, and transfigured body.

Let us here briefly consider the *decisive points* in the dis-

course of Jesus. Our Lord promises to give His disciples a *banquet*. He lays special stress on the act of eating and drinking. The mistaken interpretation of His hearers, who expected a material banquet, He does not correct, but rather confirms. As the food to be consumed He plainly designates His flesh and blood. By employing the graphic term "flesh" He no doubt wished to direct the thoughts of His hearers to the sacrificial meat and by this expression as well as by the other, "blood," indicate the relation of the promised sacrificial banquet to His death. Then, by placing the words, "he who eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood" on a par with "who eateth me" (VI, 57), He gives to understand that the partaking of His flesh and blood is identical with the eating of His theandric person. Moreover, the promise He had made at Capharnaum included also this, that the institution of the sacrificial banquet shall *continue unto the end of time*. This is contained in the words: The bread that I will give is my flesh for the life of the world (VI, 52; cfr. VI, 33), *i. e.,* I will give my flesh, which I shall surrender to death to redeem the whole world, as the food of souls. Intentionally this bread is given for all men, effectively for the ἴδιοι given by the Father to Jesus to the consummation of the world,—a thought Jesus had already expressed in His conversation with the Samaritan woman (Jn. IV, 23 f.).

Now let us consider the *fulfilment* of Christ's promise as reported by the Synoptics and by St. Paul. When He said to his Apostles in the Cenacle: "This is my body," "This is my blood," they could not understand His words in a figurative sense, but had to interpret them *literally* [Note 11]; so much the more because Jesus declared the blood which He offered them as a drink, to be the blood by which the new covenant would be established. They surely understood at once the allusion to the events connected with the establishment of the Old Testament as related in Ex. XXIV, 4 ff.: Moses sprinkled the sacrificial blood over the people saying, this is the blood of

the covenant. Jeremias had prophesied (XXXI, 29 f.) that a new covenant was to supplant the old. This prophecy is fulfilled by Jesus. The Old Testament sacrifices, and in particular the Passah sacrifice and banquet, both acknowledged types, were fulfilled and replaced by the Eucharistic banquet instituted by Our Lord on the eve of his Passion (Lk. XXII, 16–18). Now, Christ, as the one who was to fulfil the law and the prophets, could not replace the imperfect sacrifice and the imperfect sacrificial banquet of the Jews by another imperfect sacrifice, substitute one image for another, by immolating a mere *symbol* of His body and blood and giving it to His Apostles to eat. On the contrary, by sacrificing and *offering* His real flesh and blood, He had to give to the type its antitypical fulfilment; and that he actually did so, is demonstrated very clearly by the accounts of SS. Matthew and Mark, Paul and Luke regarding the institution of the Holy Eucharist and, on the other hand, by St. John's account of the promise made at Capharnaum.

St. John, besides, gives us a definite allusion to the *sacrificial character of the Eucharist*. When he (XIII, 1) declares the institution of the Eucharist to be an act of the greatest imaginable love on the part of Jesus for His own in the world, he records in the parting discourse this very remarkable saying of Our Lord: "This is my commandment, that you love one another, as I have loved you; greater love than this no man hath [for his friends], than that a man lay down his life for his friends" (XV, 12–13). Commonly this is supplemented by: As I do now, or, as I shall do; but this interpretation is impossible in the light of the context. The supplement must rather be: As I have done. Consequently Our Savior, before His departure for Mount Olivet in the night from the 14th to the 15th Nisan, gave His life for His friends, for His own, namely, in the Eucharistic sacrificial banquet. Note the similarity of the expressions: *ἀγαπᾶν, ἠγάπησα, ἀγάπη, φίλοι* with those employed in the beginning of chapter XIII, whence probably originated the names for the Holy Eucharist in the Apostolic Fathers, *e. g.*,

St. Ignatius.[11] What is meant here is the same giving of the body, the same shedding or immolating of the blood, which the Synoptics have in mind when they record the words of institution. The Synoptics as well as John do not mean a violent separation of the blood from the body, as it occurred on the cross, because such was not compatible with the celestial transfiguration of Christ (Jn. VI, 62); yet they mean a perfect immolation. Though we may not fully comprehend it, Our Lord, according to the wording of the Gospel account, when instituting the Holy Eucharist, united in one act two apparently incompatible things: His celestial transfiguration and His death on the Cross. Hence when, in the second century, Polycrates of Ephesus during the Easter controversies appealed to the ancient usage in Asia, which was said to go back to St. Polycarp and through him to St. John the Apostle,[12] we must say that this appeal was fully justified. The usage in Asia Minor was to keep the Passah celebration, *i. e.*, the Holy Eucharist with an agape terminating the Lenten fast, on the evening of the 14th Nisan, not on the Sunday after the 14th Nisan. This expressed the belief prevalent among the Christians of Asia Minor at that period, that the Saviour died on the 14th Nisan, and with this commemoration of the alleged day of His death they combined the memorial of His glorious Resurrection. This was a misconception of the festival introduced by St. John, for which the Apostle was not to blame. For he celebrated Easter by performing the Eucharistic rite on the 14th Nisan, thus commemorating both the Saviour's death on the cross and His Resurrection; but he did not do this because he looked upon the 14th Nisan as the day of crucifixion, but because Our Lord celebrated the Holy Eucharist on the evening of the 14th in connection with the Jewish Passah, immolated His body and blood, and by the glorification of His body anticipated His Resurrection and Ascension, and made this double solemnity

[11] *Ep. ad Smyrn.*, VII, 1; VIII, 2.
[12] Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, V, 26, 27.

a permanent institution, as John states in his Gospel. However, this idea of the Apostle, which gave rise to the usage in Asia Minor, had fallen into oblivion towards the close of the second century, and the Christians there did not know how to account for the custom. Thus we may explain the attitude taken by Pope Victor towards the Christians of Asia Minor (threat of excommunication). Had Polycrates appealed to the Gospel of St. John, instead of vaguely to "the gospel precept," his attitude would have been better appreciated.

The fourth Evangelist gives further prominence to the *sacrificial character* of the Holy Eucharist by his presentation of the subject in chap. XIII, where the institution of the Eucharist is brought into connection with the Jewish Passah. The latter was a sacrifice, as is attested by Ex. XII, 21, 48; Dt. XVI, 1, 2, 5, 6; 2; Chron. XXX, 1–5, 15; XXXV, 1, 6 ff., and confirmed by Josephus [13] and Philo.[14] [Note 12.] Presuming this idea of the sacrificial character of the Passah in the minds of His disciples, Our Lord in the Cenacle declares it to be fulfilled and abrogated, and replaces it by the Holy Eucharist as the banquet and sacrifice of the New Covenant (Lk. XXII, 15–20; 1 Cor. XI, 25). This harmonizes with what St. Paul says in 1 Cor. X, 21, where the Eucharistic table of the Lord is contrasted with the sacrifices offered to the idols; and again in Hebr. XIII, 10, where many exegetes make the futile attempt to interpret the cross of Christ as the altar and the eating as a figure of speech denoting participation in the fruits of the Passion. The parallel passage just cited (1 Cor. X, 21) forces us to expound *θυσιαστήριον* in the sense of sacrificial altar; but where there is an altar, there must be a sacrifice; what is meant is the body of Our Lord offered as a sacrifice by Him (Hebr. XIII, 12), and which can be eaten. The context is plainly against the figurative interpretation of *φαγεῖν* (v. 9): it is best

[13] *Antiqu.*, II, 14, 6; III, 10, 5; III, 12, 6; IX, 13, 3; XVII, 9, 3; *Bell. Id.*, VI, 9, 3.
[14] I, 106, 110, 440; II, 170 sqq.

that the heart be made firm by χάρις, *i. e.*, by the precious food of the σῶμα πνευματικόν of Christ, not by the Jewish sacrificial meats.

Let us, however, confine ourselves to St. John. He furnishes the principal proof for the sacrificial character of the Eucharist in IV, 20 ff., according to which God the Father in the not distant (νῦν) future (ἔρχεται ὥρα) shall no longer be glorified by a προσκύνησις consisting of prototypical θυσίαι σαρκικαί and confined to one place (the Temple at Jerusalem), but by a worship ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ, *i. e.*, by the true, non-figurative, perfect θυσία, homogenous with the πνεῦμα (= *numen divinum*) of the Father, which consists in the glorified, divinified flesh (σάρξ πνεύματι δεδοξασμένη) of his Son, which shall be offered in every place by προσκυνηταὶ ἀληθινοί, who have been regenerated by water and the Holy Ghost and become πνευματικοί (Jn. III, 5 f.). Now this θυσία, which is to be offered everywhere as "the fulfilment" of the bloody sacrifices of the Old Testament, must be not merely a sacrifice of praise, thanksgiving, and petition, but above all a propitiatory sacrifice for the remission of sins. [Note 13.]

St. John does not report the words of institution, but by his presentation of the matter in chapter XIII (τοὺς ἰδίους) and in chap. VI, where he emphasizes the permanence of the new sacrifice (VI, 51) and the obligation of partaking thereof imposed upon all Christians (VI, 53 ff.), he plainly suggests that the Lord gave the command to repeat the Last Supper, nay, that He had to give such a command, as Paul and Luke expressly state.

What do the words recorded by Paul and Luke, τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν mean? They certainly do *not* mean, as some interpreters will have it, "Let this bread, this chalice, be to you a memorial of me"; for τοῦτο can under no circumstances refer to ἄρτος, but at most only to σῶμα or τὸ ποτήριον. But even the reference to σῶμα and ποτήριον is impossible, because ποιεῖν has no double accusative. Τοῦτο rather refers to what, accord-

ing to the sacred account, had been done before, hence to the taking hold of the bread and wine (chalice), to the prayer of thanksgiving and praise, to the breaking and distributing, the utterance of the words, "This is my body, this is my blood," etc., and, finally, to the eating and drinking of the gifts. Accordingly Our Lord enjoined upon His Apostles the repetition of His action in the Cenacle; in other words, the action performed by Him was to be made a permanent institution in His kingdom, as long as this kingdom exists on earth, that is, until His second coming. This may be inferred from 1 Cor. XI, 26, where the Apostle says that the eating of the bread and the drinking of the chalice is a showing forth of Christ's death. He does not exclude the "preparation" of the wonderful food and the precious drink, but rather includes it, because to partake of it is impossible without a "preparation." The command to prepare the sacrificial banquet He gave only to the Apostles present in the Cenacle, but they were also to partake of that which was "prepared," as they could naturally infer from the terms λάβετε, φάγετε, πίετε. The purpose of this partaking (strengthening of the soul by a union with the glorified body of the Godman and thereby with God) was not to be attained once only, but Communion was intended by Christ to be obligatory on all who would at any time become "His own" by faith and Baptism (Jn. XIII, and VI).

By the words, "do this for a remembrance of me," Our Lord conferred upon the Apostles the authority and power to do what He had done, that is to say, repeat the sacrificial act by pronouncing over the bread and wine, after previous praise and thanksgiving, the words: "This is my body, this is my blood of the covenant," and then to partake of the flesh and blood of Christ thus prepared and distribute it to the members of the Messianic Kingdom as a food. That this authority and power was intended to pass from the Apostles to their successors in office—since the former would not live until the second coming of Christ—is evident when we consider that

Our Lord laid particular stress on the necessity for all of His ἴδιοι of partaking of His flesh and blood. It is clearly attested by the Fathers of the Church from the beginning of the first century that the bishops, in union with the presbyters and deacons, performed the Eucharistic rite, *i. e.*, consecrated bread and wine, partook thereof, and gave to the faithful. [Note 14.]

In what does the *essence* of this Eucharistic rite performed by the Apostles and their successors consist? Is it identical with the sacrifice of the Cross? No. The latter is the absolute sacrifice, offered once for all in the real death of Christ, the *violent separation* of His body and blood offered for the remission of sins. Jesus died once and by His death merited forever eternal deliverance from sin for all men (Hebr. VII–IX). This does not, however, mean that in consequence of the sacrifice of Christ on the Cross, each individual is *eo ipso* free from sin, but merely that each one can obtain forgiveness of his sins in virtue of this sacrifice. In other words, the fruits, effects, and blessings of that singular sacrifice must in course of time be applied to each individual, and hence there is room for a continuous sacrifice after that of the Cross. As Our Lord, on the evening before his Passion, anticipating the effects of His bloody sacrificial death, gave His body as a food to the eleven Apostles and His blood as a drink, so until the end of time He desired to give to all who would believe in His name, His body and blood under the appearances of bread and wine, and in order to accomplish this purpose, He commanded His Apostles to repeat the holy banquet. By the words: "do this in remembrance of me," he made the celebration of the Holy Eucharist a lasting and unalterable institution, so that He is present at the celebration whenever it is repeated according to His orders and is given as a nourishment of the soul precisely in the same manner as at the celebration performed by Himself in the Cenacle. Hence the Eucharistic rite as celebrated in the Catholic Church stands on the same level with the Eucharistic Supper on the 14th Nisan, because the Apostles and their successors per-

form the same true and genuine sacrificial act and sacrificial banquet, prepare, partake of, and distribute the true body and blood of Jesus Christ as He Himself did in the Cenacle. The Eucharistic Supper and the Eucharistic celebration of the Apostles and their successors are on a par also in this respect that Christ is now, as He was then, present, living, entire, and transfigured under both forms (at the Last Supper the transfiguration was anticipated; Jn. VI, 62 ff.; XIII, 31 f.). With this celestial transfiguration an actual death, a violent separation of body and blood, as it occurred on the Cross, was incompatible. Nevertheless the Holy Eucharist, since the Ascension of Jesus, is a true and real sacrifice, just as it was at the Last Supper, because the Lord had promised at Capharnaum that, under the elements of bread and wine, He would give His flesh to "His own," the same flesh that was immolated on the cross to give life to the world, and then was to be sacramentally eaten for the preservation and strengthening of this life (VI, 51). Christ Himself in the Holy Eucharist was and is both *"sacerdos"* and *"offerens,"* that is, by an act of His will He offered and still offers in it His body and blood to God the Father, to honor the Father and to unite "His own" with the Father thus honored. He does this *ministerio sacerdotum* (through the mediation of the Church); at the consecration of the bread and wine the priest takes the place of Christ by pronouncing the words: "This is my body, this is my blood," which at the Last Supper Our Lord spoke Himself when in and by the consecration He offered His body and blood to the Father. [Note 15.]

1. St. Paul and St. Luke make the same chronological statement in connection with the consecration and presentation of the chalice: Jesus took the cup *μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι* (Lk. XXII, 20; 1 Cor. XI, 25). The dependence of St. Luke upon his teacher is here evident. St. Paul allows us to discern the reason why this chronological statement was made only at the second, and not at the first act. St. Luke, on the other hand, was manifestly guided by the example of St. Paul. When mentioning the first part of the institution of the Holy Eucharist, St. Paul adds the

statement: "the same night in which he was betrayed" (1 Cor. XI, 23). Various opinions have been advanced on the purpose and meaning of this statement. Some have drawn from it the conclusion that the Lord's Supper in St. Paul's opinion was no Passah-meal properly speaking, because the term "night" here stands without reference to anything in particular. Had it been the Passah-supper, they say, we might expect that St. Paul would have said: in the Passah-night. This deduction is rejected by others, who hold it was not the Apostle's purpose to give to the Corinthians any information regarding the history of the Last Supper; the allusion to the institution of the Eucharist was merely a means of conveying to them the correct understanding of the sacred rite, which they had celebrated in an improper manner. From this is plain, they go on to say, that Paul did not at all intend to make a chronological statement, but merely wished to impress on the light-minded Corinthians the fact that they celebrated unworthily a banquet which Jesus instituted in the night of His betrayal amid such profoundly touching circumstances. The admonition is intensified by the rebuke contained in *δ καὶ παρέδωκα ὑμῖν* (XI, 23): Despite the fact that I told you personally when I was in Corinth, how and in what stirring circumstances Christ instituted the Lord's Supper, you in your levity have celebrated this sacred banquet in an unbecoming manner.[15] Neither the above objection nor this refutation of it appeals to us. True, the latter contains one very good point: according to the purpose of his letter it was the aim of the Apostle to characterize the night of the institution of the Holy Eucharist not as a Passah-night, but as the night of the betrayal, in order to touch the hearts of the Corinthians by recalling to their mind the "testament" of infinite love made by the Lord when taking leave of "His own," and thus cause them to realize the unbecomingness of their conduct. However, we must not go too far in this direction and maintain that the Apostle did not intend to make any chronological statement at all in XI, 23. As a matter of fact he *did* intend to make such a statement, though, of course, only for the above-mentioned purpose, and having once decided to make it in connection with the Eucharistic bread, he could not add another, more precise chronological statement, namely, *μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι*, and therefore placed the latter phrase in the second part of the institution, and by *ὡσαύτως* (XI, 25) intimated that the consecration of the chalice took place "in like manner" as that of the bread, after the banquet (*i. e.*, after the Passah-supper). That is to say, Christ took also the chalice and gave it to them after giving thanks

[15] Thus R. Schäfer, *Das Herrenmahl*, p. 77, and Meyer-Henrici in their commentary on 1 Cor., pp. 326 sq.

(καὶ λαβὼν τὸ ποτήριον εὐχαριστήσας ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς). By this supper Paul certainly means the Passah-meal, for his train of thought is evidently this: The first celebration of the Holy Eucharist took place after a banquet, *i. e.*, after the Old Testament Passah-supper, just as with you the Eucharistic rite is celebrated after the love-feast (agape). St. Paul surely did not fail to see that by the words, "this do ye in remembrance of me," Our Divine Saviour pointed to Ex. XII, 14, *i. e.*, to the Passah, and from this we may conclude that he wished to refer to the connection of the Last Supper with the Passah-meal. Cornely[16] closely joins the words of St. Paul in the second part of the institution (τὸ ποτήριον μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι = the cup after the supper) and interprets the passage as follows: The cup which is taken after the supper is finished, which is an allusion to the fifth Passah-cup customary in the Jewish ritual. We neither wish to dispute this view (*e. g.*, by pointing to the absence of the article before μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι; instead of τὸ μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι or to the transposition of the words in Luke (καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ὡσαύτως μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι: XXII, 20); nor can we approve of them on the ground that the true value must be given to the article before ποτήριον, and this is best done by the assumption that the Apostle had in mind the fifth cup, which, though not prescribed, was nevertheless customary at the close of the Passah. I think it incorrect to interpret the words μετὰ δειπνῆσαι as if they meant: after the Apostles had eaten the consecrated bread, Jesus changed the wine into His blood in the same manner as the bread, in order to give it to them to drink, which would mean that He consecrated bread and wine in two consecutive acts, but in such a way that the consecration of the wine took place after the consuming of the elements of bread. The Vulgate correctly translates μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι by: *postquam caenavit, i. e.*, after He had supped (with His disciples), and according to the context, Paul and Luke mean by supper the Passah-supper, as John (XIII, 2) does by δεῖπνον.

2. After the thorough researches of Dr. Bickell[17] no one can doubt that the most ancient (Clementine) Mass-liturgy was composed of Psalms 118 and 136. One component thereof, the Preface, together with the Sanctus and Benedictus, is based both as to content and form on Ps. 118.[18] As this preface corresponds to Ps. 118, so the primitive Christian canon of the Mass does to the great Hallel, that is, Ps. 136. Both enumerate in detail the reasons and motives for thanksgiving based on

[16] *Comment. in I. Epist. ad Cor.*, 343.
[17] *Messe und Passah*, Mayence, 1872.
[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 105 sqq.

the nature of God, on the work of creation, and on the deliverance of the chosen people. The sequence is the same, and very often even the wording.[19] In view of this fact no one will deny the connection between this Psalm and the canon of the Mass. What we do dispute, however, is the correctness of the conjecture that Our Lord consecrated the fourth Passah-cup or cup of Hallel. The similarity between the preface and the Hallel (Ps. 118) is satisfactorily explained by assuming that Jesus repeated Ps. 118, either entirely or in part, after the expulsion of Judas and before the beginning of the sacred rite. If in part only, it was probably from about v. 21 on. The words of this verse: "I give glory to thee because thou hast heard me, and art become my salvation," form an excellent continuation of the words of Jesus in Jn. XIII, 31–32. By this repetition the connection of the Last Supper with the Passah-meal was expressed in a unique manner: the grand Hallel Psalm 118 was not to be lost for the Holy Eucharist, which was the fulfilment of the Passah, but was to be its immediate introduction, while the beginning of the New Testament antitype was to connect immediately with the end of the Old Testament prototype. There are cogent reasons why the fourth Passah-cup must not be identified with the cup of the Last Supper. Schäfer recognizes this fact. True, in view of the existing difficulties he declares the question: at which cup did Jesus pronounce the words of institution? to be insoluble. The means at our disposal are inadequate; because the gospel historians did not intend to give a precise account of the course of the Passah, it cannot be determined for certain at which cup Jesus spoke the words of institution.[20] However, the learned writer finally arrives at the definite conclusion "that the Eucharistic cup was not one of the four officially prescribed for the Passah-supper, but a fifth cup, which could be used occasionally."[21] This conclusion is inevitable. A mutilation of the Jewish Passah by Christ, who came to fulfil it, is out of the question. It would be misapplying Lk. VI, 5, "the Son of man is Lord also of the sabbath," were one to quote this text to prove that the Saviour "possessed the power and the right to interrupt the rite of the Passah-supper." We cannot, it is true, convincingly demonstrate that the fifth cup was customary at the time of Christ; if it was not customary (it certainly never was obligatory), we would have to assume that Our Lord of His own accord chose a fifth cup for the Eucharistic chalice. The essential point of

[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 109 and 118 sqq.
[20] R. Schäfer, *Das Herrenmahl*, p. 134.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 175.

our argument is that the Eucharistic cup was a fifth cup, not one of the four official Passah-cups.

3. What is here asserted is only the substantially similar meaning of εὐλογήσας and εὐχαριστήσας, not the identity of the two terms; in εὐλογήσας the idea of praise predominates, in εὐχαριστήσας that of thanksgiving. As to the meaning of the latter term, we must chiefly think of the blessings of the σωτηρία conferred on mankind by the Incarnation, which was about to receive its complete fulfilment by Christ's death on the Cross (cfr. Jn. XIII, 31), and of the impending institution of the Eucharist, that mystery of infinite love for the disciples who were to remain in the world (cfr. Jn. XIII, 1). With His thanksgiving for these benefits conferred on mankind by the Heavenly Father, Jesus joined praise and at the same time blessed the bread and the wine to prepare them for the impending consecration. But the praise and thanksgiving do not coincide with the conversion of the species, as may be seen from the sequence of the words, εὐλογήσας being most intimately connected with ἔκλασε (Matthew-Paul-Luke) and ἔδωκεν (Mark), and finally followed by καὶ εἶπεν, or λέγων. The expressions ἔδωκε καὶ εἶπεν or δοὺς εἶπεν or ἔδωκεν λέγων are not to be understood as if the giving (to eat) preceded the pronunciation of the words, "This is my body," etc.; they rather mean that Jesus gave to His disciples His body either after, or simultaneously with, the utterance of the words of consecration. True, the words λάβετε, φάγετε, and for the chalice πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ, are reported only by St. Matthew (XXVI, 20); Mark (XIV, 22) has only λάβετε; both are absent from Luke and Paul. We cannot but decide in favor of their originality, mainly because this exhortation to eat and drink is met with throughout the liturgies in the form recorded by St. Matthew. Our Saviour spoke these words to encourage His disciples to lay aside their aversion at eating His body and blood and to receive the mystical food with entire confidence. St. Luke's omission of them is probably attributable to the authority of St. Paul (1 Cor. XI, 24). That St. Paul omits these words in his letter to the Corinthians, can easily be explained. The Apostle had no need of inspiring the Corinthians with confidence in the Holy Eucharist, because they had long before adopted the custom of taking and consuming the sacred species at the Eucharistic celebration. Some manifested too great a levity when receiving Holy Communion.

4. The words τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν (Paul-Luke) have been the cause of misgivings to many a student. It has been said that Jesus, when He instituted the Holy Eucharist, had no reason to em-

phasize the request: This do ye in remembrance of me. Why St. Paul in his letter to the Corinthians chose this expression, we may readily understand from the situation he faced. The Corinthians, centering their thoughts on the physical nourishment, lost sight of the *religious* signification of the Eucharist, and St. Paul, therefore, laid special stress on this point and did not clothe the admonition of Jesus in the form: εἰς τὴν ἀνάμνησίν μου, but wrote: εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν. According to this theory, Jesus, in that memorable night, indeed requested His Apostles to repeat what He had done, but the form originated with St. Paul, whom St. Luke followed. Such an exegesis does not appeal to us. St. Paul in his letter did not intend to write a sort of commentary on the history of the words of institution, but merely to report according as "he had received of the Lord" (1 Cor. XI, 23); all that can be reasonably asserted is that he selected from the tradition that which suited his purpose. In expounding the words, τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν, we must start from Ex. XII, 14, for the Old Testament passage: "and this day shall be for a memorial to you," unquestionably forms the basis of the above-quoted words of Jesus. These words were formerly recited at the Passah and referred to its celebration, and for this reason Our Lord purposely made use of them when instituting the new Pasch. In view of this fact we naturally think of a comparison or a contrast between Passah and Last Supper, type and fulfilment, because Our Lord wishes to indicate to His disciples that as the Passah was celebrated as a memorial (*i. e.*, of the deliverance of Israel from Egyptian bondage), so shall the Eucharistic banquet henceforth be celebrated as a remembrance of Him, as a memorial of His sacrifice on the Cross which produced "eternal deliverance" from sin.

May it be maintained that the absence of the words τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν in Matthew-Mark is evidence that they were not uttered by Jesus and not handed down to posterity by the Apostles? Certainly not. First of all the mention of this command by St. Paul cannot be explained by the assumption that he attributed these words to Jesus for the purpose of causing a worthy celebration of the Holy Eucharist in the Corinthian Church. That would be tantamount to attacking the character of the great teacher of the gentiles, quite aside from the fact that St. Paul himself (1 Cor. XI, 23) strenuously protests against such an assumption. Therefore the words in question formed an integral part of the original tradition and were actually uttered by Our Lord.

St. Luke, in his account of the Last Supper generally follows his teacher, St. Paul. Nevertheless, his method of procedure deserves special attention. He quotes the words solely after the first act; at the second

he omits them. The omission in the second act shows that St. Luke does not consider it absolutely necessary to record the command of Jesus. The reason of this fact can only be the conviction that those words contained or prescribed something that he regarded quite as a matter of course. This also explains why the words of institution are wanting in Matthew and Mark. They saw the will of Jesus concerning the repetition of the Eucharistic supper adequately expressed in his other saying: "This is my body," "This is my blood," and did not pay much attention to the words of institution. The words of Jesus, *τὸ αἷμά μου τὸ τῆς διαθήκης τὸ ἐκχυννόμενον*, were really a suggestion to the disciples; when reflecting on them after His death, they had to say to themselves: By shedding His blood, Jesus established a new covenant, corresponding to the old, and His blood is at the same time the gift of this covenant; as the memory of the deed by which God inaugurated the old covenant, the deliverance of Israel from Egypt, was kept alive by the Passah-supper, so the fundamental deed which inaugurated the new covenant must be kept alive by the banquet which takes the place of the Passah-meal, and as the participation in the banquet of the Old Testament was a sign of membership in the old covenant, so also must membership in the new covenant be mediated by eating of the new sacrificial banquet, and thereby the blood of the covenant be made their own by its members. Whosoever takes all these momenta into consideration, will understand how Christ's command could be omitted in the accounts of SS. Matthew and Mark, although Jesus uttered it, and it was a part of the sacred tradition. We have no right to declare the account of these two writers insufficient or incomplete; we must not look at the matter from our point of view, but from the position of the sacred writers. What they wrote was quite sufficient to attain the special purpose each had in view.

5. From the account of Matthew–Mark on the one hand, and that of Paul–Luke on the other, we obtain as the original form of the rite employed at the Last Supper the following words: *Ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ᾗ παρεδίδοτο λαβὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι ἄρτον καὶ εὐχαριστήσας (εὐλογήσας) ἔκλασεν καὶ ἔδωκεν τοῖς μαθηταῖς εἰπών (λέγων). Λάβετε, φάγετε. τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ πολλῶν διδόμενον· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν. Ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον λαβὼν καὶ εὐχαριστήσας (εὐλογήσας) ἔδωκεν τοῖς μαθηταῖς εἰπών (λέγων)· πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες· τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ αἷμά μου τῆς διαθήκης τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ πολλῶν ἐκχυννόμενον· Τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.* The formula of consecration for the bread in the Catholic Church is: *"Hoc est enim corpus meum."* It coincides fully with the words transmitted to us by SS. Matthew and Mark; only an *"enim"* is inserted. Of the prescribed formula for the consecra-

tion of the wine the first part is made up—again with an extra *"enim"*—from all four Gospels: *"Hic est enim calix sanguinis mei* (Paul–Luke), *novi et aeterni testamenti."* The addition *"et aeterni"* is exceedingly appropriate, as it designates the covenant established by Christ as enduring forever. The words, *"mysterium fidei,"* similar in form to 1 Tim. III, 9, declare that the real presence of the blood is a mystery of the faith.

Of late light has been thrown on this insertion, by which the *"qui effundetur"* is so conspicuously separated from *sanguis.* It has been demonstrated that the words *mysterium fidei* were addressed to the people by the deacon after the consecration of the chalice was finished in the "presbyterium" of the church. This explanation is quite satisfactory. That the term μυστήριον was applied at an early date to the consecration of the bread and wine, may be seen from the liturgies; *e.g.,* the liturgy of St. Clement (101): τοῦτο τὸ μυστήριον τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης. Besides the canonical recensions we must take into consideration especially the account of the Apostolic Constitutions (VIII, 12). This account is considerably more detailed than that given in the Gospels. The Mass-liturgy of the Catholic Church embodies some portions of the Constitutions, *e.g.,* the words: λαβὼν ἄρτον ταῖς ἁγίαις καὶ ἀμώμοις αὐτοῦ χερσὶ καὶ ἀναβλέψας πρὸς σέ, τὸν θεὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ πατέρα. For the rest it is precisely the characteristic expressions of the Constitutions that are common to the Gospel accounts: λαβών . . . κλάσας ἔδωκε τοῖς μαθηταῖς εἰπών . . . τὸ ποτήριον ἐπέδωκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων. πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες . . . τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν. Worthy of note is especially the conclusion: ὁσάκις γὰρ ἂν ἐσθίητε τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο πίνητε, τὸν θάνατον τὸν ἐμὸν καταγγέλλετε, ἄχρις ἂν ἔλθω. This epilogue is taken from 1 Cor. XI, 26, but represented as the words of Our Lord himself.

6. In the important passage, 1 Cor. XI, 24, the older codices have only, τὸ σῶμα τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, whereas the more recent ones have in addition the word κλώμενον. This κλώμενον appears in many liturgies in connection with the words of institution; thus in the liturgy of St. Chrysostom: τοῦτό μού ἐστι τὸ σῶμα τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κλώμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν; similarly in the so-called liturgy of Peter: τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κλώμενον; and in that of James: τοῦτό μού ἐστι τὸ σῶμα τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κλώμενον καὶ διδόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν.[22] In view of the present state of paleographic tradition I cannot declare in favor of the originality of κλώμενον, but look upon the word as a sort of interpreta-

[21] Cfr. the Liturgy of St. Clement, 101 (Besch, III, 639).
[22] Cfr. Resch, III, p. 643.

tory gloss. However, I would not like to side with those who think the word was added in the sense of "to break violently, destroy, kill," as Renz does, who says that κλάω occurs in this sense, and it goes without saying that κλώμενον belongs to the σῶμα of the Cross, and not to the σῶμα of the banquet; the context positively demands a reference to the body on the Cross = this is my body, the same which shall be put to death on the Cross. It is impossible to cite any passage of the New Testament where κλᾶν has this meaning, whilst it is precisely St. Paul who in his first letter to the Corinthians (X, 16 and XI, 24) twice in succession uses this verb in reference to the Eucharist. When he writes in the first-quoted passage: "The bread which we break," he includes the consecration; using the significant phrases, "to bless the cup," "to break the bread," he means the complete rite of the Eucharistic supper. We must reject as altogether arbitrary the attempt of referring κλώμενον to the slaying of Christ's body on the Cross. True, the breaking of the bread is *per se* no sacrificial rite, according to Sacred Scripture, but the consecration included in κλᾶν certainly is. Those who added the term, referred it to the σῶμα of the Eucharistic repast: This is my body, which is prepared for you (by the consecration) and given to you to eat.

7. Then there is the testimony of the *Didache*. It has been attempted to eliminate this venerable document, almost contemporary with the fourth Gospel, by saying that the well-known prayers which it contains are not Eucharistic in character, though they offer important evidence for the existence of the agape in the Apostolic age.[23] It is to be admitted that the *Didache* is a weighty source for the history of the agape; but there is no justification whatever for denying the Eucharistic character of such prayers as those contained in ch. IX and X. In IX, 5 we read: μηδεὶς δὲ φαγέτω μηδὲ πιέτω ἀπὸ τῆς εὐχαριστίας ὑμων, ἀλλ' οἱ βαπτισθέντες εἰς ὄνομα κυρίου· καὶ γὰρ περὶ τούτου εἴρηκεν ὁ κύριος· μὴ δῶτε τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς κυσί. Here there is evidently question of a meal which is not an agape, because it is participated in by the "prophets," who are expressly excluded from the agape (XI, 9). The meal here described is one at which the participants eat and drink, but what they eat and drink is not material food, but τροφὴ πνευματική, and the act of thanksgiving is expressly made for "spiritual food," which can only mean the sacramental body and blood of Christ, first, because this food is characterized as πνευματική (cfr. Jn. IV, 20 sqq.); secondly, because it is called (IX, 5) τὸ ἅγιον, a holy thing; third, because a heart free from sin is declared

[23] Cfr. especially Ermoni, *L'Agape dans l'Eglise Primitive,* Paris, 1904.

to be a *conditio sine qua non* of eating this food; only "those baptized in the name of the Lord" may eat and drink of the Eucharist [IX, 5] and those who have sullied their conscience with sins must cleanse it by contrition, penance, and confession (προεξομολογησάμενοι τὰ παραπτώματα; cfr. XIV, 14, identical in sense with Jn. XIII, 10 sqq.; 1 Jn. I, 7 sqq.); fourth, because knowledge, faith, life, and immortality are mentioned as effects of the worthy reception of this "spiritual food." The author employs εὐχαριστεῖν once in the general sense of giving thanks (*e. g.*, X, 3: ἵνα σοι εὐχαριστήσωμεν, that is, for material food), and then in a particular manner in connection with the Eucharistic rite, after the consumption of the "spiritual food" (IX, 1 and X, 1). Finally we meet with the term in direct connection with εὐχαριστία (IX, 5: μηδεὶς δὲ φαγέτω μηδὲ πιέτω ἀπὸ τῆς εὐχαριστίας—Let no one eat and drink of the sacred banquet, of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, of the Eucharistic food. There is a parallel passage in St. Justin (*Apol.* I, 66: τῆς εὐχαριστίας οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ μετασχεῖν ἐξόν ἐστιν ἢ τῷ πιστεύοντι). Here ἡ εὐχαριστία appears as a technical term to designate the celebration of the Lord's Supper.

8. On the Catholic side, Renz in his bulky treatise, *Die Geschichte des Messopferbegriffs* (1901) has developed a personal and somewhat peculiar view concerning the Last Supper and its repetition in the Church. I am chiefly interested in his development of the idea of Christ's act of sacrificing Himself (pp. 96–141). I need hardly remark that, while I fully appreciate the author's learning, zeal, and mental acumen, I cannot accept his main conclusions. I find especially his interpretation of the New Testament teaching on this important matter unworthy of approval. He says: The New Testament only tells us of the great sacrificial act of Jesus Christ, which, having been consummated on the Cross, effected forgiveness of sins and the redemption of mankind. Neither before nor after His death on the Cross is there any offering of Christ, but merely an *image* of this one bloody sacrifice. The essential feature of the Last Supper and its repetition after the Ascension is the *preparation* of the body and blood of Christ and the consumption thereof. In the Last Supper and at the Eucharistic sacrifice there is offered as a food the same body which on the 15th Nisan was broken and put to death and the same blood which was shed on the Cross. For the meaning of the words of institution is: This is my body, which (to-morrow) shall be given for you unto death; this is my blood, which shall be shed for the remission of sins. The Eucharistic rite customary in the Church, he goes on to say, is not a renewal of the sacrifice of Jesus, but merely the *memorial* of this sacrifice, and the sacrifice of

the Mass is a reminder of it, a sort of objective memorial or representation of the sacrifice of the Cross. As often as Christ's ordained ministers imitate the rite performed by him, the entire banquet in all its parts, the preparation and consumption of the Eucharistic food, they proclaim the sacrificial death of Jesus. The real presence of Christ in the Eucharist is in nowise attacked, and Dr. Renz's attempted explanation seems almost to furnish a bridge by which Catholics and believing Protestants can approach one another.

However, in this theory, what becomes of the *sacrificial character* of the Eucharist? It is a sacrificial banquet, to be sure, but not a *"verum et proprium sacrificium,"* as has been held hitherto. If it were true, as Renz (36 ff.) attempts to prove, that the patriarchs Abraham and Isaac built altars to Yahweh and invoked the name of God, but did not offer a sacrifice to Him, that Melchisedech held a banquet, but not a sacrificial banquet, no well-founded objection could be raised from the Old Testament against Renz's theory. But why, if he did not actually offer sacrifice, is Melchisedech called a priest of the Most High, as Renz knows and emphasizes? and may we not view the action of Abraham and Isaac as a "sacrifice," since they invoked the name of God? Such invocation of God with prayers of praise and thanksgiving, according to Josephus [24] and Philo,[25] seem to have been customary at all burnt and peace offerings, and in view of them these sacrifices may be considered as real sacrifices. If Renz, in order to render nugatory the important passage 1 Cor. X, 16 ff., maintains that *θυσιαστήριον*, according to Sacred Scripture, is a symbol of the Supreme Being, to whom we immolate ourselves or a vicarious object, this assertion is as inadequate as the silly etymological explanation of the word *θυσιαστήριον* itself: *θυσία* and *στηρίζω*! *Θυσιαστήριον* was and is the sacrificial altar, and by the consecration the body and blood of Christ are really and truly immolated on the altars of the Church and at the same time consumed as a food. Full justice is not done to the words of the Apostle (1 Cor. XI, 26): "For as often as you eat this bread and drink of the cup, you proclaim the death of the Lord," if they are interpreted thus: If you wish to be reminded of my death, celebrate this banquet which I just now held with you by giving to you my body and blood as a food; this eating and drinking proclaims my sacrifice (130 f.). It is of little use to say that the Eucharist is for all that an objective memorial or representation of the sacrifice of the Cross. There is a more profound meaning in the words of the Apostle. In the Eucharistic celebration the death of

[24] *Antiq.*, II, 2, 4.
[25] II, 243.

Our Lord is *actually* proclaimed each time the body of the Lord is immolated and His blood is shed.

The Fathers cited by Renz in support of his theory, when examined without prejudice, not seldom testify against him rather than in his favor. True, in their discussion of the Eucharist they place the idea of a sacrificial banquet in the foreground; but we must not forget that in their homilies and practical instructions they as a rule deal with laypersons and hence have in mind chiefly that portion of the Eucharistic sacrifice in which the laity took a direct part—the Communion—and explain its effects, not rarely with reference to 1 Cor. X, 17. It is, however, exceedingly strange that Renz cites St. Gregory of Nazianzus in favor of his theory. Gregory asked a bishop for a memento "when he by the word draws down the (incarnate) word (the Logos), when he with bloodless incision (τομῇ) divides (τέμνῃς) the flesh and blood of the Lord with his voice for a sword (φωνὴν ἔχων τὸ ξίφος). Nobody denies that τέμνειν *can* have the meaning "to slaughter," as Renz claims; but everybody must admit that the verb is here used by Gregory not in this sense, but in the other of "to cut, to cut off, to separate." This meaning must be taken also for this reason that Gregory evidently alludes to Hebr. IV, 12: "The word of God is . . . more piercing than any two-edged sword," so that it divides things like soul and spirit. Ξίφος, however, means the sword as an instrument of slaughter. Gregory did not have in mind an actual killing, as the ἀναιμάκτῳ τομῇ suggests, but an oblation of the body and blood of Jesus in the Eucharist corresponding to His death on the Cross, and a corresponding shedding of His blood in the Mass.

9. Most Catholic exegetes regard the reproduction of the discourse of Jesus on the bread of life (Jn. VI) as a substitute for the silence of the fourth Evangelist on the institution of the Eucharist, and hence upon the whole agree with the Protestant view that this institution in itself is in no manner touched upon. Now, the statement that "the fourth Evangelist says no more of the institution of the Eucharist than he does of the institution of Baptism, as he generally does not say anything about many other important events in the life of Christ, especially the Ascension and the descent of the Holy Ghost," needs a correction. As to Baptism, the first four chapters of the Gospel of St. John are for the most part devoted to a description of the Messianic activity of baptizing. In the very first chapter it is strongly emphasized that John, in baptizing with water, gave testimony to Jesus as the one who baptized in the Holy Ghost (I, 26–34); in chap. II and III is reported the discourse of Jesus on the necessity of a spiritual regeneration, the Baptism of the

Holy Ghost. Our Saviour began His public teaching in Jerusalem on the feast of Easter, and instructed Nicodemus in a particular manner. Anyone not inclined to believe that Christ spoke at random, but in a well-planned manner, must proceed from the assumption that He, for the purpose of inaugurating the Messianic Kingdom in Jerusalem on this very first Easter, effected the new creation or spiritual regeneration in His first disciples by the laver of Baptism. Furthermore, in the same chapter the superior character of the Messianic Baptism, as compared with that of John, is elucidated (III, 25 ff.) and in chap. IV the Baptism administered by Our Lord and His disciples is represented as a gathering of fruit unto the Kingdom of God and life everlasting (III, 1–38). As to the Ascension, it must be said that none of the three Synoptics has recorded this fact so profusely as St. John, not indeed in the form of a special account, but by showing in the course of his whole Gospel that he not only knows of the Ascension of Christ, but also attaches the greatest importance to it. In Jn. VI, 62 Our Saviour calls the attention of His disciples, who were scandalized at His discourse on the promised eating of His flesh and blood, to His future Ascension, when His body would no longer be subject to the conditions of earth; of such a nature, *i. e.*, glorified, would be the body or flesh which He promised them as food. But is this passage in chap. VI of St. John's Gospel really the only one in which the fourth Evangelist touches upon the Ascension? One should think that an allusion is plainly made to this episode in III, 13 ff., where we meet with the term ἀναβαίνειν, just as in VI, 62. But exegetes have been in a quandary what to do with this *locus perdifficilis*, because the words immediately preceding were regarded as addressed to Nicodemus by Our Lord Himself, instead of taking them as words of the Evangelist. After having recorded the words of Jesus to Nicodemus: If I have spoken to you of the Messianic Baptism (τὰ ἐπίγεια), and you believe not (*i. e.*, do not accept my testimony of it), how will you believe if I shall speak to you of "heavenly things" (Jn. III, 12), the Evangelist pauses in his historical narration. He knows that by τὰ ἐπουράνια Our Lord had primarily in mind His discourse on the bread of life, and so he now, in view of the Jewish unbelief (v. 12), asserts the truth of that which the Lord in His discourse had asserted of Himself and promised: And yet (*i. e.*, although the Jews would not believe it) "no man has ascended (bodily) into heaven, but he that descended from heaven, the Son of man who is now in heaven" (III, 13). As one who returned into heaven by way of the Cross and took with Him His human body in a glorified state, He could give us His "flesh" to eat (cfr. Jn. VI, 63). The disciple who at the institution of the Eucharist leaned on the breast of Our Lord

(Jn. XXI, 20), here drops into deep meditation on the great love which induced God the Father to give His only-begotten, well-beloved Son to the world, not only to die the sacrificial death on the Cross, but also as a sacrificial food in the Holy Eucharist (III, 16; on ἔδωκε cfr. VI, 32 and on ἠγάπησεν, XIII, 1); he who believes in Jesus Christ as the Son of God, and receives Him in the Eucharistic banquet, has everlasting life (XX, 31). The Evangelist here has in mind the glorification of Our Lord in Heaven, which followed upon His crucifixion, and hence does not hesitate to call Him the Son of man, in view of the prophecy of Daniel (VII, 13), just as St. Stephen used the same expression immediately before his martydom (Acts VII, 56). The Evangelist employed this term so much the more readily because he had in mind the expressions used by Jesus in His discourse at Capharnaum (VI, 27, 53, 62; cfr. XIII, 31), where He repeatedly introduced Himself by this name as the giver of the true bread of life. In this connection, therefore, and with such a purpose, does John speak in chap. III of the Ascension of Jesus, and of this he also makes mention frequently in subsequent chapters. Jn. IV, 23, *e.g.*, the subject of the discourse is the true and perfect worship of God in the New Testament by means of the Eucharistic sacrifice consisting of the flesh and blood of Jesus Christ glorified and vivified by the divine Spirit. Jn. XIV, 28 (πορεύομαι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, ὅτι ὁ πατὴρ μείζων μού ἐστιν) a glorification of the Godman is announced, which will take place when He returns to the Father. Jn. XVII, 1 and 5 the Saviour asks the Father to glorify His human nature, to elevate Him to His right hand also according to the body, and to confer on His body that δόξα which was His own in His pre-existence as λόγος ἄσαρκος. Finally, in XVII, 24 the Saviour prays that "His own," *i.e.*, the faithful believers, may become partakers of the glory of His transfigured human nature in Heaven.

It is the same with the *descent of the Holy Ghost*. John does not narrate this event with its wonderful circumstances which set all Jerusalem in commotion with the fullness with which it is narrated in the Acts of the Apostles (II, 1 ff.); but offers us, so to speak, an equivalent by carefully noting the prophecy of Our Lord about the mission and abundant outpouring of the Holy Ghost (IV, 10, 14; VII, 38; XIV, 16, 26; XV, 26; XVI, 7 ff; cfr. XVII, 17). "Sanctify them in truth," He says, which was done on Pentecost. The fourth Evangelist could forego the telling of the events at the coming of the Holy Ghost, because in the letter accompanying his Gospel, *i.e.*, his first epistle, he had repeatedly reminded his readers (II, 20, 27; III, 24; IV, 1 f.; V, 6) of the operation of the Holy Ghost among the Christians of Asia

Minor (χαρίσματα), which would not permit any doubt as to the descent of the Holy Ghost.

This is the way in which the fourth Evangelist deals with Baptism, the Ascension, and the descent of the Holy Ghost. In a similar way he also deals with the Last Supper. St. John does not describe the external details of the institution of the Eucharist as do the Synoptics; but his Gospel contains far more material bearing on the Eucharistic mystery than the three Synoptic Gospels put together. Witness the account of the Saviour's discourse at Capharnaum and His many other discourses containing allusions to the bread of life reported in Jn. III, 12; IV, 23; XV, 1 ff., and especially the reflection of the Evangelist in III, 13 ff. Besides this, John has very decidedly intimated the fulfilment of the promise in XIII, 1, by his description of the washing of the feet and the reproduction of the *logion* XIII, 33, pronounced by Jesus after the celebration of the Eucharistic banquet.

10. Does St. John in chapter VI of his Gospel treat of the Last Supper? This question is answered negatively by many Protestant scholars. Against these Spitta has demonstrated with inexorable logic that the words of Jesus recorded in Jn. VI, 50 ff. point to the giving of His body in the Eucharist at some future time. Hence Jn. VI undoubtedly refers to the Eucharist. Spitta endeavors to shirk the highly significant consequences resulting therefrom, when he declares the entire passage (VI, 51–59) to be a later addition to St. John's text. This claim elicited a sharp rejoinder from Schäfer, who says: Spitta's assertion that Jn. VI, 51–59 is a foreign addition to the original form of Christ's discourse in Capharnaum must be contradicted; the difficulty admits of another solution than the customary, exceedingly convenient, but well worn and now discarded subterfuge of assuming an interpolation and thus getting rid of an inconvenient and irksome text by cutting it off with the knife of criticism.[26] This reproof is very proper, because such excisions are a peculiarity of Spitta's.[27] The difficulty which led him to reject Jn. VI, 51–59, vanishes when the matter is correctly understood. One of Spitta's objections is that it is inconsistent with the sixth chapter as well as with the entire Gospel of St. John that eternal life be made dependent on the sacramental consumption of the flesh and blood of Christ. The refutation of this view is contained partly in our explanation of Jn. III, 13 ff., and partly in the correct interpretation of the washing of the feet. In his account of this rite the Evangelist plainly insinuates that the

[26] R. Schäfer, *Das Herrenmahl*, p. 581.
[27] Cfr. his *Zur Geschichte des Urchristentums*. III, I, 1901, pp. 1 sqq.

Lord subjected Himself to this great humiliation in order to prepare His disciples for the Eucharistic banquet. Such a preparation or complete purification was necessary because what He gave them under the elements of bread and wine was His own flesh and blood, His very self (in a glorified body), to be consumed as a food, just as He had promised at Capharnaum. Spitta's further objection that the words recorded in Jn. VI were unintelligible to the hearers at Capharnaum is of no importance, since at that time Jesus merely promised something that was to happen at some future time, and which therefore could only be understood in the future. Even the Apostles, the most intimate disciples of Jesus, did not grasp the full meaning of that promise. St. Peter's answer (VI, 68) shows this: We will stay with Thee and *believe* it; for Thou hast words of eternal life. Humbly and believingly the Apostles acquiesced,—all except the one who was a devil. Faith is and always will be necessary in respect of the mystery of the Eucharist; a complete understanding is out of the question.

If, then, unprejudiced Protestant scholars admit that Jn. VI refers to the Eucharist, the question is, what view are we to take of the discourse of Our Lord at Capharnaum? It is generally said that this discourse consists of two parts, VI, 27–51[a] and VI 51[b]–71. The characteristic καὶ–δέ (VI, 51[b]) is supposed to indicate the transition: hitherto Jesus spoke of the bread which *is Himself;* He now passes on to the bread which He *will give*. I cannot adopt this view, but am of the opinion that the discourse is characterized by perfect unity throughout. Its subject is the bread of life, which the Saviour has promised to give to "His own," that is, His glorified flesh and blood in the condition proper to His body on the day of the Resurrection and Ascension. This view I base on the following considerations:

a) Some claim that in the first section of His discourse Our Saviour by the promised food meant Himself—His entire theandric personality, with its fullness of grace and truth, which is to be accepted by an act of faith, by which these critics understand either the believing participation in the Eucharist or a mere phantom, for the connection shows from start to finish that there is question of eating and drinking.

b) If the view just mentioned were in any way acceptable, the terms "bread" and "eat" in the first part of the discourse would necessarily have to be taken *figuratively,* as signifying to make the theandric person of Jesus one's own. In the second part, however, at least according to the unanimous opinion of all Catholic exegetes, these expressions must be taken in the literal sense. Our Lord Himself gives no intimation of a change in their meaning. How, then, were His hearers to know what He meant? In the second part (VI, 52 ff.) the whole controversy hinges

precisely on the question whether the words concerning the bread to be eaten are meant in their *proper* or in a *figurative* sense. Our Saviour positively declares for the literal sense. Had He used these words figuratively at the beginning of His discourse, an explanation of them would have been absolutely necessary, for instance, in the form: I now, in distinction from what I have said before, wish the words ἄρτος and ἐσθίειν (or φαγεῖν) to be taken literally. Our Saviour gives no such explanation, and hence, those exegetes are forced to the assumption that He purposely left His hearers in doubt and thus made it impossible for them to "understand" His difficult discourse. Of this assumption we must say with St. Paul (Gal. III, 21): "God forbid!"

c) *Per se* one might be in doubt as to the meaning of the word βρῶσις in Jn. VI, 27, although the comparison with the bread given by Our Lord shortly before in the desert suggests a literal interpretation. But since Jesus, when making the transition to the so-called second part, resumes βρῶσις by the synonymous term ὁ ἄρτος, the literal meaning of the word in VI, 27 is quite certain. Moreover, Our Saviour never compared His (divine) word to food or drink.

d) True, in the so-called first part of the discourse He gives prominence to the sentence: My Father gives you a bread, whereas later He introduces *Himself* as the dispenser of the bread of life (VI, 51[b]: καὶ ὁ ἄρτος δέ, ὃν ἐγὼ δώσω). However, note that, at the very beginning of the discourse the words: ἐργάζεσθε τὴν βρῶσιν, ἣν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὑμῖν δώσει. Our Saviour, therefore, begins His discourse in the synagogue at Capharnaum with the promise: I, the Son of man, will give you a food that will lead to life everlasting. This promise is resumed in 51[b]. To substantiate this view we direct the reader's attention to the trend of the discourse. Jesus draws the attention of the Judeans, who had intended to make Him a king and conduct Him triumphantly to Jerusalem, to a higher, imperishable food. Do not imagine, He says, that in the Messianic Kingdom you shall receive bread without exertion; the Founder of the Kingdom, the Son of man, will give you bread of a different kind,—a bread which ensures everlasting life. Before He is able to explain Himself more clearly on the nature and character of this food, the Sanhedrists, well versed in legal knowledge, take him to task (VI, 28). Jesus answers their interpellation, and in reply to the further objection, that the Messias, to vindicate his claim, must give the people of Israel a bread similar to the manna of the desert (VI, 30), enlightens them on the origin and nature of the promised bread, as compared with the manna. His explanation shows that He goes a step forward and expressly declares that He Himself is this bread of life (VI, 32–36). An interruption of the subject takes place. Jesus meets an objection raised

mentally against His saying in VI, 36: If Thou didst know so surely that our faith would turn into unbelief, why didst Thou make us Thy followers and even admit us into the intimate fellowship of Thy disciples? Hadst Thou rejected our prayer for admission, Thou wouldst have saved Thyself much useless trouble and long and fruitless wandering about from place to place. To this question, suggested by His statement in Jn. VI, 36, but not expressed in words, Jesus returns the answer: Everyone without exception, even if it be Judas Iscariot, in whom the Father awakens the faith and the resolution to become my disciple and follower, will be received by me, and I cannot and may not exclude him from discipleship, even if I foresee that he will apostatize and be lost forever; to do so would be against the will of my Father, etc. (Jn. VI, 37–40). However, since the learned Sanhedrists raised objections to Christ's declaration that He came down from Heaven, on the ground that they knew His parents, He saw Himself obliged to set them right. He says (Jn. VI, 43–48): "No man can come to me, except the Father . . . draw him." What does He mean by this? He means to say: My Father influences the reason and the will of men partly by external signs and miracles, partly by the interior power of grace, and thus instructs men about Jesus of Nazareth, His Messianic dignity, His divine Sonship, and His destiny to be the true bread of Heaven for the life of the world. Everyone, therefore, who has heard of the Father and has learned from Him, *i. e.,* let himself be enlightened by Him about Jesus, His Son, will come to Him; but everyone who hears of the Father, but refuses to learn, shall remain aloof from Him, because the Father will no longer draw and instruct him, *i. e.,* will refuse him further graces and strike him with interior blindness. Our Lord expresses himself in general terms; but we cannot be in doubt as to the meaning of His words. He has in mind the Judean disciples who deserted Him on the day of His discourse at Capharnaum. They had been docile pupils of the Father in the beginning; but the lesson which the Father inculcated by the two miracles of Christ's walking on the water and the multiplication of the loaves, they despised, with the result that the interior drawing of the Father towards the Son ceased, and they could *not believe* in the bread from Heaven. The Father was free to renew His graces to those who at first manifested a want of faith or in course of time turned unbelievers (*e. g.,* the Judean disciples of Christ and His "brethren"; VII, 5). This He certainly did in the case of the "brethren of Jesus" (cfr. Acts I, 14; 1 Cor. IX, 5; Gal. I, 9) and in that of the many who during the public ministry of the Redeemer remained unbelievers (cfr. Acts II, 36 ff.). Only the high priests seem to have been an exception (cfr. Acts VI, 7).

By the words (Jn. VI, 46): "Not that any man hath seen the Father;

he who is of God, he has seen the Father," Our Lord clears the way *back* from the *digression* to His real subject, the bread of Heaven. The connection of Jn. VI, 48 with Jn. VI, 35 is evident: in the latter passage He says: ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ἄρτος τῆς ζωῆς, which words are resumed in VI, 48. The thought underlying both verses 47 and 48 is this: He who believes in me and is baptized, hath life everlasting; this life I shall merit for those who believe in me through my death on the Cross; however, to preserve and nourish the life produced in them by faith and Baptism, I will give them a food, which is my flesh and blood in the Eucharist. He next compares this bread with the food of the old covenant and says it is a bread that bestows life and immortality, in contradistinction to the manna, which did not preserve the Israelites from death (Jn. VI, 50 and 51[a]).

But does not the discourse on the Eucharistic bread really begin at VI, 51[b]? This is asserted again and again. The transition to a new subject, which is sufficiently indicated by the syntactical connection (καὶ–δέ), we are told, manifests itself more conspicuously in what follows. Whilst at first the bread appeared as a gift of God the Father, it is now declared to be a gift of Jesus Christ, and from the diversity of the givers we may conclude to a diversity in the gifts. This conclusion is further justified by the diverse terms employed. First Jesus says: I am the bread; now: The bread is my flesh.

This contention is absolutely baseless. It is true, the formula καὶ–δέ as a rule introduces a new subject; but if the newly introduced idea is the subject, as it is here, similar predicates are applied to it as were applied to the preceding subject. But (δὲ) also (καὶ) that bread which *I myself* will give you to eat, is my flesh. This statement is quite new. Properly speaking we should expect: καὶ ὁ ἄρτος δέ, ὃν ἐγὼ δώσω, ἐγώ εἰμι; but instead of the ἐγώ Jesus employs the more concrete term, ἡ σάρξ μου, and places it emphatically at the beginning; it is the decisive word, preceded by a short pause. It would be easier for us to understand if Jesus had said: According to what has been said thus far, I am the heavenly bread which the *Father* gives, but (δέ) also (καὶ) that which *I* (myself) promised to give (VI, 27), am *I;* or, to put it more plainly, it is my flesh which shall be slain on the Cross for the the life of the world (to lead the world out of the death of sin to the life of grace). By σάρξ Our Lord wishes to suggest to His hearers the idea of edibility. We do not say, eat the body (σῶμα) of an animal, but its flesh. In Jn. VI, 51[b] Jesus answers the question which every hearer of His discourse must have had on the tip of his tongue, *viz.:* Is the bread of life which the Father gives, and of which you have been talking all this while, identical with the bread of life which

you promised to give (VI, 27)? The answer is: Yes, the one as well as the other is my flesh, which shall be immolated on the Cross. Decisive proof for the complete unity of the discourse is contained in Jn. VI, 58, where the Saviour does not say, as we might expect after 51b, as a transition to the so-called second part of His address: *οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἄρτος ὃν ἐγώ δώσω*, but *ὁ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καταβάς, οὐ καθὼς ἔφαγον οἱ πάτέρες καὶ ἀπέθανον*,—of this nature, or of this quality, is the bread which came down from Heaven; not like your fathers, who ate and died (cfr. Jn. VI, 33 and 48–50), will he die who eats of this bread; rather he will live forever. It is evident that with these words Our Lord intends to conclude the *entire discourse* and to summarize both of its parts. Whoever carefully considers both the beginning (VI, 27: *ἣν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὑμὶν δώσει*) and the end (VI, 58), must see, therefore, that the discourse is uniform; it is only for the purpose of making it plain that the antitypical or New Testament bread of Heaven (in contradistinction to the manna of the desert) came down from the throne of God, that Our Lord at the start introduces God the Father, and not Himself, as the giver, and that He wishes His hearers to hold on to this idea until in VI, 51b He reveals *Himself* as the giver.

We conclude: the discourse in Jn. VI from beginning to end treats of the life-giving banquet of the new covenant, the same which Jesus celebrated together with His disciples on the eve of his Passion, and the celebration of which He made obligatory on them for the time to come after his Ascension. That He refers to the Last Supper, described by the Synoptics, cannot reasonably be doubted because, according to St. John (chap. VI), He promised to give to His disciples and to His hearers His body (flesh and blood) as a food, the same body which He was to deliver unto death on the Cross for the purpose of effecting the true life (*ἡ σάρξ μου ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς*; VI, 51b), but which, according to the Synoptics, He gave to His Apostles on the eve of His Passion as a food, which He immolated on the Cross the following day. Thus we have in the fourth Gospel the promise of the Eucharist, and in the Synoptics the fulfilment, which St. John also indicates in XIII, 1 sqq.

11. Our Lord often used *figurative* language, whilst his hearers understood his words *literally*. Note His behavior in one such case. At the time of the first Easter, He said to Nicodemus: "Amen, amen I say to thee, unless a man be born again [from above], he cannot see [= enter into] the kingdom of God." Nicodemus took the word *γεννηθῇ* literally, and therefore in astonishment addressed to Our Lord the question: "How can a man be born [again] when he is old?" This question Jesus answered

by teaching Nicodemus to interpret His words *figuratively:* "Unless a man be born again of water and the Holy Ghost, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." And when Nicodemus, after further explanation, fails to grasp the idea, Jesus says to him: "Art thou a master in Israel, and knowest not these things?" Namely, that a change of heart can be produced in a man by the laver of Baptism, although thou hast witnessed the miracles at Bethesda, which foreshadow the miracle of Baptism (Jn. III, 3 ff.).

At the well of Jacob Jesus said to His disciples: "I have meat to eat, which you know not." The disciples mistakenly understood the word βρῶσις literally, and said: "Hath any man brought him to eat?" Jesus at once enlightens them on the figurative meaning of His words: "My meat is to do the will of him that sent me, that I may perfect his work" (Jn. IV, 32–34).

When Lazarus had died, Jesus knew it by His divine knowledge, and said to His disciples: "Lazarus our friend sleepeth; but I go that I may awake him out of sleep." The disciples understood this of the natural sleep and said: "Lord, if he sleep, he shall do well." Then Jesus said to them plainly: "Lazarus is dead," *i. e.,* He instructed His disciples on the figurative use of the word "sleep" (Jn. XI, 11–14).

During the feast of the Tabernacles (782) Jesus said to the converted "Judeans" (pilgrims from Judea): "If you continue in my word, you shall be my disciples indeed, and you shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." The Judeans took up the last words and indignantly said: "We are the seed of Abraham, and we have never been slaves to any man." Jesus replied: "Whosoever committeth sin, is the slave of sin; . . . if therefore the Son shall make you free, you shall be free indeed." Thus He formally instructed His hearers on the metaphorical use of δουλεύειν and δοῦλος (Jn. VIII, 30 ff.).

On the same occasion Jesus said (according to the sense): "You are not the children of Abraham; for you do not do the works of Abraham." The Jews retorted: "We are not born of fornication." Jesus said to them: "You are of your father the devil." He enlightened the Jews on the sonship and paternity of which he was speaking (Jn. VIII, 39 ff.).

At another time, when Jesus crossed Lake Genesareth to the opposite side, His disciples had forgotten to take along bread. The Saviour warned them: "Take heed and beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and Sadducees." But they thought within themselves, saying, "Because we have taken no bread." Jesus knew what they meant and at once corrected their error: "You do not yet understand that I did not speak to you of [natural] bread when I said, Beware of the leaven of the

Pharisees and Sadducees." Then they understood that He wished them to beware, not of the leaven of bread, but of the doctrines of the Pharisees and Sadducees (Mt. XVI, 6 ff.).

Thus we are able to prove from the Gospel that Our Lord took particular care to avoid misunderstanding on the part of His hearers, and in all cases in which He made use of a figure of speech, and His hearers did not understand Him correctly, but took what He said literally, He gave an explanation by suggesting to them: I spoke figuratively, and you must understand me accordingly.

During the public activity of Jesus it not seldom happened that the hearers understood His words correctly in a literal sense and on account of the seeming absurdity of the saying became angry and displeased with His talk and raised objections. In such cases Our Lord requested them to stand by the words; and in order to remove every doubt as to their meaning, He repeated the gist of what had displeased His hearers. Thus when He had said to the man sick of the palsy: "Thy sins are forgiven thee," and the Jews said, "he blasphemeth," Jesus at once asked them: "What is easier to say, Thy sins are forgiven thee; or to say, Arise and walk? But that you may know that the Son of man has power on earth to forgive sins," etc. (Mt. IX, 2 ff.). He acted in the same manner on the occasion recorded in Jn. III, 1 ff. By the "Amen, amen I say to you, unless a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God," He repeats the same words which He had uttered in public on the feast of Easter. As may be plainly seen from Jn. III, 7 and 12, Our Lord had at that time appeared in Jerusalem as *teacher,* with the demand that whosoever would enter into His kingdom, must be born again, *i. e.,* receive the Messianic Baptism. Nicodemus and his associates took offence at this, but Jesus solemnly repeated His declaration (Jn. III, 5; cfr. Jn. VIII, 56 ff.) He proceeded in precisely the same manner in His discourse in Capharnaum. He spoke of eating and drinking His flesh and blood; His hearers understood the words literally and He solemnly and formally approved of this interpretation (VI, 53). In view of all this every attempt at a figurative explanation of His words is doomed to failure.

12. The question as to the *sacrificial character of the Passah* may be considered fully solved. The objections raised against it are futile, as is now almost universally admitted. True, a few exegetes still claim that the Passah developed into a sacrificial banquet only in course of time and that the books of the Chronicles probably formed the means of transition to the new view and practice.[28] I consider this view un-

[28] Rückert, *Lehre vom Abendmahl,* p. 50.

tenable. The Passah, according to the description given of it in all available sources, profane as well as sacred, was distinctly a sacrificial banquet at the time of Christ. The meal was its chief feature. Whosoever took part in it, thereby professed himself a member of the Jewish nation, evinced his communion with the God of Israel and, so to speak, his brotherhood with the other members of the Chosen People. When, therefore, Jesus uttered the words about the covenant over the chalice, the Apostles were reminded of the hitherto existing covenant, at whose inauguration the blood of lambs had played such a significant rôle. In view of this, one easily perceives the prototypical character of the Passah in relation to the Eucharist. He who partook of this sacrificial banquet, confessed his membership in the people of the new covenant, because "only he who is washed in the laver of baptism, may eat of the Eucharist." [29]

The question why Jesus made bread and wine and not the Passah-lamb the substratum of His wonderful Sacrament, may be answered thus: He did this because, according to the will of God, the Temple, and consequently also the sacrificing of lambs, was to pass away. It has been conjectured that St. Mark, the "fundamental Evangelist," worked the Last Supper into the frame-work of the Jewish Passah, and since he wrote his Gospel after the year 70, when the Jews could no longer slaughter and immolate Passah-lambs, made bread and wine the chief "constituent parts" of the Eucharist. This view merits no consideration. That St. Mark wrote his Gospel only after A. D. 70, is an assertion which contradicts tradition; moreover, he reports in exactly the same manner as the other two Synoptics that Jesus celebrated the Passah banquet in the old-fashioned way, as all the Jews were wont to do in those days, *i. e.*, before the destruction of Jerusalem (Mk. XIV, 12). Precisely in this do the accounts of the Evangelists and of St. Paul evince their historical accuracy that they hand down to posterity the fact that Jesus made bread and wine, and not the Passah-lamb, the constituent parts of the Eucharist. We surely would meet with the lamb in the Gospels if it were true that some of the accounts of the New Testament are fanciful inventions, drawn from elements furnished by the Old Testament.

13. St. Paul evidently conceived of the institution of the Holy Eucharist as having taken place on the evening of the Passah-feast (the 14th Nisan) and in close connection with the typical Passah-supper. True, he writes in his first Epistle to the Corinthians (XI, 23): *ἐν τῇ νυκτί*. The slaying of the Easter lamb took place between the two

[29] St. Justin Martyr, *Apol.*, I, 66.

evenings in question, in other words, in the day-time, whereas Christ sacrificed Himself in the Holy Eucharist at night. But it could hardly have been differently arranged, considering that Jesus wished to celebrate the Passah strictly according to the Jewish law and at the appointed time. That this was His wish, appears from Lk. XXII, 14 sqq. Hence the celebration of the New Testament Pasch (cfr. 1 Cor. V, 3–8) had to be postponed to a later hour.

St. Paul's view appears from 1 Cor. X, 16 sqq. (cfr. XI, 23 sqq.), where he bases his warning against participating in idol worship and eating of the sacrificial food (X, 14) on the fact that Christ had promised His own body and blood as food to His disciples. Those who eat of this body and blood are in communion with Him and therefore may not participate in the sacrificial banquets of the gentiles, since such participation would put them in communion with the demons, to whom these sacrifices are offered. Sharply does the Apostle contrast the table of the Lord with that of the devils (X, 21). As the latter was a table of sacrifice, so the table of the Lord, too, must be a table of sacrifice. He says of Israel according to the flesh (that is, of the members of the Jewish nation under the Old Testament) that by eating of the flesh of animals sacrificed to the gods, they were made partakers of the altar. "Altar" is here used in its literal, not in a figurative sense, as designating communion, which is evident from the fact that the Apostle also employs *θύειν* and *θυσία* in the literal sense. *Θυσιαστήριον* and *θυσία* are correlative terms. Like the pagans and the Jews, so the Christians of the primitive Church had an altar upon which the sacrificial gifts had to be offered and consecrated before they could be distributed as heavenly food to the faithful. The existence of material altars is attested by St. Paul in Heb. XIII, 10: *ἐχομεν θυσιαστήριον*, we have an altar. The followers of Christ, he wishes to say, have an altar of which those who serve the tabernacle (in the Jewish Temple) may not eat. The passage bears a certain resemblance to the one quoted above from 1 Cor. As *θυσιαστήριον* occurs there in close connection with *θύειν* and *θυσία*, thus in the Epistle to the Hebrews *βρώματα* with *φαγεῖν*. The former expression is to be understood of the ordinary food of the Hebrews (cfr. Lev. VII, 10 sqq.), and *φαγεῖν* consequently cannot mean anything else but to eat with the mouth, after the manner in which food is ordinarily consumed. The idea of eating food from the altar is nothing extraordinary, but perfectly natural and understandable, both in view of the natural sense of the term and of the context of the whole passage. The only question that may arise is: What is the meaning of *φαγεῖν ἐκ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου*, "to eat of the altar"? If *θυσιαστήριον* means the Christian altar of sacrifice, we are perfectly justified in understanding the text as follows: A

sacrifice is offered on this altar, and a meal is prepared and given to the faithful as a food to eat and drink. It is certainly not out of place to think of the Eucharist in this connection.

It is objected that the text deals not with the Eucharistic sacrifice, but with the death of Jesus on the Cross. The latter, it is true, is mentioned in Heb. XIII, 12; but the reference is closely connected with the trend of the whole passage. Jesus Christ went outside the gate of the city and suffered, that He might sanctify the people by His blood; therefore, the Christians, too, should go forth, *i. e.,* give up their inherited connection with the Jewish people, in order to belong to Christ. But the Eucharist is intimately connected with Christ's death on the Cross because the latter is renewed in the former. Both are quite compatible in the Apostle's argument. But in endeavoring to ascertain the meaning of Heb. XIII, 13, it is necessary to consult not only Heb. XIII, 10 and 12, but likewise XIII, 9. Taking the context into due consideration, the meaning evidently is this: Those who serve the tabernacle, *i. e.,* the Jewish priesthood and people, seek to establish the heart with sacrificial foods, and even now continue to recommend to the Christians of Jerusalem and Palestine to eat this food for the purpose mentioned. But the eating of this food does not establish the heart; "the heart is established with grace (*χάριτι*), not with meats" (Heb. XIII, 9). The expression sounds rather general, but it is modified by what follows in XIII, 10: We, the members of the new Israel, the believers in Jesus Christ, not those who serve the tabernacle of the old covenant, have the right to eat from the altar of sacrifice. The food which they obtain from the altar cannot be a material food, like the sacrificial meat of the Jewish Temple, but, in contradistinction to that meat, must be a *τροφὴ πνευματική*, a spiritual food. This interpretation is also suggested by the opposition contained in the phrase *βεβαιοῦσθαι χάριτι, οὐ βρώμασιν*, "established with grace, not with meats."

14. The first extra-canonical witness to the celebration of the Holy Eucharist is the *Didache.* We naturally ask: What was the essential character of this celebration in the first and second centuries? Was the Holy Eucharist at that time a sacrifice in the full sense of the term? It is said by some exegetes that up to the second half of the second century the sacrifice of the Eucharist was believed to be contained in the accompanying prayer (*oratio*); in other words, that the Eucharist was a repast and a sacrifice only by virtue of the Eucharistic prayer, in which Christ was represented in relation to His sacrifice on the Cross. St. Irenaeus, it is asserted, was the first writer who regarded the elements of bread and wine destined for the Eucharist, or, respectively, the body

and blood of Our Lord, as the material object of a sacrifice and thus inaugurated the idea that the Holy Eucharist was a true and objective sacrifice. This theory cannot be sustained by solid arguments. The *Didache* says: *κατὰ κυριακὴν δὲ κυρίου συναχθέντες κλάσατε ἄρτον καὶ εὐχαριστήσατε, προεξομολογησάμενοι τὰ παραπτώματα ὑμῶν, ὅπως καθαρὰ ἡ θυσία ὑμων ᾖ.* Here there is plainly question of the Eucharist as the sacrifice of the Christians. The author exhorts the faithful to confess their faults before breaking the bread, so that their offering may be pure. Hence there is question here of the eating of the *πνευματικὴ τροφή*, the spiritual food mentioned in *Did.*, X, 3. This spiritual food shall be eaten by participating in the sacred repast with a soul free from (mortal) sin. The repast itself is designated as an offering. That the author here means a true sacrifice, and not merely a gift of prayer and thanksgiving, appears from his quoting immediately afterward Mal. I, 11: "In every place there is sacrifice, and there is offered to my name a clean oblation." The author of the *Didache*, like St. Justin Martyr and the Catholic theologians of every age, refers this prophetical passage to the Holy Eucharist. *Per se,* of course, this is no strict proof that the sacrifice of the Messianic era, so pleasing to God, consists in a *material gift.* But we cannot sufficiently emphasize the fact that Our Divine Saviour, in making the revelation concerning the adoration of the Father, at the well of Jacob (Jn. IV, 20 sqq.) had in mind the text of Malachias just cited, though, for an easily discernible reason, He did not quote Malachias to the Samaritan woman. At the well of Jacob Jesus by no means predicted the cessation of all sacrifices, but said that the *θυσίαι σαρκικαί* of the Old Testament would be supplanted by a *θυσία πνευματική*, an adoration of God by means of sacrifice that would correspond to His nature, namely, the *σῶμα πνευματικόν* of Christ in the Eucharist. We are justified, therefore, in regarding the declaration of Christ to the Samaritan woman as an authentic interpretation of the text of the prophet Malachias, and the Church Fathers have always understood the latter in the sense that the Holy Ghost through the prophet Malachias predicted for the Christian era a sacrifice consisting in the offering of a material gift, *viz.*, the body and blood of Christ. It is precisely in this sense that the author of the *Didache* interpreted the passage. St. Clement of Rome (I, 41) speaks of the liturgical ministration of the Church and exhorts his brethren "not to transgress the appointed rules." He refers to the Old Testament ritual and says that sacrifices are offered, not everywhere, but only in Jerusalem, and there "not in every place, but before the shrine, at the altar." He speaks here of the liturgy of the Old Testament in order to throw light on the corresponding institutions of the New Testament, and expressly attests

the existence in the early Church of a sacrifice, an altar, and a priesthood (cfr. Ch. XL). Especially striking is his explanation in Ch. XLIV. The principal passage (XLIV, 4) runs as follows: "We consider, therefore, that it is not just to remove from their ministry those (bishops) who . . . have blamelessly and holily offered the sacrifices." However we may interpret the term ἐπισκοπή, the author manifestly speaks of ecclesiastical ministers, and the phrase suggests, not the prayers of the faithful, but rather the offering of material gifts. This interpretation receives further probability from the phrases: τὰς προσφορὰς καὶ λειτουργίας ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, and: ποιεῖν τὰς προσφορὰς τοῖς προστεταγμένοις καιροῖς, "offer their oblations at the acceptable seasons" (1 Clem., XI, 2, 4). The "altar" of which St. Ignatius of Antioch repeatedly speaks in his writings, can hardly have had any other purpose than to serve for the celebration of the Eucharist by the bishop, together with the priests and deacons, when he converted bread and wine into the body and blood of Jesus Christ and gave it to the faithful to be consumed (*Ad Phil.*, c. iv). The attempt to apply τὸ θυσιαστήριον to Jesus Christ, more particularly to the Cross of Christ, has proved unsuccessful. In writing to the Magnesians (VII) he says: "Hasten all to come together as to one temple of God, one altar, one Jesus Christ," St. Ignatius assuredly uses the term θυσιαστήριον (altar) in the same literal sense as ναός (the material temple). The Christians of that period met in churches (ἐκκλησίαις κατ, οἴκους) In his Epistle to the Ephesians (V, 2) the venerable Bishop of Antioch has this noteworthy sentence: ἐὰν μή τις ᾖ ἐντὸς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, ὑστερεῖται τοῦ ἄρτου τοῦ Θεοῦ, *i. e.*, "Unless a man be within the altar, he lacks the bread of God." Here the term *altar* is again used literally. The congregation of Christians meets in the church, where there is an altar upon which is offered the bread that is consecrated and given to the people as "the bread of God." In his Epistle to the Romans (c. II) St. Ignatius says: "Grant me nothing more than that I be poured out to God as a sacrifice, while an altar is still ready." Here he employs θυσιαστήριον in a figurative sense by expressing the wish that he himself might be offered on the altar (*i. e.*, in persecution) as a sacrifice to God; but the basic idea is that of the material altar so often mentioned in his epistles. Just as upon this altar bread and wine are usually sacrificed to God (he wishes to say), thus I shall soon be sacrificed, *i. e.*, slain as the victim of persecution. What, according to St. Ignatius, was the purpose of the altar? Most assuredly to offer the sacrifice of the Holy Eucharist, which, as he explains in his Epistle to the Smyrnaeans (VII, 1), "is the flesh of Our Saviour Jesus Christ, who suffered for our sins, which [flesh] the Father raised up by His goodness." Here he not only professes his belief in the Real Presence, but also the sacrificial character of the

Eucharist and the close connection between it and the Sacrifice of the Cross.

St. Justin Martyr in a passage of his writings designates prayer as the sacrifice of Christians (*Dial.*, 117); but in order not to misunderstand this passage, we must remember that St. Justin and other writers of the early days (*e. g.*, Athenagoras and Aristides) characterize prayers and thanksgivings as sacrifices, in order to refute the notion that all emphasis was to be laid upon the sacrificial animals or their blood (*hostiae*) and upon their slaughter and dedication to the gods, as the pagans imagined, and practically no attention paid to the internal disposition of piety and sacrifice. Furthermore, the passage in question must be interpreted in the light of *Dial.*, 41, where St. Justin represents the sacrificial meal which those cured of leprosy had to offer, as a type of the Eucharist. If the Holy Eucharist is the antitype and fulfilment of this sacrificial meal, then it also must be a true sacrifice. Justin, like the *Didache*, cites the prophecy of Malachias (I, 11), the fulfilment of which he sees in the Holy Eucharist, adding the significant words: *περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ ὑφ' ἡμῶν τῶν ἐθνῶν προσφερομένων αὐτῷ θυσίων, τουτέστι τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς εὐχαριστίας καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου ὁμοίως τῆς εὐχαριστίας, προλέγει τότε εἰπὼν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ δοξάζειν ἡμᾶς, ὑμᾶς δὲ βεβηλοῦν*, according to which "the bread and the chalice of the Eucharist," and not prayer and thanksgiving, were the sacrificial gifts of the Christians of his day. As in the sacrificial meal offered by those cured of leprosy, so here in the Holy Eucharist, there is a material substratum, namely, bread and wine, which is offered and consecrated, that is, converted into the body and blood of Jesus Christ. This suffices to explain the teaching of St. Justin, which may be further studied in *Apol.*, I, 65 sq.

St. Irenaeus expresses himself in a similar manner. In a much-quoted passage (*Haer.*, IV, 17, 5) he refers to Mal. I, 11, and explains that the prophet did not mean to predict the cessation of sacrifices, but the substitution for the typical and imperfect sacrifices of the Old Testament of a pure sacrifice. Sacrifices here, sacrifices there; sacrifices among the Jews, sacrifices in the Church of Christ,—with only this difference that the manner of offering is changed (*Haer.*, IV, 18, 2; cfr. IV, 18, 4). The Church of Christ alone offers to God a pure sacrifice. Though St. Irenaeus does not omit to call attention to the fact that God required from the Israelites not burnt-offerings and animal victims, but faith, obedience, and justice (IV, 17, 4), he nevertheless emphasizes the truth that Jesus Christ taught His disciples a sacrifice, and states the following reason: "We offer sacrifices to Him, not as if He had need of them, but to thank Him for His sovereignty and to

sanctify the gift of creation. For as God does not need our gifts, so we stand in need of making sacrifices to Him" (IV, 18, 6). In another passage (IV, 17, 9) he says: "Jesus Christ inculcated the sacrifice of the New Covenant, which the Church received from the Apostles and offers to God throughout the whole world."

Tertullian did not write *ex professo* on the Holy Eucharist, but what he says in *De Orat.*, 19, suffices to show that he, too, believed in the existence of a material sacrificial gift, for he speaks of "standing at the altar of God" and refers to Communion as a *"participatio sacrificii."*

St. Cyprian writes: *"Sacerdos vice Christi sacrificium verum et plenum tunc offert in ecclesia Dei patri, si sic incipiat offerre secundum quod ipsum Christum videat obtulisse."* (*Epist.*, LXIII, 14). This is perfectly clear and needs no explanation.

Among the later Fathers, St. Cyril of Alexandria expressed himself very definitely (a) on the Real Presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist; (b) on the conversion of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ; (c) on the daily celebration of the Eucharist, in which Christ is both sacrificing priest and sacrificial gift.[30]

15. The relation of the Holy Eucharist and the Sacrifice of the Mass to the Sacrifice of the Cross has been frequently discussed, without, however, leading to any generally accepted conclusion. We should like first of all to call the attention of the reader to a remarkable difference. What Jesus Christ consummated on the Cross, was the sacrifice of His life. That was purely a sacrifice. The Holy Mass is also a sacrifice; so, too, is the celebration of the Last Supper held in the Cenacle at Jerusalem. But the two latter were not simply sacrifices, but partook of the character of a meal or repast. That is why that first Holy Mass in the Cenacle is called the Last Supper. The Apostles, and they alone, assembled in the Cenacle, consumed the body and blood of Christ, and were commissioned and empowered to prepare the heavenly food themselves in future, to eat it, and to distribute it to the faithful. At Holy Mass, besides the celebrating bishop and priests, all Christians are nourished with the τροφὴ πνευματική or "heavenly gift" (Heb. VI, 4). The Holy Eucharist has been regarded as a meal or repast since the establishment of the Church (Acts II, 42; XX, 7). The most ancient extra-canonical writings emphasize the ἀπόλαυσις or eating and drinking of the heavenly food (*Did.*, X and IX; St. Justin, etc.), and that not

[30] Cfr. Struckmann, *Die Eucharistielehre des hl. Cyrill von Alexandrien*, 1910; Dorsch., *Der Opfercharakter der Eucharistie einst und jetzt*, 1909, pp. 220 sqq.

only on the part of the priests and bishops, ἐπίσκοποι καὶ πρεσβύτεροι, but also on the part of the people, provided they prepared themselves properly for its reception by an act of contrition and confession of their sins (μετανοιεῖν, προεξομολογεῖσθαι τὰ παραπτώματα). The purpose of eating the heavenly food is to become intimately united with Jesus Christ (Jn. VI, 56) and to attain perfect holiness. The fact that the participation of the laity in the sacred repast of the Eucharist at a later period was not as eager and frequent as it should have been, does not alter the teaching of the Fathers, based as it is upon Sacred Scripture and tradition.

The Sacrifice of the Mass and the Sacrifice of the Cross are identical in so far as Christ offers Himself in both. He is the sacrificing priest on the Cross and in Holy Mass, and the sacrificial victim in both is His body and blood. This was already the case at the Last Supper, except that Christ officiated personally on that occasion, whereas in the Mass He employs bishops and priests as his agents and organs. But there is a difference between the *manner* in which Christ is sacrificed on the Cross and on the altars of the Church. In the Mass, He does not shed His blood, His body and soul are not separated, He does not die, as on the Cross. The bloody Sacrifice on the Cross is represented in the Mass by the separate consecration of the elements. The body of Christ is present under the appearance of bread, His blood under the appearance of wine, and thus the bloody sacrificial death of the Redeemer is significantly represented.

But if Christ died only once on the Cross, and does not die again (cfr. Heb. X, 9 sqq.), how can the Mass be called a true sacrifice?

According to St. Paul (Heb. VII, 25), Christ lives as our High Priest in Heaven, makes constant intercession and saves forever those that approach God through Him. This is to be understood as follows: As the slain Lamb, Christ stands forever before the throne of God, exhibiting to Him the marks of His wounds, and prays and makes intercession for us to the Father. But that would be only an *intercessio verbalis*. St. Paul compares the Heavenly High Priest with the Levitical high priest. If He is the perfect antitype of the latter, Christ must offer a real sacrifice and continue to offer that sacrifice always. Now His continued activity as sacrificing priest consists in this, that whenever His appointed and empowered priests do what He instructed them to do at the Last Supper, Christ by an act of His will once more offers His body and blood to the Heavenly Father and thus honors Him. As He effected and consummated the redemption of mankind objectively by the Sacrifice of the Cross, so He completes it subjectively through the Sacrifice of the Mass by applying the graces of the Redemption to the individual souls of men. Whenever that objective sacrifice will have worked its subjective effects in

all who are and will be capable of receiving grace and salvation, there will no longer be any need of a mediation of the Redemption, which is but another way of saying that as soon as the Kingdom of God, *i. e.*, the Church, enters upon the state of completion, the Mass will cease.

CHAPTER V

OTHER EPISODES IN THE CENACLE

(Mt. XXVI, 30–35; Mk. XIV, 26–31; Lk. XXII, 31–38; Jn. XIII, 33–38)

Our Divine Saviour spent the remaining moments after the institution of the Eucharistic sacrificial banquet, the last hour before His separation from the Apostles, in addressing to them words of solace and instruction. In speaking to them, He uses the paternal and endearing words, "little children" (τεκνία). He begins by speaking of the coming separation (Jn. XIII, 33): "You shall seek me." The proximate goal whither the disciples cannot follow Him is death; the final goal is His return to the Father. The eleven Apostles cannot follow Him into death, because they are not yet sufficiently strengthened against the terrors of death, and because they still have a great task to fulfill on earth, namely, the preaching of the Gospel (Mt. XXVIII, 19, 20). They cannot now go with Him to the Father because He must first prepare a place for them in the heavenly mansions (Jn. XIV, 2). However, that which Jesus denied absolutely to the Judeans (*i. e.,* the hierarchs as the representatives of unbelieving Jewdom; VII, 34; VIII, 21), He denies to His disciples only relatively: they cannot follow him *now;* but they shall follow Him later (Jn. XIV, 2, 3). In view of this situation, the words of Jesus on the "new commandment" have an important signification. The Old Testament, it is true, also inculcated love of neighbor, and Our Lord throughout His public activity had declared the love of God and of neighbor to be the greatest and first commandment and

the fulfilment of the Old Testament (Mt. XXII, 36 ff.). In the hour of leave-taking He mentions His own love for all mankind as the motive and standard of all love (Jn. XIII, 34). His love, singularly manifested by the Incarnation, extends so far as to give His life for all mankind, an act already effectively inaugurated (1 Jn. III, 16; Jn. XV, 13). A few minutes before the Lord had manifested His love for His own by giving them His flesh and blood as food and drink, by the institution of the Eucharist, He had opened up a fountain of life for centuries to come, until the end of the world. Inasmuch as the disciples, after the example of Jesus, should manifest a self-denying love, even to the extent of laying down their life for their neighbors, a thing which the Old Testament did not enjoin, He now calls the law of charity a "new" commandment. This kind of love Our Lord designates as the characteristic mark of true discipleship (Jn. XIII, 35).

Peter is wrought up over the announcement of the approaching separation and cannot reconcile himself to it (Mt. XVI, 22), and so he asks the question: "Lord, whither goest thou?" Jesus answers, not directly, but indirectly: "Whither I go, thou canst not follow me now," *i. e.,* according to the divine decree you must first acquit yourself of your vocation; but you will follow me later (Jn. XIII, 36). By these words Our Lord announced to Peter his death, though in a somewhat obscure manner. To the further question as to the reason for this impossibility and to Peter's asseveration that he would lay down his life for Him (Jn. XIII, 37), Our Divine Saviour replied by announcing that all the Apostles would be scandalized in Him, *i. e.,* by His arrest, indictment, and trial their faith in and their affection for Him would be shaken, at least momentarily, and under the influence of fear they would flee (Mt. XXVI, 31; Mk. XIV, 27 f.); thus fulfilling the words of Scripture: "[I will] strike the shepherd, and the sheep shall be dispersed." (Zach. XIII, 7.) [Note 1.] This announcement was made for the purpose that, when it would be

fulfilled, His disciples might recognize His supernatural, divine knowledge, and more readily recover from their confusion and consternation. By the words: "After I shall be risen again, I will go before you into Galilee" (Mt. XXVI, 32; cfr. Mk. XIV, 28), Jesus consoles His disciples, to prevent them from getting discouraged.

Peter does not believe himself capable of such fickleness as his Master indicates, but, relying on his moral strength and excited by the announcement made by Jesus, solemnly protests that although all should prove weak in view of what was to happen, he would remain faithful (Mt. XXVI, 33). The impetuous disciple forced Jesus to use severer language and to tell him that He had spoken of the weakness of the disciples primarily on Peter's account; it is precisely he who is in great danger and temptation, in which it is possible only by the grace of God for him to remain firm. As Satan once asked of God to give him power over His servant Job and received it (Job I, 1–12), so in like manner even now, at the moment of His departure from their midst, He (Jesus) has asked the Father to sift the Apostles as wheat is sifted. Turning to Peter, He continues: "But I have prayed for thee [as the head of my disciples], that thy faith fail not [but that thou shalt be strengthened in thy wavering faith by my reappearance], and when thou hast recovered from thy fall, and art converted, thou confirm thy brethren [in their wavering faith]."

One is tempted to ask, in view of the fall of Peter, whether the temptation of Satan did not, at least momentarily, prove stronger than the prayer of Jesus. This question must be peremptorily answered in the negative. Peter's faith did not perish, and the tears which he shed after his fall were not the expression of sorrow for having *denied the faith* (Lk. XXII, 62). His fall must be explained in a different way. Overpowered by the fear of being chased from the palace of the high priest as a follower and disciple of the Galilean, he *externally* denied his Master; but this was not even the beginning of an ἔκλειψις

τῆς πίστεως. In his heart, at that critical moment, Peter preserved the faith, although he had not the courage to profess it openly, and this preservation of the faith was an effect of the prayer of Jesus, and from that time forth he not only adhered to the faith in his heart, but also professed it with his mouth, and this was the other effect of the prayer of Jesus.

Very significant is the commission which Our Lord gave to Peter at this moment: "Being once converted, thou shalt be a support to the brethren." Our Lord by these words indicated in advance that Peter would be pardoned for denying Him, and at the same time gave him to understand that by his momentary defection he would not lose his distinguished position as head of the Apostolic College, because he was to be the mainstay of his brethren in future. This Peter has been ever since the Resurrection, first for his fellow-Apostles and then for the other followers of Jesus. After the Lord had appeared to him (Lk. XXIV, 34; 1 Cor. XV, 5), he rallied the scattered disciples (Jn. XVI, 32) and after his definite appointment to the supreme pastoral office (XXI, 15 ff.) he proved a firm support of the Apostles and all Christian believers. The first part of the Acts of the Apostles (chap. I–XII) presents a glorious illustration of the fulfilment of Christ's prediction concerning Peter's later activity in the Kingdom of God. That these words of Jesus have also been applied to Peter's successors, the popes, will not seem strange to an unprejudiced mind. [Note 2.]

Because Peter confidently asserts his faith and loyalty to Jesus, even to the extent of going to prison and facing death (Lk. XXII, 33), Jesus announces to him in the most positive terms not only his fall, but also the time when it would take place: "The cock will not crow *this day*[1], till thou hast thrice denied that thou knowest me as thy Lord and master."

We have as yet said nothing about the place where this announcement took place. St. Matthew (XXVI, 31–35) and St.

[1] That is, in the course of this present day, which began with the evening; Our Lord thereby points to the dawn of the 15th Nisan.

Mark (XIV, 27–31) connect the prophecy of Jesus about the dispersion of the disciples and the denial of Peter with the statement that Jesus left the Cenacle and started on His way to Mount Olivet (Mt. XXVI, 30; Mk. XIV, 26). According to this context the prophecy was uttered outside the Cenacle, on the way to Mount Olivet. SS. Luke and John merely speak in a general way of the prediction of Peter's denial, and the former begins by telling of Christ's prayer for St. Peter, of the allusion to his fall, and of the commission given to him (Lk. XXII, 31–32); he then speaks of His utterance regarding the coming denial (XXII, 34). The two latter Evangelists, however, represent this prophecy of Our Lord as having been uttered in the Cenacle. Luke records the departure of Jesus from the supper-room in XXII, 39 and John in XVIII, 1, *i. e.*, after the farewell words. In view of this difference some exegetes think that the four Evangelists here do not treat of the same episode, but of three, or at least of two, so that the first announcement was made before the departure from the supper-room, and a second after leaving there, on the way to Mount Olivet. In view of the complete agreement of the four accounts concerning all essential details, this conjecture is groundless. We must by all means adhere to the unity and identity of the episode. The place where it happened was, as Luke and John state, the supper-room; the departure did not occur until after the announcement (and after the farewell discourse, Jn. XIV, 1–17, 26). The τότε, so frequently used by St. Matthew, refers (XXVI, 31) not to the subject-matter of XXVI, 30, but to the preceding account of the Last Supper. The meaning is: after the Last Supper, but still in the supper-room. Obviously St. Matthew (and following his example, St. Mark) desires to bring that report to a preliminary close, before he goes on to narrate the other episodes, and it is worthy of note that in XXVI, 36 he resumes the τότε, by which he gives us to understand that XXVI, 30 and XXVI, 36 belong

together: Jesus having uttered the hymn of praise departed for Mount Olivet and came into the country place. [Note 3.]

The discourse about the two swords (Lk. XXII, 35–38) is a fragment peculiar to the third Evangelist. That this discourse was delivered immediately after Christ foretold the fall of Peter, is improbable; for neither chronologically nor objectively can it be joined to the preceding discourse. The Evangelist indicates this by the phrase, peculiar to him, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς (cfr. V, 36; XV, 11 and especially XXIV, 44: εἶπεν δέ). We evidently have before us here a fragment of Christ's farewell discourses and shall probably not go wrong in conjecturing that this conversation occurred towards the end. In it Jesus recalls to the minds of His Apostles their first mission (cfr. Lk. IX, 1 ff.; Mt. X, 5 ff.), when He had said to them that, as His disciples, they could expect no other fate than the one which befell their Master. However, at that time it was only an experiment, and they had all returned to him safe and sound without encountering any serious danger. But now the hour was come when a life and death attack was to be made, first on Himself, and then on the disciples. The prophecy was about to be fulfilled that the Messias was to be reckoned with the wicked (Is. LIII, 12). Thereby He foretold His death on the cross between two robbers, and intimated that his Messianic activity and His earthly life had come to a close. The protection which He had thus far given them, would now cease; the hatred, which had persecuted Him, would now be turned against them, as if they were the followers of a malefactor. In view of such danger they should be ready for the combat. He who had money, should procure a sword, as well as he who had no money; the former should buy a sword with the money, the other sell his coat and buy a sword. According to the most obvious sense of His words, Jesus points out to His Apostles the theory of self-defense: dangerous attacks are in store for them, and to resist them, swords appear to be necessary. As

a matter of fact Jesus by this figure of speech wished to call the attention of His disciples to the future perils and privations, not, however, exhort them to use physical force; their behavior must rather be fashioned after the example He would give them on Mount Olivet and later. As He allowed Himself to be bound and crucified unto death without offering resistance, so in like manner His disciples, clad with the armour of faith, hope, and charity (cfr. Eph. i. 16 f.), should bear persecution patiently and courageously, and, if need be, sacrifice their lives for the Gospel. But the Apostles took the exhortation literally and said: "Lord, behold here are two swords," to which our Savior answered: "[It is] enough," *i. e.,* enough has been said on this subject; for the present I must forego the hope that you will understand my words, but the future will disclose their meaning to you. [Note 4.]

1. The importance of the Old Testament passage Zach. XIII, 7 for duly appreciating the relation between Matthew and Mark, has been demonstrated in my *Einleitung* (page 221). St. Mark (XIV, 27) agrees with St. Matthew, but he employs a different arrangement of words: *πατάξω τὸν ποιμένα, καὶ τὰ πρόβατα διασκορπισθήσονται* as compared with Matthew (XXVI, 31): *καὶ διασκορπισθήσονται τὰ πρόβατα.* From this difference in the position of the words we are justified in drawing the inference,—in fact we must do so,—that Mark had before him not the Greek, but the Semitic Matthew. It is also worthy of note that St. John quotes a saying of Our Lord from the discourse He delivered at His last meeting with His disciples, which is suggestive of the passage from Zachary: *ἔρχεται ὥρα καὶ ἐλήλυθεν, ἵνα σκορπισθῆτε ἕκαστος εἰς τὰ ἴδια* (XVI, 32). In Matthew, Mark, and John this idea runs through the entire account: Jesus appraises the behavior of the disciples foretold by him as a guilt, which, however, shall be forgiven.

2. *Καὶ σύ ποτε ἐπιστρέψας στήρισον τοὺς ἀδελφούς σου* (Lk. XXII, 32). These words have been much discussed, especially the meaning of *ἐπιστρέψας.* The adverbial meaning: in turn = and thou in turn (*rursus, vice versa*) confirm thy brethren, has been accepted by many, but evidently without cause. True, it cannot be said that this interpretation produces no good sense: I pray to the heavenly Father that thy wavering faith be strengthened, and thou *in turn* confirm thy brethren in their wavering faith. But *ἐπιστρέψειν* does not occur in the New Testament

idiom in the above-mentioned meaning, not even in the Acts (VII 42 and XV, 36). Now ἐπιστρέψας (= when thou shalt have risen from thy fall) must not be referred to Lk. XXII, 62 in the sense as if at the denial of Jesus as the Messias and Son of God (Mt. XVI, 16) Peter's faith had ceased. It did not cease, but its firmness in open profession was at that moment completely gone and human respect induced the Apostle to tell a lie. Interiorly his faith did not waver in the least in spite of the storm, and this was the first effect of the prayer which Jesus addressed to the Father for Peter. The words στήρισον (a later form for στήριξον; cfr. 2 Thess. III, 3) τοὺς ἀδελφούς σου have also been variously interpreted. By brethren of Peter are meant in the first place the ten other Apostles, because Our Saviour in a preceding passage (XXII, 31) spoke of the temptation of the devil, to which they also would be exposed. What is meant is their weak faith and despondent behavior at the moment when the Passion of Jesus began. It is here presumed that Peter will arise from his grievous fall more quickly than his fellow-disciples will arise from their slighter fall, and that Peter shall then take charge of the disciples and assist them in regaining faith and confidence. As to the *fulfilment*, we may think of the day of the Resurrection, when St. John, seeing the sepulchre empty, attained to faith in the Resurrection, whereas St. Peter was merely astonished (Jn. XX, 3–8; Lk. XXIV, 12). Yet the reassembling of the disciples after their dispersion was certainly the work of St. Peter (cfr. Lk. XXIV, 34; Jn. XX, 19). After the risen Lord had appeared to him, he began at once to carry out the injunction to strengthen his brethren in the faith.

The only question is whether the meaning of the words addressed by Our Lord to St. Peter is thereby exhausted. This is certainly not the case. Note first of all the verb στήρισον = *be a support*. Our Lord evidently employs this expression with reference to the task imposed on Peter as the foundation of the Church (Mt. XVI, 16). He was to be a support and stay for all the "brethren," not merely for his fellow-Apostles, but for all members of the New Kingdom, lest they waver in their faith. Christ after His Resurrection entrusted St. Peter with the office of supreme teacher in the Church (Jn. XXI, 15 ff.), and in this position it is his duty to "feed" and "guide" all believers. In virtue of this duty he, as supreme teacher in the Church, must communicate to them the doctrine taught by Christ and preserve it intact. This charge extends to all Peter's successors in the office of supreme teacher and by entrusting it to Peter, Christ has assured him and his successors of the strength and grace necessary to perform the duties of supreme teacher for the welfare of humanity.

3. Langen distinguishes two announcements of the denial of Peter;—the first he places immediately before the departure from the supper-room, the second after it. Christ's discourse on the two swords and the discourse recorded in Jn. XIII, 31 to XIV, 31 he represents as having been held in the supper-room, whilst the other discourses reported in Jn. XV, 1 to XVII, 26 occurred on the way from the city to Mount Olivet, as also the prophecy of Peter's denial reported by SS. Matthew and Mark. On what is this opinion based? On Mt. XXVI, 30 and 31 and Jn. XIV, 31. The last-mentioned passage ("arise, let us go hence") cannot be interpreted without reference to the remark in Jn. XVIII, 1: "When Jesus had said these things, he went forth with His disciples over the brook Cedron." Hence His departure from the Cenacle occurred after the close of all the discourses recorded in Jn. XIV, XV, XVI, and XVII, after the announcement of the dispersal of the Apostles and of the denial by Peter, and after the discourse on the two swords. Langen imagined that he could do full justice to the highly important word ἐξῆλθεν (Jn. XVIII, 1) by calculating thus: The elevation, on which the Eastern wall of Jerusalem is built, forms a steep slope into the valley of the Cedron, with the brook as a natural enclosure of the city, and thus to "go forth" from the city is identical with crossing the Cedron. Langen accordingly distributes the discourses of Jesus in the following manner: the discourse XII, 31 to XIV, 31 as also that on the two swords and the prophecy regarding Peter's denial (according to Luke and John), were delivered in the Cenacle; the consolatory discourses XV, 1–16, 33 were spoken on the way from the Cenacle to the city gate; finally, the high-priestly prayer (XVII, 1–26) was said on the journey down from the city gate into the valley of the Cedron. This explanation is artificial, as may be seen from Langen's casual remark (p. 199) that the discourse Jn. XV, 1 was probably delivered whilst Jesus was going along some vineyards by the wayside. In the days of Our Lord the road from Sion to Cedron did not lead past vineyards, no more than it does to-day. Moreover, everything speaks against the claim that Jesus pronounced the greater part of his farewell discourses (XV, 1 ff.) whilst walking from the Cenacle to the city gate. It was a dark night, past 9 o'clock, when He left the house of the disciple on Mount Sion (cfr. Jn. XIII, 30), and a loud conversation, capable of being heard by all the Apostles, was out of the question during such a walk. The journey was made in silence to avoid attracting attention and to get undisturbed to Mount Olivet. The ἐξῆλθεν in Jn. XVIII, 1 means going forth from the Cenacle just as certainly as the same verb in Lk. XXII, 39. Of course, we must not understand the remark in Jn. XIV, 31 as referring to the departure from the room, but to the rising from the table and getting

ready to leave. After the exhortation to depart Our Lord once more resumed His talk (Jn. XV, 1 ff.) and continued it while standing in the supper-room, surrounded by the eleven, until the moment indicated in Jn. XVIII, 1. When viewed from the psychological point of view this situation appears fully intelligible: ready to take the step that leads to separation and death, Jesus once more addresses to His disciples words of comfort, and prays for them to the Father. Finally, to appreciate the above interpretation, let us not forget that Luke and John wrote their Gospels with reference to the first two Evangelists and consequently can hardly have overlooked the fact that the accounts of Matthew and Mark were inexact and liable to misunderstanding (Mt. XXVI, 30 and Mk. XIV, 26). They cast a stronger light on the subject, Luke by expressly assigning the discourses of Jesus concerning Peter and on the two swords to the Cenacle, John by designating the same room as the place of the farewell discourses; indicating at the same time by the remark in XIV, 31, a change in the situation.

4. Lk. XXII, 36 is looked upon as a *crux interpretum,* though without reason. Our Saviour says: "But now he that hath a purse, let him take it [up], and likewise a scrip; and he that hath not, let him sell his coat, and buy a sword." Βαλλάντιον, purse, stands for the money contained in it, and πήρα, scrip, wallet, for the food contained in it; ἀράτω is not = *removeat, i. e., vendat,* but: let him take it (to himself). To find in the exhortation of Our Lord the meaning: He who has a scrip, let him take it to himself to buy a sword with its contents, militates against the context. Jesus says to the disciples: Formerly, at the first (tentative) mission, I told you to go forth without purse or wallet, nevertheless you suffered no want; according to the will of the heavenly Father, the kind disposition of the people did not let you suffer. With this Our Saviour (by the use of νῦν) contrasts circumstances of a different kind when he says: Now begins a period in which the kind disposition of the world is wanting, when, on the contrary, the world will manifest opposition, hostility, and hatred; therefore every one of you must be concerned about his equipment, money in the purse and provisions in the wallet; furthermore, every one of you must henceforth depend upon himself for help, on his own self-defense and personal combat in a hostile world. The combat is expressed by the words: everyone buy a sword. To ὁ μὴ ἔχων may be supplied μάχαιραν, *i. e.,* he who has a purse and a scrip, but no sword, let him buy one, even if he has to sell his coat to do it. However, the exhortation to sell the coat, although money was at their disposal, is not quite intelligible; therefore it will be better to supply: He that has not (*i. e.,* the means, money),

wherewith to buy a sword, let him turn his coat into money and buy a sword, because he will soon be in a position where it will be more advantageous for him to possess a sword than a coat.

Let it not be objected that the instruction, thus understood, is contrary to the charge originally given to the Apostles when they were called. At that time Jesus had ordinary, peaceful conditions in view; now He is speaking of the days of persecution which have come for the disciples; since the prophecy of Isaias (LIII, 12) is on the point of being fulfilled, and Jesus, their Teacher and Master, will be "reckoned with the wicked" and the hatred His enemies harbor against the Messias, will turn also against His followers; contempt and persecution will be their lot. Jesus, who until now was a bulwark to them, will no longer be with them (cfr. Jn. XVI, 4). This much at least the eleven understood, that He spoke of an impending danger, of conflict and tribulation, for they called His attention to the two swords which Peter (cfr. Lk. XXII, 49 ff.) and perhaps another disciple had brought with them to the Cenacle. It is altogether improbable that by the words ἱκανόν ἐστιν Jesus meant to say: The two swords are sufficient. To make this view seem plausible it would be necessary to assume that Jesus spoke in irony (*"egregia armatura, satis instructi estis adversus omnium hostium vim et impetum."*) Irony, however, is incompatible with the seriousness of the situation; therefore it is best to refer the words of Jesus to the preceding conversation: *sufficit, satis est,* or *satis sit.* He broke off the conversation on this subject, not on account of any displeasure or vexation (*desinite tales ineptias proferre*), but with the idea that the further course of events would make His words plain to them.

CHAPTER VI

CHRIST'S FAREWELL DISCOURSES

(Jn. XIV, 1 to XVII, 26)

It would not be the correct thing in a history of the Passion to subject the farewell discourses of Our Lord to a detailed analysis. We must confine ourselves to a discussion of their chief contents, their general significance, and the position they occupy in the sequence of events.

These discourses, delivered in the Cenacle immediately before Christ's departure for Mount Olivet, bear a peculiar imprint, as compared with the discourses of Jesus reported by the Synoptics, and also with those recorded by John in the first thirteen chapters of his Gospel. Whilst the latter, for the most part discussions of the intrinsic character, office, and mission of the Messias, His descent from and return to Heaven, the bread of life, etc., were addressed chiefly to unbelievers (Judeans who opposed Our Lord in Capharnaum and Jerusalem), the discourses of the night of the 14th Nisan were intended exclusively for the eleven Apostles sanctified by the reception of the Holy Eucharist, and contained significant information respecting His relations to the Father, His eternal consubstantiality with the Father, the purpose of His Incarnation, His return to the Father, and his activity after His departure. It must be borne in mind that precisely in this hour of leave-taking the disciples made a formal profession of their faith in His divinity (Jn. XVI, 30); but the language which Our Lord employs in addressing this small circle, is that of ineffable

love, and throughout His discourse runs an undercurrent of admonition, consolation, promise and encouragement.

The announcement of His departure and the prediction of the dispersion of the Apostles and the denial of Peter, naturally aroused sentiments of grief and anxiety in the Apostles. Therefore Jesus in XIV, 1–10 addresses to them words of comfort by calling their attention to the future reunion: "In my Father's house there are many mansions," *i. e.,* there is room enough for all of you. If not, I would have told you so; for I came from there, and hence am well acquainted with conditions there; and "I go to prepare a place for you; and I will come again, and will take you to myself" (XIV, 1–4). The disciples did not understand Jesus. They fancied that the place whither He would go was somewhere on earth, a sort of a Messianic palace, possibly, where He would exercise His dominion. Hence the remark of Thomas: "We know not whither thou goest; and how can we know the way?" Jesus proceeds to enlighten them regarding the Father: "I am the way, and the truth, and the life; no man cometh to the Father, but by me. . . . I go to the Father,"—and this is also your goal, which you will reach if you will walk on the road that I have pointed out to you by my doctrine and example, that is, if you will embrace the truth I have brought you from Heaven with a lively faith and make the life, which I am myself, your own (in the Holy Eucharist; cfr. Jn. VI, 35). The disciples, Jesus goes on to say, have had sufficient opportunity to know the Father by becoming acquainted with Himself, who is the true Son of God. This knowledge, of course, is as yet imperfect and will become perfect only with the descent of the Holy Ghost; Jn. XIV, 5–7).

Far from grasping this profound relation, Philip naïvely says: "Lord, shew us the Father [directly], and it is enough for us." With a gentle reproach Jesus declines the request as unwarranted, as the disciples by their long intercourse with Him should be able to see the consubstantial Son of God and

thus God himself. There exists, he goes on to say, complete consubstantiality between myself and the Father: the words which I speak to you, I speak as one of the same essence with the Father, "and the Father, who abideth in me, doth the works." My word and my works vouch for the truth that I am consubstantial with the Father. (Jn. XIV, 8–11; cfr. V, 17 ff.).

A second word of comfort Our Lord speaks to His disciples by promising them a great miraculous activity after His return to the Father (healing of the sick, raising of the dead), and by pointing to the power of consecration which He had conferred on them. In virtue of this power, He says, you will command the glorified Godman whenever you celebrate the Eucharist. As the glorified Godman, He will, from the plenitude of His divine power, grant the petition which you address to the Father in union with me and for the purpose of glorifying Him (XIV, 12–14).

A third word of comfort Our Lord offers to His disciples by promising to send them the Holy Ghost as His representative (Jn. XIV, 15–17; cfr. VII, 38 f.; XIV, 26; XV, 26; XVI, 26, XVI, 7 ff.).

A fourth source of comfort is His promise of being with them on the day of the Resurrection. It is undoubtedly to this event that He refers in Jn. XIV, 18 ff.: "I will not leave you orphans; I will come to you [again]; yet a little while, and the world [*i. e.,* Jerusalem, as the representative of the unbelieving world] seeth me no more [*i. e.,* with bodily eyes]; but you see me, because I live [a life over which death itself has no power; a reference to His divine nature], and you shall live [the promise of reunion after the panic and flight, and the promise of a life in Christ in consequence of partaking of His glorified flesh in the Eucharist]. In that day [ἐκείνη ἡ ἡμέρα, the day of my visible reappearance, refers, as in Jn. XVI, 23, to the day of the Resurrection] you shall know that I am in my Father [*i. e.,* consubstantial with the Father, of the same divine nature as He],

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and you in me, and I in you,"—in consequence of your partaking of the Holy Eucharist. I say "you," for "he who [like you] hath my commandments and keepeth them, he it is that loves me; and he that loveth me, shall be loved of my Father; and I will love him, and will manifest myself to him," *i. e.*, grant to him a revelation of my divine δόξα.

The peculiar contrast "you" and "the world" attracted the attention of Judas Thaddeus, the brother of James; he was surprised at the declaration of Jesus that He would appear to the disciples without appearing to the world [Jerusalem]. Jesus repeats His utterance in somewhat different words: "If any one love me, he will keep my word, and my Father will love him, and we will come [from heaven] to him, and will make our abode with him." By the last words Our Savior paraphrases the ἐμφανίσω αὐτῷ ἐμαυτόν; He, so to speak, brings the Father with Him on the evening of the Resurrection, inasmuch as He comes in the heavenly δόξα of the Father, and thereby manifests Himself as "being in the Father," *i. e.*, consubstantial with Him. To the world (*i. e.*, Jerusalem, more particularly the hierarchs) He will not appear after His Resurrection from the dead, because the world did not "come to Him," did not accept His divine doctrine, and therefore never entered into relations with him (XIV, 18–24) [Note 1].

Then He once more recapitulates the words of consolation which He had spoken to them, once more intimates His near departure, and exhorts them to be without fear by pointing to the operation of the Holy Ghost, the Spirit, whom the Father, jointly and in connection with Him, the Son (cfr. Jn. XVI, 7), will send because of His (Christ's) prayer and merits, and who will effect in them a correct and complete understanding of His doctrine. Wherever this Spirit will take up His abode, there shall be true and blissful peace. The approaching separation is for them not a cause of fear, but rather of joy, because His departure will be followed by the glorification of His human nature. "The Father," He says, "is greater than I"

am now, for He possesses the divine δόξα, which I, as Godman, must as yet forego, but in which I shall share at my Resurrection. Jesus also states the reason why He already now announces His going to the Father: "I have told you before it come to pass, that when it shall come to pass, you may believe,"—namely, that I go to the Father and shall come back again. He had in mind the evening of the Resurrection (Jn. XX, 19 ff.), when He would appear to His disciples in a glorified body, and it would be difficult for them to believe that it was He.

Our Saviour closes His discourse for the present by exhorting His disciples to arise and go hence, because "the prince of this world cometh," *i. e.*, Judas with the cohort of soldiers and servants is approaching (cfr. Lk. IV, 13). True, Judas has no power over him; nevertheless, He will allow Himself to be taken captive; His going into death is a free act of love and obedience (Jn. XIV, 25–31).

Before Our Lord definitively leaves the supper-room, however, He continues His discourse and, standing in the midst of his disciples, instructs them, by means of the parable of the vine and the grapes, on the necessity of an intimate union between Him and His disciples, as well as on the necessity of bringing forth good fruit. He Himself is the vine, and His Father is the husbandman. He compares His disciples to the branches, and exhorts them to abide in Him constantly in a most intimate union. In such a union the Apostles are now, because they are in a state of perfect purity (ἤδη ὑμεῖς καθαροί ἐστε; Jn. XV. 3). They had been cleansed at the beginning of the public life of Jesus by the Messianic Baptism, and were born again unto supernatural life (cfr. Jn. I, 12 f.; III, 1 ff.); from that time, the Saviour by His teaching had shown them the way to preserve this purity [Note 2], had cleansed them, by washing their feet, from the imperfections contracted in consequence of their human frailty, had nourished their souls with His body and blood in the Eucharist, and endowed them

with supernatural strength and grace to produce the fruit of supernatural works. Because they had entered into an intimate union with Him, especially by the reception of the Holy Eucharist (cfr. Jn. VI, 54–57), they must now continue in this union; for "as the branch cannot bear fruit by itself [by its own power; ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ] unless it abide in the vine, [*i. e.*, receives the fruit-producing sap from the vine], so neither can you [do good works] unless you abide in me." This union is the *conditio sine qua non* of performing supernaturally meritorious works; the dissolution of this union with Christ must lead to the same evil consequences which at the time of the discourse had in part come to pass in Judas, and terminate in the eternal pains of hell, whilst the prayer of those who remain in communion with Christ shall be heard (XV, 7). This union with Christ, however, can be maintained only by a repeated partaking of his flesh and blood in the Eucharist, by which they constantly receive and sustain the power of exemplifying His lessons in their life and glorify the Father by producing abundant fruit and becoming perfect disciples. As a motive for abiding in Christ, Our Lord impresses upon the Apostles His love for them: He also has kept His Father's commandments, *i. e.*, has undertaken the work of salvation according to the will of the Father, has established the Messianic Kingdom, has given His flesh and blood as a nourishment of souls, and, by instituting the Eucharist, has become the bread of life. The finishing touch has already been put to His work by the giving of His life; therefore the Apostles (and all his disciples) should keep His commandments, exemplifying in life the truths of salvation which He had taught them. If they follow His exhortation to abide in His love and union with Him, their joy shall constantly grow more perfect, become more like to His own joy, which He constantly has because of His union with the Father. United most intimately with Christ, the disciples must also be joined together in charity, showing each other true fraternal love in sentiment and deed. As the Savior, by giving

His flesh and blood as a nourishment of souls, gave to His own the greatest proof of His love, and soon will crown His love by giving His life for them in death, so the mutual love of the disciples should be efficacious, in certain circumstances even to the extent of laying down their life for the brethren. As a motive He holds up to them His love for them: He has made known to them the divine plan of salvation; out of pure love He has segregated them from the world and appointed them to go forth into the world and, by bringing people into the Kingdom of God, gather fruit unto life everlasting (cfr. Jn. IV, 36); when they therefore bring forth fruit, all their prayers shall be heard (XV, 1–7). Of course, the union of the disciples with Christ will not save them from severe trials, enmities, and persecution on the part of the world. The latter, *i. e.,* in the first place the Jewish rulers, the hierarchs and doctors of the law, will now turn their hatred against the disciples (the Church). This hatred has its root in the hatred they harbor against Him. Because the disciples belong to Him, confess His name, and testify to His Messiaship by preaching the Gospel, they shall be hated, despised, and persecuted by the world. This hatred is born of (culpable) ignorance of the Father and the Son: "If I had not come into the world and spoken to them, they would not have sin," *i. e.,* if I had not come forward with the characteristic signs (miracles) of the Messias and the Son of God, and had not explained their significance in respect to my divine Sonship (especially in the discourse on the feast of Pentecost, Jn. V), the Jewish hierarchs, the representatives of an unbelieving world, would be excusable on account of their ignorance; if I had not done among them miraculous works (especially in Jerusalem) that no other (prophet) ever did, they would not have sin; but now they have seen both the Father (in the pool of Bethesda) and me work miracles, and they hate both me and my Father. The world (*i. e.,* primarily the hierarchs and Scribes) by its hostile attitude causes a prophecy of the Psalmist (LXIX,

5) to be fulfilled: "They hated me [David, prefiguring the Messias] without [just] cause." Our Saviour at the same time insinuates that "the world" shall soon satiate its hatred against Him by crucifying Him, by which crime, however, merely another prophetical testimony for His Messianity and divine sonship shall be fulfilled; *i. e.,* the descent of Holy Ghost, whom He will send into the world after His return to Heaven. Our Saviour does not mean by this an interior testimony in the souls of the faithful, but the operation of the Holy Ghost in glossolaly, prophecy, etc. (the testimony of the charismata; cfr. Acts II, 1 ff.; 1 Cor. 12–14). The Apostles also, as eye-witnesses of the Messianic facts, shall give strong testimony of Him (Jn. XV, 18–27).

To protect His disciples against scandal, discouragement, and desertion when the hostility of the world began, Our Savior foretells the dour vicissitudes of their career: unbelieving Jewdom will place you under the ban of the Synagogue (Jn. IX, 22); yea, the hour will come when, whosoever kills you will think he does a service to God. This also is a result of culpable ignorance of my Father and my divine sonship.[1] This information regarding the full measure of Israel's enmity I deem necessary for you now that I am about to leave you. I go (through death) to the Father; but none of you has the courage (cfr. XIII, 36 and XIV, 5) to ask: Whither goest thou? Because of the sorrow which has filled your hearts, you abstain from asking such a question; but my departure is not a cause for sadness, but rather a source of joy; for it is the *conditio sine qua non* of my sending you the Holy Ghost. His activity will be far-reaching: He will convince the world, *i. e.,* unbelieving Jewdom, of sin, and of justice, and of judgment, *i. e.,* He will show that sin exists by pointing out the fact that the majority of the Jews did not believe, and do not believe now, in His Messianity and divinity, despite all the proofs

[1] Concerning the fulfilment of this prediction, cfr. Acts IV, V, VII, VIII, XII.

which Jesus gave to them in word and deed. By ἁμαρτία Our Lord means precisely the sin of unbelief; the Holy Ghost will, moreover, convince the world of justice, *i. e.,* He will show that Jesus Christ is the just one κατ' ἐξοχήν (1 Jn. III, 7). Though the world, here again chiefly the Jewish hierarchs and rulers, declared Him to be a sinner, a breaker of the Sabbath, and a blasphemer of the Holy Ghost, the Apostles, filled with the Holy Ghost, will demonstrate the guiltlessness, innocence, and justice of Jesus by pointing to the fact that He goes (has gone) to the Father and that He can be seen on earth no more, by pointing to the Resurrection and Ascension, by which He has been proved to be the "holy one of God" (Acts II, 22 ff.). Finally, the Holy Ghost will convince the world of judgment, *i. e.,* He will show that there is a judgment, which the unbelieving world will incur when by the death of Jesus condemnation shall be pronounced upon its prince and ruler, the devil (cfr. Col. II, 14–15). This judgment shall be brought to a close at the end of the world by the glorified Son of Man (cfr. Jn. V, 22). The Holy Ghost will unfold a fruitful activity, above all in the Apostles themselves; He will be their guide in all truth: I myself have told you only that which I have heard of my Father in my pre-existence (cfr. VIII, 26); the Holy Ghost will teach you what He has heard of the Father and me; He, the Spirit of the Father and the Son, will make clear to you what is now hidden from you, but He will also show you the things that are to come (Jn. XVI, 1–15; cfr. the Apocalypse).

Having promised the Holy Ghost, Jesus now takes occasion to announce His own early return, *i. e.,* His apparition on the day of the Resurrection (cfr. Jn. XIV, 18 ff.). A little while and you shall not see me, and again a little while and you shall see me. His disciples do not understand Him, and, strengthened by the words of comfort He has just uttered, ask Him what He means. He explains His meaning more clearly: The separation caused by my death (on the 15th Nisan) shall terminate

on the day of the Resurrection, when you shall see me again. [Note 3]. During the hours and days of separation you shall lament and weep over me as one dead, whilst the world, *i. e.*, the hierarchs and Sanhedrists together with the unbelieving people of Jerusalem, triumph over my apparent destruction. But your sorrow shall pass as quickly as the sorrows of a woman in travail, and on the very day of my Resurrection, it shall suddenly be turned into joy,—an everlasting joy which shall not be taken away from you. On this day, in the morning and in the course of the day of the Resurrection, you will not ask me anything, because I shall then no longer be with you bodily, and you will be in doubt and uncertainty as to my whereabouts, and will continually weep and lament as if I were still dead. But if you, on this day, for the first time in my name, referring to me and my promises, will address to the Father a petition, no matter how bold it may be (the prayer for the return of the Lord on the day of the Resurrection is meant), the Father will grant it, and this He will do of himself (αὐτός), without any intercession on my part, because you have loved me and have believed in me as the Son of God who came down from Heaven. For I came from the Father, and as the eternal Son of God I have taken the form of a servant, and now I am on the point of leaving the world and returning to the Father' (XVI, 16–28).

Our Saviour in this discourse (XV, 2, 3, 4) had repeatedly alluded to His approaching return to the Father, but obscurely and by way of insinuation. He now declares that on the day of the Resurrection He will plainly tell them of His return to the Father, *i. e.*, through Mary Magdalen (cfr. Jn. XX, 17; XX, 17: ἀναβαίνω πρὸς τὸν πατέρα). Now the disciples understand the meaning of His words: "I leave the world again, and I go to the Father" (XVI, 23), and say to Him: "Behold, now thou speakest plainly, and speakest no proverb; now [in contrast to XVI, 17] we know that thou knowest all things, and thou needest not that any man should ask thee"; thou hast

given a new proof of thy omniscience by answering our silent question (XVI, 19); "by this we believe that thou camest forth from God." However, Our Lord knows their weakness better than they themselves. "Do you now believe?" he says to them in affectionate sadness; "behold, the hour cometh, and it is now come, that you shall be scattered every man to his own [house], and shall leave me alone" (flight of the disciples in the Garden of Olives in the night from the 14th to the 15th Nisan). I shall bring my work to a victorious finish. And you, he adds consolingly, shall be brought back from your flight and dispersion to be reunited with each other and with me (on the evening of the Resurrection), and in union with me, not to be interrupted any more, lies your true peace, which will recompense you for all the tribulations the world will inflict on you. Be of good cheer, you shall overcome the world, as I have overcome it (XVI, 29–33). Whilst the Apostles from the start (XIV, 1 ff.) had understood the discourse of Jesus on Heaven and its many mansions as of a palace somewhere on earth and easily reached on foot, in which the Father (together with the Holy Ghost) would dwell as in the Temple at Jerusalem, they now perceived that He was going to depart from this earth; but they were still in the dark as to the time of the departure.

To the words of admonition, comfort, encouragement, and promise Our Lord adds a prayer, in which He recommends to His heavenly Father Himself, His disciples, and all faithful believers. He combines with this prayer some further instructions. Emphasizing the importance of the moment and of the prayer by lifting His eyes to Heaven, He first of all prays for His own glorification, *i. e.*, for the transfiguration of His human nature. He asks the Father to grant His prayer because He (the Father) has given Him Messianic power over all flesh, that He may give eternal life to all believers. His divinely appointed work on earth has been accomplished, so far as it could be (the death on the cross is here fancied as having al-

ready occurred); when the Father has glorified His human nature, He will, as the Exalted One, consummate His work through the Church for the glorification of the Father (Jn. XVII, 1–5). He has manifested the name of the Father to those who "have come to him," that is, whom the Father Himself has chosen, "drawn" to Him by the action of grace on their intellect and will (cfr. VI, 37 ff.); these (the disciples) have let themselves be taught by Him and have kept the word of God; for they have known that His activity is divine; he has merely communicated to them the words which the Father gave Him, and what he has heard from the Father in his pre-existence, and they received them and have known in very deed that He came from the Father, and they have believed in Him as the one sent by the Father. For these, then, whom the Father has given Him, *i. e.*, for His Apostles and disciples, the Lord prays, and expects the prayer to be heard, because the disciples are the property of the Father as much as of the Son, and because, by their faith in Him as the only-begotten of the Father, they have glorified the Son, whose glory involves that of the Father. Now He asks the Father to preserve His disciples in union with Him, because He Himself, who brought them to a knowledge and to a confession of the divine essence on earth, protected them against all adverse powers and preserved them all except the wretched Judas, is on the point of departing from this world to return to the Father. It is, however, necessary that they remain in perfect unity of faith; for unity of faith is an indispensable condition which has its prototype in the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son. May the Father hear the prayer of the Son, who is about to take leave of the disciples, that they who remain in the world may have the same joy which He Himself constantly has on account of His union with the Father. Inasmuch as the disciples are to exercise their vocation in the world, may the Father keep them unharmed from the power of the devil, who is the author of persecution. However, not only does the Saviour ask the Father

to protect His disciples from danger, but also to sanctify them in truth, *i. e.,* to anoint them with the Holy Ghost, by whom He Himself, "the word of God," has been anointed from all eternity. This anointment is necessary for them, because they are to go forth into the world to give testimony of the truth. But first of all He sanctifies Himself for them and for all men, that they may be sanctified in truth, *i. e.,* He would of his own free will surrender His life in death, that sin may be blotted out and human nature be elevated to a state of holiness (Jn. XVII, 6–19) [Note 4]. But not only does Our Lord pray for His Apostles, He also prays for all who will be His own in the future, that all may be one, *i. e.,* in a most intimate union with the Father and with Christ (by faith, Baptism, and the Eucharist). By such a union of the faithful, *i. e.,* the members of the Church, the world is to be brought to a belief in the divinity of the Founder. However, in order that this purpose of unity and mutual love of the faithful may be attained, according to the prototype of the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son, Jesus communicated to them (*i. e.,* those who are His own) the δόξα which the Father gave Him for the purpose of transfiguring His flesh in the Eucharist, *i. e.,* He gave them His glorified body as food and nourishment for the soul. Whilst Our Lord thus takes up His abode in the faithful, in a similar way in which the Father abides in the Son, perfect unity is effected among the faithful (cfr. XV, 1). This unity is to be an evidence of the divine mission of Jesus and of the love of the Father for those belonging to Jesus, because only divine grace, given in love to man, can produce among the faithful a union similar to the one which unites God the Father with Christ from all eternity.

Now Our Saviour in a loving and insistent manner passes on to his last petition,—the prayer for the completion of the glory which begins for all His faithful followers in faith, Baptism, and the Eucharist, by which the germ of eternal life is implanted also in the body. All who will believe in His name

shall sooner or later arrive where He is, *i.e.*, in Heaven, where He, as the only-begotten Son, existed in the bosom of the Father (I, 2) in the beginning (I, 1), before the creation of the world, and whither He now returns as one who will be glorified also according to the flesh. Detach,—thus He concludes his prayer to the Father,—detach in Thy justice the lot of the Apostles and all the faithful from that of the world. For the world (primarily the Jewish hierarchs and their following), did not know Thee, although I manifested Thy name; the former, however, recognized me as Thy ambassador. This revelation I (as the glorified Godman) shall continue in the Church through the Holy Ghost, that men may know God and be most intimately united with the Father and the Son in the love of grace, even as the Son is united with the Father by the love of nature (XVII, 20–26). [Note 5.]

1. Jn. XIV, 18–24 offers difficulties, and the exegesis of the passage varies. Many authors understand by the coming which Jesus promises to His disciples, His return for the Last Judgment at the end of the world, or the spiritual coming of Jesus in the mission of the Holy Ghost. Schegg, basing on St. Cyril, has adopted the latter interpretation. He holds that the words of Jesus contain a new declaration, in which He emphasizes that His disciples will remain united with Him in spite of the separation, as He comes to them in the spirit of truth. The former interpretation is now pretty generally recognized as untenable, while the latter still has some defenders. However, they are in the wrong. By His coming Jesus unmistakably means His Resurrection. The word ἔρχομαι (XIV, 18) alone is decisive against the former view. While it is indeed true that Our Lord in the hour of leave-taking spoke somewhat obscurely and enigmatically (ἐν παροιμίαις), as the disciples noticed and remarked (cfr. XVI, 29); if He had used ἔρχομαι in the sense of those exegetes (*i.e.*, the Holy Ghost will come), His manner of speaking would be not only obscure, but positively misleading. He speaks definitely of His approaching return to the Father (XIV, 1 ff.; XIV, 28; XVI, 5), and it was precisely on this account that the disciples were filled with sadness (cfr. XVI, 6); if in this connection He speaks of a "coming (again)," He could have meant it only as applying to a *personal* coming. All doubt vanishes in view

of XIV, 28, where Our Lord says: "I go away, and I come unto you [again]." Here ἔρχομαι can only be understood of His return in a glorified body; this occurred on the evening of the Resurrection, behind closed doors (Jn. XX, 19 ff.). The ἔρχομαι in XIV, 18, therefore, must have precisely the same meaning. We meet again with the same thought, together with the verb θεωρεῖν, in Jn. XVI, 16: only a little while (*i. e.*, until my death), and you shall not see me, and again a little while, and you shall see me (again), *i. e.*, on the day of my Resurrection. It is useless to waste any words on the artificial explanations employed by the defenders of the above mentioned view in elucidating the word θεωρεῖν: but a short time, *i. e.*, until the death and departure of Jesus, and the world will no longer see Him with the mental eye. As a matter of fact the words of Jesus mean: But a little while, *i. e.*, until my death, and the world (Jerusalem) will not see me any more with its bodily eyes; you, however, will see me as the risen Saviour. True, the second time θεωρεῖν is employed in its pregnant sense, followed by a ὅτι-clause. Hence we translate it as follows: "and you see that I live."

However, we cannot content ourselves with this refutation. Some exegetes agree with us in holding that Our Saviour, by ἔρχομαι, has His Resurrection in mind; but they deny that by ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ (XIV, 20) He meant to designate definitely the day of the Resurrection. We cannot admit the correctness of this interpretation. As surely as ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ means the day of the Resurrection in XVI, 23, so surely has it the same meaning in XIV, 20. When Our Savior says: ὅτι ζῶ καὶ ὑμεῖς ζήσετε (XIV, 19), the sentence is not argumentative, but explanatory. It means: You see that I live, that there is eternal, everlasting life in me (cfr. Jn. I, 4), that I live in virtue of my divine nature; but you also see that you will live. Here Our Lord has in view the effect of their eating His glorified flesh. When promising them the Holy Eucharist, He had said: He that eats this bread shall not die, but live forever (Jn. VI, 50 f.) and had directed the attention of those who doubted the possibility of such a thing, to His Resurrection and return to Heaven (VI, 62). When, therefore, He shows Himself to them on the day of His Resurrection in His glorified body, they shall know that, in virtue of their eating His glorified body, they will live forever, *i. e.*, pass through death into eternal life. Essentially the same truth is enunciated in Jn. XIV, 20: "In that day you shall know that I am [consubstantial with] my Father [because he has loved me from all eternity and from all eternity has given me life], and you in me, and I in you," *i. e.*, that there exists between me and you a most intimate communion of life, in consequence of your partaking of me in the Eucharist. Although the

Gospels do not speak of a celebration of the Eucharistic banquet on the evening of the Resurrection, we can hardly doubt that it was held at this meeting and on the octave of the Resurrection.

Finally, the ἐμφανίσω αὐτῷ ἐμαυτόν (XIV, 21) also contains strong evidence in favor of our view: I shall expose myself in this view, *i. e.,* I shall appear to him in my glorified body. This event, according to the Evangelist, occurred on the evening of the Resurrection (cfr. Lk. XXIV, 36 ff.).

Christ's answer to Judas Thaddeus (Jn. XIV, 24) is of a general tenor, but it throws light on the question why Christ does not manifest Himself to the world. Our Saviour says: The Jews, by rejecting my doctrine which is that of God (cfr. Jn. VII, 16), by their disobedience to my word, have made themselves unworthy of a theophany; such will be given as a reward only to those who during my life on earth by obedience to my (divine) word (and by receiving Baptism) have joined me as you have done (cfr. Acts X, 41 sq.). You shall be favored with a theophany on the day of my Resurrection, *i. e.,* I shall appear visibly to your bodily eyes in the δόξα of my Father; I and the Father will come to you, and we will make our abode with you. Thus, too, it shall be in my kingdom: whoever receives my divine doctrine and lives up to it, whoever comes to me under the influence of grace (Jn. VI, 37, 44), to him will I and the Father come, and we will make our abode with him in the Eucharist and in the outpouring of the Holy Ghost (Jn. VII, 38).

As regards Jn. XVI, 23–26, the sole point in question is the day of the Resurrection; curiously enough, this interpretation of the text has receded into the background and most exegetes explain the passage as follows: Our Lord here speaks of the period which begins with the descent of the Holy Ghost. He exhorts the Apostles to ask the Father in His name, and promises that their prayers shall be heard. The Apostles complied with this request, as Our Lord predicted (XVI, 26). This petition the disciples addressed to the Father in Heaven on the day of the Resurrection; the subject-matter was the apparition of the risen Lord in their midst, in order that their sadness and lamentation might end and perfect joy take the place of sorrow. The prayer was answered when the risen Lord appeared, first to Peter, and after that to all the Apostles (with the exception of Thomas) to their unspeakable joy (ἐχάρησαν; XX, 20; cfr. Lk. XXIV, 41: ἀπὸ τῆς χαρᾶς). That the risen Lord on that occasion spoke plainly of the Father is evident from Jn. XX, 21. At the same time, however, we must not forget that the fourth Evangelist, like the Synoptics, gives us only a fragment of the discourse

delivered by Jesus in the supper-room. The subject-matter of Jn. XVI, 23 applies splendidly to the day of Resurrection. On this day the disciples cannot address either questions or petitions to the Lord because in the early morning they imagine Him to be still in the sepulchre, and later in the day they are uncertain as to His whereabouts. Hence it is evident that both in XIV, 20 and in XVI, 20, 26 the day of the Resurrection is meant. Of course, the allusion of Our Lord to this subject, as to so many others in his last discourse, are obscure and enigmatical (*ἐν παροιμίαις*), and to me it is further evidence for the exact reproduction of the discourse by St. John, that so much of it appears obscure and difficult to understand even at the present day; no doubt the Holy Ghost enabled St. John to comprehend it all; but the Apostle wanted to reproduce the last effusion of love of the parting Master without explanatory additions on his own part.

2. What is the meaning of the words of Jesus recorded in Jn. XV, 3? They are usually interpreted to mean that the disciples were interiorly changed and purified by the truths preached by Jesus Christ, the Divine Logos, who is "the power of God unto salvation to everyone that believeth" (Rom. I, 16). This *logion* is regarded as an analogue of the saying of St. James (I, 18): "Of his own will hath he [God] begotten us by the word of truth." We cannot accept this analogy. True, in the passage of St. James, as well as in 1 Peter I, 23, there is question of spiritual regeneration, purification, and justification. This process begins with the preaching of the Gospel, which, when implanted in the hearts of men, is a living germ with driving force. Its first fruit is faith, and faith leads to Baptism (cfr. Acts II, 14–41). The Saviour here does not speak of the purification produced in the Apostles by the word of God, but of the *state of purity* in which they were on account of His word. Mark well the connection with Jn. XV, 2: every branch that bears fruit "he [the husbandman, *i. e.*, the heavenly Father] will purge, that it may bring forth more fruit." This purging is done by tribulation and suffering and an increase of grace. Referring to the Apostles, our Lord says: Such purging for the purpose of increasing fruitfulness is not necessary in your case, as "you are clean by reason of the word which I have spoken to you." This word, therefore, was not the instrumental cause of the purification or justification, but one which showed the disciples, after they had attained justification, how and for what reasons they should remain pure. That the Apostles had experienced forgiveness of sins and sanctification in receiving the Messianic Baptism, has been stated above.

3. Concerning Jn. XVI, 16 ff. exegetes differ. According to Augustine, Bede, Maldonatus and Schegg, the first μικρόν (XVI, 16) denotes the time until the Ascension, the second the time from the Ascension to the triumphant return of Jesus at the end of the world. This interpretation is against the context. Our Lord wishes to console His disciples in view of the coming separation by pointing to the descent of the Holy Ghost (Jn. XVI, 12–15). It is, therefore, very fitting that He should urge upon His disciples still another and even more obvious cause for consolation: Soon after the separation (by death) you shall see me again. The view of St. Augustine, etc., is incompatible with the double μικρόν. Maldonatus felt the difficulty and endeavored to remove it by saying that while the first μικρόν expresses only a relatively short period, namely, the time until the Ascension, the second μικρόν indicates the long period from the Ascension to Christ's return at the end of the world, which may justly be called μικρόν in view of 2 Peter III, 8 and 1 Jn. II, 18. This explanation has long been admitted to be artificial and insufficient, and preference is given by many exegetes to another, according to which the first μικρόν indicates the time until the Ascension and the second the time until the descent of the Holy Ghost. However, this explanation is no better. The words, ὄψεσθέ με, spoken by Our Saviour in the Cenacle, could not be understood in any other sense than that they would see Him again in person. I place more weight upon the words (XVI, 20) by which Jesus enlightens the disciples on the sense of His utterance, *viz.*: "Amen, amen I say to you, that you shall lament and weep, but the world shall rejoice." The former clause evidently refers to the time of separation at His death; the words "your sorrow shall be turned into joy" to His reappearance on the evening of the 17th Nisan. Μικρόν in the first clause is the time from the 15th to the 17th Nisan; at this moment, *i. e.*, shortly after the time He spoke, the next day, the weeping began. The state of mind of the Apostles and disciples during the course of these three days (15th to 17th Nisan) may be gathered from the words of Jesus to the two disciples going to Emmaus: καὶ ἐστάθησαν σκυθρωποί (Lk. XXIV, 17). But when Our Lord says: "Again a little while, and you shall see me, . . . and your sorrow shall be turned into joy" (XVI, 16 and 20), this must positively be referred to the time of His Resurrection, for St. John, who has transmitted to us the parting discourse, says: ἐχάρησαν οὖν οἱ μαθηταὶ ἰδόντες τὸν κύριον (XX, 20). Here we have the ὄψεσθε and the χαρά of Jn. XVI, 16 and 20. Hence it is quite certain that Our Saviour by the first μικρόν means the short interval until His death and by the second the time from His death until His Resurrection, and thus announces to His disciples his early death, His painful separation from them, and His

return at the Resurrection. It was thus the Greek Fathers and exegetes interpreted the passage, and Toletus followed them: *"Modicum* [in the second place] *exponunt de illo tempore brevi, quo mansit subtractus ab oculis discipulorum mortuus."*

4. The utterances of Jesus recorded in Jn. XVII, 17–19 are among the most difficult in the Gospels. The three verses have a close connection, since the (ἡγιασμένοι) ἐν ἀληθείᾳ (v. 19), in spite of the missing article, cannot be different from (ἁγίασον) ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ (v. 17). The key to the passage obviously is the verb ἁγιάζειν. It is commonly defined as meaning, "to dedicate as a sacrifice." Zorell in his dictionary of New Testament Greek explains ἁγιάζω ἐμαυτόν (v. 19) thus: *"pro iis ego me ipse victimam destino* (Ex. XIII, 2; Dt. XV, 19)." This meaning fits verse 19, but not verse 17: ἁγίασον αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ = sanctify them in the truth. It does not seem admissible to interpret the verb in two different senses in what is practically one and the same passage. Jesus had previously spoken of His intention to immolate Himself as a victim for the salvation of mankind. He regarded that immolation as having already taken place (cfr. Jn. XVII, 4). Ἁγιάζειν (XVII, 19) must have essentially the same meaning as the following ἡγιασμένοι and the preceding ἁγίασον. To get at this meaning we may compare Jn. X, 36: ὃν ὁ πατὴρ ἡγίασεν καὶ ἀπέστειλεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον, *i. e.*, whom God the Father, before sending Him into the world (*i. e.*, from all eternity) begot as His consubstantial (cfr. X, 30, 38) Son (X, 36: υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ) by communicating to Him His divine life (ζωή; I, 4; V, 26), or, what is the same thing, His holy (divine) justice (essence), the πνεῦμα ἅγιον (= πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης; Rom. I, 4). Therefore He is true God (ἀληθινὸς θεός or ὁ ἀληθινὸς θεός; Jn. V, 20), just like the Father (cfr. XVI, 3: σὲ τὸν μόνον ἀληθινὸν θεὸν καὶ ὃν ἀπέστειλας Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν = ἡγιασμένον), with whom He shares the ἀλήθεια, *i. e.*, divine nature (XIV, 6). Accordingly, we interpret Jn. XVII, 17 sqq. as follows: Sanctify them (the Apostles) in Thy divine essence, that is, fill them with the divine power that emanates from me (πνεῦμα ἅγιον); for I, Thy Logos (Jn. I, 1), am of the same divine essence with Thee; as Thou hast sent me, thus shall I send them out into the world, for which mission they are predestined and well prepared (ἀπέστειλα), and therefore I sanctify (deify) myself (in my human nature) also for them, that they in turn may be sanctified in the divine essence, *i. e.*, filled with the Holy Spirit (πνεῦμα ἅγιον) and enabled to absolve the fallen faithful from their sins and to sanctify them (cfr. 1 Clem., LX, 2; καθάρισον ἡμᾶς τὸν καθαρισμὸν τῆς ἀληθείας, κτλ.). Thus understood, the passage contains a prophecy, which was fulfilled on the day of Christ's

Resurrection (Jn. XX, 20 ff.). This prophecy and the Saviour's magnificent declaration of His true Godhead were a sufficient reason for St. John to receive the passage into his Gospel.

5. The prayer transmitted to us in Jn. XVII has been called since Chrytraeus (+ 1600) the "highpriestly prayer" of Christ. Our Lord addressed it to the Father at the moment when He was about to sacrifice His life for the human race. He asked the Father to preserve His followers in unity and protect them against evil. We will briefly set forth the doctrinal elements of the prayer. What was said in the prologue about the being and essence of the Logos, about His relation to the Father, we find repeated in this discourse or prayer of Jesus in the supper-room. Our Lord declares Himself to be the (only-begotten) Son of God, who possessed the divine δόξα from all eternity, became man "in the fulness of time" (cfr. Gal. IV, 4), announced as man to men "that which he had heard of the Father"; he has communicated grace (especially the Eucharist) and truth to the world out of His inexhaustible abundance. Through death He will return to the Father, to be glorified in Heaven also according to the flesh, and to send down the Spirit of truth upon the disciples, who remain in the world (cfr. Jn. XVII, 1–5).[2]

[2] For a beautiful explanation of the farewell discourses of Our Divine Saviour see P. W. von Keppler, *Unseres Herrn Trost,* 1887.

SECTION II

THE EVENTS ON MOUNT OLIVET

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

The four Gospels agree in every essential concerning the events that happened on Mount Olivet. St. Matthew's account is the most copious, whilst St. Mark and still more St. Luke exhibit a certain brevity and terseness. St. Luke does not mention the hymn in the Cenacle nor the taking of the three privileged disciples to be witnesses of the touching scene of the agony, nor the *triple* prayer of Jesus in the garden. Recapitulating and condensing the accounts of his two predecessors, the third Evangelist tells only a single going forward to pray, but he states precisely how far Jesus withdrew from His disciples. On the other hand, we owe to St. Luke as well as to St. Mark several supplementary and amplifying remarks; to Mark especially the one regarding the young man who after the capture of Jesus followed Him part of the way and then fled, leaving his coat behind; of especial significance in St. Luke's Gospel is the account of the bloody sweat and the comforting of Jesus an angel. St. John's account contains nothing of the triple prayer or of the agony of Jesus, but amplifies the Synoptic description of His arrest. St. Luke goes somewhat beyond SS. Matthew and Mark when he mentions a detachment of the Temple guards with their officers and some of the high priest as participating in the arrest; however, it is St. John who makes the important addition regarding the participation in the nocturnal expedition of "the cohort" (Roman soldiers under the command of a tribune) as also regarding

their sudden falling to the ground when Our Lord said: "I am he," *i. e.,* He whom you seek. Finally the characteristic relation in which the Synoptics and John stand to each other, is brought out in bold relief also in the narrative of the events on Mount Olivet: the former set forth the external aspects of the life of Christ, while St. John lays more stress on the *pneumatic* side. In the Synoptics, Jesus appears to us in His most profound exinanition, as a suppliant prostrate on the ground, oppressed by fear and tormented by the thought of death; in St. John's Gospel we see Him in His divine majesty and power, triumphantly meeting His adversaries who came to arrest him, delivering Himself up to them voluntarily. This is the *other side* of the picture, by which the portrait sketched by the Synoptics is supplemented and completed, but not altered. In complete agreement with his general purpose St. John describes the life of Christ from the viewpoint of the δόξα (cfr. I, 14). This tendency finds its explanation in the circumstances under which he wrote his Gospel. He opposes the Jewish and Judaistic heretics who denied the Messianic character of Jesus by pointing to his Passion and ignominious death on the Cross (cfr. 1 Cor. I, 23). In view of such opponents St. John by no means passes over in silence the manifestations of the human nature of Jesus (cfr. IV, 6; XI, 38; XIII, 21; XIV, 30); but he shows a predilection for exhibiting the glory (δόξα) of Christ in a strong light even in the midst of His suffering.

CHAPTER I

CHRIST'S AGONY IN THE GARDEN

(Mt. XXVI, 30 and 36–40; Mk. XIV, 26 and 32–42; Lk. XXII, 39–46; Jn. XVIII, 1)

Having finished His farewell discourse and prayer, Jesus, at about 10 o'clock in the evening, set out from the Cenacle in the direction of Mount Olivet, which was situated to the East of Jerusalem. The road led over the brook Cedron, a wady between Jerusalem and Mount Olivet which contains water only during the rainy winter season. At the foot of Mt. Olivet, not far from the left bank of the brook, was a garden (Mt. XXVI, 36; Mk. XIV, 32: χωρίον; Jn. XVIII, 1: κῆπος), called Gethsemani, *i. e.*, wine-press, which had served Our Lord during his former visits and during the first days of the Passion-week as a retreat, a place for recollection and prayer (Jn. XVIII, 2; Lk. XXII, 39; cfr. Lk. XXI, 37; Jn. VIII, 1).

Immediately upon entering this lonely retreat He ordered eight of his disciples to sit near the entrance, whilst He, with Peter, James, and John (Mt. XXVI, 37; Mk. XIV, 33), proceeded further into the garden. Only those of His disciples who had seen him in His transfiguration on the mountain were to witness His most profound abasement. Whilst Jesus was walking with the three disciples in the garden, a terrible anguish came upon Him, which manifested itself in an agitation and trembling of the body. He began to be sad and distressed, emitted a loud cry, and shed tears (cfr. Hebr. V, 7). He began, say the two first Evangelists, to emphasize strongly the beginning of the long (2–3 hours) state of emotion in-

augurating the agony and to indicate that He abandoned Himself of his own free will to the emotions of sadness and distress, and in this very thing lies the essence and the significance of the soul struggle and the agony of Jesus: entirely of His own accord, before any external force attacks and rushes upon Him, He inaugurates the sacrifice and voluntarily sheds His blood in His capacity as high priest or sacrificing priest, as St. Paul says (Hebr. V, 7). "My soul is sorrowful unto death," He says to His three beloved disciples, to express the *degree* of his sadness. His agony was so great that His heart threatened to break and cause sudden death. He asks the three disciples to remain awake and thus give him some comfort; then He leaves them, going "about a stone's throw" away (Lk. XXII, 41). The distance from His disciples was, therefore, not so great as to prevent them from witnessing His agony and prayer. [Note 1.]

The anguish of his heart manifested itself in His external attitude as well as in the subject-matter of His prayer. He fell on His knees, His face bent to the ground, and prayed: "Father, if it be possible, let this chalice pass from me." From the tenor of the prayer we can gather at least partly the causes of His agony and sorrow. Jesus at this moment experienced a foretaste (*praegustavit*) of the magnitude and awfulness of His coming Passion and death on the Cross. His human nature recoiled from the tortures and sufferings and struggled against dissolution,—the more because in His pure, sinless humanity body and soul were most intimately united and sin had not paved the way for a separation of body and soul, as in ordinary mortals. Furthermore, Jesus perceived the immense guilt of mankind, which He, the sinless and holy one, was to take upon Himself and expiate by His sacrificial death. Furthermore, His mind was occupied with the anxiety which in every human heart precedes a sacrifice and worry in deliberating on the question of its possible efficacy. While doing this His eyes turned to the present as well as to the distant future. He

saw the treason of Judas, the flight of the Apostles, the denial of Peter, the impenitence and obduracy of the Jews and their rejection (the destruction of Jerusalem), the future sufferings of His disciples and friends, the numerous attacks on His work, the persecutions of the Church until the end of time, the lukewarmness, perversity, and malice of so many Christians, innumerable sacrileges and scandals. Finally, we must, according to certain statements in St. Matthew (XVI, 23) and St. Luke (XXII, 53[b]; cfr. IV, 13 and Jn. XIV, 30), think of severe attacks by the devil. The Fathers of the Church compare the agony of Jesus with His temptation in the desert. Satan could base his attacks on the natural dread of death.

Does Our Saviour ask the Father to preserve Him from further suffering and from death on the Cross, and to accept His past deeds and sufferings as sufficient for the expiation of sin? It is commonly held that this cannot have been the purpose of His prayer in the garden, since Jesus knew the divine decree according to which His death and Resurrection were an essential part of the work imposed upon Him. (Mt. XVI, 21; cfr. Lk. XXIV, 25 ff.); it was precisely the divine decree, so well known to Him, that caused His agony. Very true; but this does not preclude that Jesus, *as man,* in view of what was coming, should beg to be spared. We must view His prayer as an effect of the agony. His soul, distressed by the terrors of death, instinctively burst out into a cry for supernatural help, deliverance, and consolation. This cry is incomprehensible except from the human point of view. Jesus finds the chalice bitter and He expresses this emotion. With an unspeakably terrible force He experiences all the woefulness and dread capable of being produced by sin and evil. However, His reason and will immediately seek in prayer and union with the Father the courage and determination to empty the chalice to the dregs and to carry out the divine will and decree. [Note 2].

After His first agony and prayer, Our Saviour returns to the

three Apostles and finds them asleep. To see in this sleep an evidence of indifference and apathy would be unjust. The overwhelming impressions of the preceding hours, the sympathetic participation in the sorrow and dejection of their Master, had a paralyzing influence on their body and induced drowsiness. The Saviour expresses His surprise that they could not watch with Him during this brief period. He addresses His complaint to Peter, who had but a short time before (Mt. XXVI, 33) solemnly declared his readiness to die with Jesus. To the affectionate reproach Our Lord joins an admonition to watch and pray lest they enter into temptation. To interpret this as succumbing to temptation, is by no means warranted by the text. On the contrary, Jesus exhorts them to watch and pray, lest they *enter* into temptation. The disciples should keep their spiritual eye open in order to estimate correctly the painful situation, the impending terrors (arrest of Jesus, charges against him, death-sentence, etc.) and the threatening complications, and know their nature and purpose; moreover, by prayer they should secure for themselves the divine assistance, in order that the temptation, coming from without, would not turn into an interior temptation endangering their faith. The exhortation Our Lord substantiates by saying: The spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak; that is, as applied to the disciples: With spirit and will you strive for what is good; you do not hesitate to acknowledge your Master in His present distress and to follow Him unto death; but the burden of the flesh, the weight of human nature, oppresses you; you are already beginning to weaken. Therefore, in view of the complicated and tempting situation and the approaching attack of Satan (cfr. Lk. XXII, 30), you stand in need of prayer and vigilance. After these admonitions Jesus goes a second time to pray and struggle in agony (Mt. XXVI, 42). The subject-matter of His prayer this time is identical with the words spoken on the first occasion (Mk. XIV, 39: He said the same words = prayer), with this difference, how-

ever, that He emphasizes still more the submission of His petition, uttered because of the aversion of His human nature for suffering and death, to the will of His Father. St. Luke makes mention of a still greater increase of fervor and resignation during the prayer said in the third and last struggle (XXII, 44). Between the second and third agony, Jesus not only returned to His sleeping disciples, but an angel appeared to Him and strengthened Him (Lk. XXII, 43). The purpose of this was to enable the weakened human nature of Jesus to bear and overcome the so-called death struggle (*ἀγωνία*), during which He sweat blood (Lk. XXII, 22, 44). [Note 3.] Basing on the Lucan account we must bear in mind the following points:

a) According to the sacred text, it was a real apparition of an angel, similar to others recorded in Holy Scripture (Lk. I, 11; I, 26 ff.; II, 9 ff.; Mt. I, 20 ff.; II, 13; II, 19; Mk. I, 13; Mt. XXVIII, 2, and the parallel passages).

b) This apparition occurred immediately before the agony.

c) The words (Lk. XXII, 44): "His sweat became as drops of blood, trickling down upon the ground," are not merely a rhetorical figure, like our "tears of blood," but they mean that Jesus really sweat blood. There is no reason why this sweating of blood should be attributed to supernatural causes; we may assume that the third struggle, wrought up to the highest pitch, produced in the organs of the body a corresponding violent emotion, so that the blood burst through the veins and exuded from the skin. [Note 4.]

The agony having been overcome, Our Lord, with the traces of the struggle and the blood-stained sweat undoubtedly still in His face, again returned to his three sleeping disciples. Fatigue had completely overpowered them; sorrow (Lk. XXII, 45) had put them to sleep. Jesus speaks to them with tender seriousness: Sleep ye now and take your rest; behold the hour is at hand, and the Son of man shall be betrayed into the hands of sinners (*ἁμαρτωλοί* = the Jews, the allies of Judas and the

devil) (Mt. XXVI, 45). And when He saw the multitude, which had come to take Him prisoner, He exhorted His disciples to go with Him to the entrance of the garden to meet them: "Arise, let us go. Behold, he that will betray me is at hand." (Mk. XIV, 42). With a firm step, of His own free will, boldly and joyfully, He goes to meet His enemies.

1. The first three Evangelists unanimously report that Jesus went with His disciples from the Cenacle to the Mount of Olives: *εἰς χωρίον λεγόμενον Γεθσημανεί* (Mt. XXVI, 36); *εἰς χωρίον οὗ τό ὄνομα Γεθσημανεί* (Mk. XIV, 32); *ἐπορεύθη . . . εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν . . . γενόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ τόπου* (Lk. XXII, 39, 40). That does not mean: He ascended Mount Olivet, but He went to the mountain. For the Lord did not intend to go to Bethania, but to a lonely garden, which lay in a valley or gorge near the brook Cedron. On the authority of a tradition reaching back to the time of Constantine,[1] such an olive-garden at the foot of Mount Olivet is shown to pilgrims to the present day,—surely the historic site of the agony of Jesus. The derivation of the word Gethsemani from wine-press and oil, hence oil-press, is to be preferred to the explanation of St. Jerome (ad Is. XXVIII, 1): *"Vallis pinguissima seu vallis pinguedinum."* There are in this sanctuary, which is now in the care of Franciscans, still some olive trees, descendants of those existing at the time of Christ, and hence little doubt can be entertained regarding the correctness of the etymology (oil-press). The Arabs to-day call the place Jesmanyeh. The Vulgate translates *χωρίον* by *villa* (in Matthew) and by *praedium* (in Mark). Probably it was not merely a plot of ground or a field, but a small farm, a country estate, buildings surrounded by cultivated land. Our Saviour did not take his eleven Apostles into the dwelling-house on the farm, but into the garden (John).

The Evangelists tell us nothing regarding the time of departure. However, if we bear in mind that the meeting of Jesus with His disciples did not begin before 6 P. M., and was followed by the Passah-supper, the Last Supper, and the parting discourses of the Lord, we may reasonably assume that they arrived in the garden shortly before midnight. Jesus left eight of the Apostles near the entrance, requesting them to remain there whilst He would go farther into the garden and pray: "Sit you here, till I go yonder and pray" (Mt. XXVI, 36). He took Peter, James, and John with Him into the garden. The reason of

[1] Cfr. *Itin. Burdigalense*, § 594 p. 23 ed. Geyer; *Silviae Peregrin.*, c. 38, p. 86; *Breviarius*, p. 155; Pilgrim from Placentia, c. 17, p. 203.

this is the privileged rank of these three Apostles: they had seen Him as one who raised the dead to life, as the Prince of life and the Lord of glory (Mk. V, 3, 7; Mt. XVII, 1; Mk. IX, 2 ff.; Lk. IX, 28 ff.; 2 Pet. I, 16 ff.), and therefore they were to see Him also in His profound abasement. These three disciples, it is true, cannot in the full sense of the word be called witnesses of the agony, because Jesus withdrew from them "a little" (Mt. XXVI, 39; Lk. XXII, 41) and they, moreover, soon went to sleep. Therefore one might be tempted to place these three disciples on a par with the guards at the tomb: sleeping witnesses. However, this would be unjustified. For in the first place, Jesus began to tremble, to be frightened, and to grow sorrowful while He was still surrounded by the three disciples (Mt. XXVI, 37). On the other hand, the distance between Him and them during His mental struggle was but short, so that it was quite possible for the disciples to be eye-witnesses. They certainly could see Him falling down on His face and hear Him supplicating, crying and weeping (Hebr. V, 7), because at His request they evidently remained awake for at least fifteen minutes or half an hour, and only succumbed gradually to fatigue and drowsiness. The first act of the struggle and prayer lasted about an hour (Mt. XXVI, 40), and thus they could, at least in a limited degree, witness the praying and struggling of Jesus and afterwards could give an account thereof to the other disciples.

Why Jesus wished to have the three disciples as witnesses, and yet, by going away from them, not as immediate, direct witnesses, may be readily conjectured. It was for the purpose of giving Himself up completely to the agony of His soul and of pouring out His heart to God in prayer, that He wanted to be alone; but it required great efforts on His part to tear Himself away from His disciples, to go alone into a solitude full of sorrow and pain, as the Evangelist Luke insinuates by his characteristic ἀπεσπάσθη (XXII, 41), which the Vulgate so excellently renders by, *"avulsus est";* and although He withdraws from the three chosen disciples to give Himself completely over to the agony, it is nevertheless a consolation to Him in His great distress to have them close by. The ἤρξατο (he began) of Matthew (XXVI, 27) and Mark (XIV, 33) is evidently intended to express the beginning of His anguish and terror after the preceding calm in the company of the Apostles, but at the same time also expresses the absolutely free resolve with which Our Lord delivered Himself up to death.

2. We shall never fully comprehend the suffering of Our Lord in the Garden of Olives and the mighty struggle described by St. Paul in his Epistle to the Hebrews (V, 7). There is no doubt that the human na-

ture of Christ revolted against the suffering which He was about to undergo, and against impending death. It has been said that Jesus had time enough to prepare for death; He often spoke of it to His disciples and emphasized the necessity of giving Himself up for the redemption of the world. Accordingly we might expect a certain confidence in His bearing and a manly firmness, rather than trembling, fear and dejection. There have not been wanting those who made the agony of Jesus a butt of their jokes; *e. g.,* Celsus,[2] and in modern times Usteri.[3] "Why does He sigh and moan?" they say; "why does He implore and cry to the Father? If the Synoptics are correct in their account, Socrates stands far above Jesus." Such objections show no wisdom! It is beyond dispute that Christ's will to suffer existed from the first moment of His life on earth (Hebr. X, 5 ff.), and He constantly foresaw His Passion and death. Nevertheless He wished to let His genuinely human nature have its rights in the Garden; and it is precisely the human side of Jesus which the Synoptics emphasize in their account of the agony. The Fathers of the Church attempted to explain the course of events by assuming that in the hours of His struggle the divine nature withdrew, and He was, so to speak, left to Himself as mere man. This idea involuntarily obtrudes itself on us when studying the Gospel account; but we must not forget that Jesus bore the terrible suffering on Mount Olivet for the salvation of mankind, just as He did when He suffered and shed His blood at the circumcision and when He laid down His life on the Cross. The whole Godman suffered and sweat blood on Mount Olivet and thus demonstrated His love for mankind. St. Paul says (Hebr. IV, 14 f.) that the glorified heavenly High Priest Jesus Christ had compassionate love for poor, sinful mankind. Although in His Resurrection he laid aside His earthly body, He nevertheless, as one glorified, has compassion on our infirmities, because the experiences of the days of His flesh are constantly present to Him. Chief among these personal experiences the Apostle reckons the agony in the Garden, for he says (V, 8): "Whereas indeed he was the Son of God, [Jesus Christ] learned (ἔμαθεν) obedience by the things which he suffered," *i. e.,* the agony was for Him the road to moral perfection. He was indeed obedient from the start, but this obedience was consummated in the days and hours of His Passion. The divine nature in Jesus did not absorb the human nature; He retained His human sentiments and His human will, and this explains the possibility of a moral perfectioning. Jesus, besides the divine nature, also possessed the

[2] Cfr. Origen, *C. Celsum,* II, 24.
[3] *Stud. und Kritik.,* 1829, p. 465.

full human nature—a passible soul in a passible body. Besides the divine will, He possessed a human will, which included sensitive emotions and appetites. His human soul shrank from the threatening pains and the agony of death. It rebelled against its separation from the body. The horror which it felt for suffering and death incited the wish that the chalice might pass by, since the Father was omnipotent. But His rational and spiritual will immediately made an act of submission to the will of the Father. The struggle which had begun in the lower faculties of the soul, ended with a victory on the part of the spiritual will: "Not as I will, but as thou wilt" (Mt. XXVI, 39; Mk. XIV, 36; Lk. XXII, 42). Of course, we cannot fully penetrate this mystery with our weak human understanding.

In Lk. II, 52 an advance in human knowledge is asserted, and it will not do to explain this progress only in the sense of an unfolding of the divine nature or the *scientia divina*. To do justice to the text we must assume a real growth in knowledge, a moral and religious development in Jesus, as also a growth in goodness. However, the human and the divine elements in the person of Jesus were not separated; how both natural and supernatural knowledge existed side by side from the beginning, and the advancement in human knowledge went on side by side with the divine knowledge, will always remain for us as much a mystery of faith as the hypostatic union of the divine and the human nature in one person.

But what about the temptation of Our Lord in the desert (Mt. IV, 1 ff.; Lk. IV, 1 ff.; cfr. Mk. I, 18)? In view of the hypostatic union of the two natures, Jesus, of course, could not sin. However, both the Gospels and the Epistle to the Hebrews (II, 14, 17; IV, 15) compel us to assume that He was subject to temptation in a similar manner as we. Of course, as He was sinless, temptation could never give to His human will a direction contrary to the divine will. Temptation, coming from without, found no point of contact in His soul, to arouse a stimulus to sin, no antagonism between spirit and flesh, as in us. Yet the temptation must have caused Him suffering. Satan directed violent attacks against Him in the hour of His Passion, in the garden of Olives, and on the Cross. In the Cenacle Our Lord had announced that the prince of this world would come to see whether he might not conquer Him (Jn. XIV, 30). It is to this prediction undoubtedly that the remarkable passage in Lk. IV, 13 refers: "The devil departed from him for a time," *i. e.*, until the time appointed by God. The Evangelist means the beginning of the Passion, when the devil once more tempted Jesus by bringing before His mental vision the terrors of death, to deter Him

from taking upon Himself the bitter Passion (cfr. Mt. XVI, 23), whilst, on the other hand, he urged Judas to continue on the road of crime, and made ready to sift the other disciples (Apostles) like wheat (cfr. Lk. XXII, 31 and Mt. XXVI, 41 and the parallel passages).

As for the prayer which Christ addressed to the Father, St. Mark alone (XIV, 36) mentions the invocation: "Abba, ὁ πατήρ." Abba is Aramaic. St. Augustine[4] maintains that Jesus used both expressions and discovers in this a prophecy: Abba indicates that those who spoke Hebrew, ὁ πατήρ that those who spoke Greek, hence Jews and Gentiles, were to be converted to God. This interpretation, however, was not able to maintain itself. Ὁ πατήρ (mark the nominative case instead of the vocative, as frequently in addresses, meaning, Thou who art the Father) is now almost universally regarded as an explanatory note of the Evangelist. If we compare Rom. VIII, 15 and Gal. IV, 6, where both expressions also appear side by side, we see that Our Lord in His prayers on earth Himself employed the Aramaic term abba and also directed His disciples to use it. St. Paul proceeds from the idea that the *spirit of Jesus Christ* fills the hearts of those regenerated in Baptism. This spirit, he says, put upon the tongue of all the faithful without distinction of nationality the word "abba," the same uttered by Jesus while here on earth, especially in the hour of His Passion.

3. The account of St. Luke when compared with that of SS. Matthew and Mark offers some difficulty. Langen and Nebe merely find in Lk. XXII, 41–46 a description of the first stage of the mental agony of Jesus (= Mt. XXVI, 39–41; Mk. XIV, 35–38). According to this theory the apparition of the angel must be placed after the first prayer of Our Lord, and the second and third prayer is altogether disregarded by St. Luke. But, as far as I can see, this view is universally rejected. Lk. XXII, 39–42 rather corresponds to Mt. XXVI, 39–41 and Mk. XIV, 35–38; it describes the first prayer and the exhortation of Our Lord to the three disciples: Pray in order that you may be preserved from temptation and victoriously surmount the threatening dangers. St. Luke does not emphasize the second prayer, as do SS. Matthew and Mark; what he relates in XXII, 43, 44 (the appearance of the angel and the agony) surely occurred before the third prayer recorded by SS. Matthew and Mark, and it happened in the following manner. When Christ's suffering had reached its climax, an angel appeared and strengthened Him, in such wise that He overcame His suffering, prayed more fervently, and then sweat blood and emerged victoriously from the struggle.

[4] *De Consensu Evang.*, III, 4.

Of course, there remains the question regarding the meaning of Lk. XXII, 46. It must be admitted that the words are suggestive of Mk. XIV, 37 (καθεύδεις) and 38, where Jesus after His first prayer reproves the disciples for their apathy and exhorts them to watchfulness and prayer. Nevertheless, it will be better to place the words recorded by St. Luke at the end of the agony. After Our Lord had won the victory in the struggle and found the disciples again asleep, He requested them to rise from the ground to overcome their drowsiness, and then by saying "pray, lest you enter into temptation," He repeated His former exhortation (cfr. Lk. XXII, 40): Pray for divine help, in order that you may not succumb to the approaching temptation. It seems to me that this view is supported by the exhortation to "arise" (XXII, 46: ἀναστάντες), the same which Our Lord addressed to the disciples when the mob led by Judas was approaching (Mt. XXVI, 46; Mk. XIV, 42).

What relation does the phrase ἐγείρεσθε ἄγωμεν (Mt. XXVI, 46 and Mk. XIV, 42) bear to καθεύδετε τὸ λοιπὸν καὶ ἀναπαύεσθε (Mt. XXVI, 45 and Mk. XIV, 41)? Usually both are taken as the imperative: Sleep ye now (τὸ λοιπόν = *quod superest* = *abhinc*) and take your rest. Accordingly, Jesus, when He returned from the third prayer and again found the disciples asleep, gave them permission to go on sleeping, at least for a while. In this case we must assume, with St. Augustine and others, that the words recorded in Matthew (XXVI, 46) and Mark (XIV, 42): "Arise, let us go!" did not follow immediately, but were spoken after an interval. This view is worthy of consideration, although it is strange that Our Lord should all at once, in view of the imminent danger, urge them to sleep, whereas He did precisely the contrary only a short while before. At any rate, this explanation is to be preferred to the other, that the request or permission of Jesus to sleep was intended to be ironical. The use by Our Lord of an ironical form of speech, especially at the moment here under consideration, is altogether out of the question. Even when irony does not verge on sarcasm, but assumes a milder form, there is something offensive about it. Considering the sentiments which Jesus manifests in all His words and actions during the last hours in the Cenacle and in the Garden of Olives, it is impossible to assume that, a few moments after overcoming the agony, when the henchmen were already close to the gate, He should reproach His disciples with a want of sympathy by saying ironically: "Sleep now." The fact that they slept during His agony was no indication that they were indifferent or indolent, but it was rather a sign of sympathy and compassion for their Master; the sadness produced by fear and anguish and by the approaching separation was the true cause of their drowsiness (Lk. XXII, 45). For this reason also we cannot admit the

assumption that Our Lord, by a request clad in the form of irony, should have wounded the feelings of His disciples, who precisely in these last moments received such tender and forbearing treatment at His hands. But there is another consideration. St. Mark, after καθεύδετε καὶ ἀναπαύεσθε, inserts the word ἀπέχει (XIV, 41). What does this impersonal ἀπέχει mean? The Vulgate translates it by *sufficit* (= it is enough). This rendering is to be preferred to the other: It is over with (*factum est de me*), *i. e.*, the combat is finished, I need you no longer. This latter interpretation does not agree with idiomatic usage, not even in modern Greek. Hence ἀπέχει must mean *sufficit*, it is enough of what? Of sleeping, says St. Augustine.[5] The whole phrase would therefore mean: Sleep on and rest, you have slept enough. Such an exhortation, on account of the meaning of ἀπέχει, could be understood only as cutting irony, and hence this interpretation must be false, and we are forced to adopt another. Καθεύδετε καὶ ἀναπαύεσθε must be taken indicatively, and τὸ λοιπόν means "therefore." In this sense of οὖν (*igitur* = therefore) we meet with τὸ λοιπόν repeatedly in Polybius (I, 15, 11; I, 30, 8; II, 96, 14; X, 45, 2). The entire phrase is a sorrowful exclamation: "You sleep, therefore, and take your rest," a touching contrast to the struggle through which Jesus had just passed, and to His previous exhortation: γρηγορεῖτε καὶ προσεύχεσθε.

4. Lk. XXII, 43, 44: ὤφθη δὲ αὐτῷ ἄγγελος ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἐνισχύων αὐτόν. καὶ γενόμενος ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ ἐκτενέστερον προσηύχετο· καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἱδρὼς αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ θρόμβοι αἵματος καταβαίνοντες[-os] ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν. These words are missing in B, A, R, and in other manuscripts like E and G, are marked with asterisks as suspicious; they are missing also in the Codex Syrus Sinaiticus. On the other hand they are found in the Codex Sinaiticus Aleph and in D (Cantabrig.), in G and in all Itala codices with the exception of Brix., in the Vulgate, in the Codex Syr. Cur., and in a few Sahidic and Armenian manuscripts. Further witnesses are: St. Justin Martyr (*Dial. c. Tryph.*, 103: ὅτι ἱδρὼς ὡσεὶ θρόμβοι κατεχεῖτο, αὐτοῦ εὐχομένου) and St. Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.*, III, 22, 2), Tatian (Diatessaron Arab., p. 55[b] Ciasca: *apparuit autem illi angelus de coelo confortans eum. Et cum timeret* [= ἀγωνία] *continua oratione orabat. Et factus est sudor ejus sicut rivulus sanguinis et cecidit in terram.*) In view of the many manuscripts as well as the testimony of the early Fathers, there can be no doubt that the words are genuine. Of great weight is, moreover, the memorable content of the passage. St. Luke, as a physician, naturally took great interest in the phenomenon of the bloody sweat.

[5] *De Consensu Evang.*, III, 4.

Nestle, who long disputed the genuineness of the two verses, in later editions of his Greek New Testament restored them to the text. Blass in his edition of the Gospel of St. Luke accepted the verses as genuine on account of the reading in Cod. D, received them into the text, and correctly remarked that it is probable that they were intentionally eliminated in course of time. Harnack, who has also declared in favor of their genuineness, calls attention to the linguistic peculiarities of the text. It clearly bears the Lucan imprint: *ὤφθη δὲ αὐτῷ ἄγγελος* we find also in I, 11; likewise the verb *ἐνισχύειν* in Acts IX, 19, but nowhere else in the entire New Testament. The expression *ἐκτενέστερον προσηύχετο* is found in a kindred form in Acts XII, 5: *προσευχὴ δὲ ἦν ἐκτενῶς γινομένη* (cfr. Acts XXVI, 7: *ἐν ἐκτενείᾳ λατρεῦον*). Finally, in *γενόμενος ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ*; the construction *γίνεσθαι* with *ἐν* is quite characteristic of St. Luke (cfr. Acts XXII, 17). In the second place Harnack stresses the testimony of the Fathers (Justin, Irenaeus, Tatian), from which he justly concludes that the passage was from the start an original part of St. Luke's gospel. The attempt of this learned Protestant scholar to establish a connection between this text and Jn. XII, 27 ff., as if it had served the fourth Evangelist as a sort of model or substratum, we must reject. To assume that St. John eliminated the angel, blotted out the act of strengthening, suppressed the sweating of blood as something offensive and gave to the narrative the form it now has in Jn. XIII, 27 ff., is tantamount to attributing to the author of the fourth Gospel an undignified manipulation. He certainly has given an abundance of proof that he is an eyewitness, so that every unprejudiced reader must recognize in him the well-known Apostle John, and if he omitted the appearance of the angel and the sweating of blood from his account, this was done for very good reasons, as we demonstrated above. One needs only to read his story of the arrest of Jesus (Jn. XVIII, 2 ff.) to be convinced that he was present in the garden of Olives ("and Judas also stood with them"; XXVIII, 5). No; not the fourth Evangelist took offence at the account in Lk. XXII, 43, 44, but later critics (about A. D. 300), to whom it seemed highly improper that the Godman should suffer such mental anguish. On this point St. Epiphanius enlightens us by the remark: *ἀλλὰ καὶ "ἔκλαυσε" κεῖται ἐν τῷ κατὰ Λουκᾶν εὐαγγελίῳ ἐν τοῖς ἀδιορθώτοις ἀντιγράφοις, καὶ κέχρηται τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ ὁ ἅγιος Εἰρηναῖος . . . ὀρθόδοξοι δὲ ἀφείλοντο τὸ ῥητὸν φοβηθέντες καὶ μὴ νοήσαντες αὐτοῦ τὸ τέλος καὶ τὸ ἰσχυρότατον. καὶ γενόμενος ἐν ἀγωνία ἵδρωσε, καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἱδρὼς αὐτοῦ ὡς θρόμβοι αἵματος, καὶ ὤφθη ἄγγελος ἐνισχύων αὐτόν.* (*Ancorat.*, 31; Dind., 123).

CHAPTER II

THE ARREST OF JESUS

(Mt. XXVI, 47–56; Mk. XIV, 43–52; Lk. XXII, 47–53; Jn. XVIII, 3–11)

Judas left the Cenacle on Mt. Sion about 9 o'clock P. M. (Jn. XIII, 30); He went from there directly to the Sanhedrists, explained his predicament to them, and arranged with them for the seizure of Jesus. [Note 1.] The Sanhedrists, high priests, Pharisees (Jn. XVIII, 3), and ancients of the people (Mt. XXVI, 47; Mk. XIV, 43) furnished him a large mob ("multitude") to carry out the project. A collation of the four Evangelists shows that this mob was composed of a detachment of Roman soldiers garrisoned in the castle of Antonia under the command of a tribune (Jn. XVIII, 3 and 12; cfr. Acts XXV, 31), of a detachment of the Levitical Temple-guards with their commanders, and of servants of the Great Council (cfr. Jn. VII, 45 f. and XVIII, 18; Acts V, 22 and 26).[1] Besides these, there were also present members of the Great Council (chief priests) and ancients (Lk. XXII, 52), which will not appear strange when we consider the interest taken by these classes in the arrest of Jesus. The co-operation of the Roman soldiery is at least indicated by the Synoptics, who distinguish between armed regulars and men furnished with clubs and staves. Evidently the Jewish servants were armed with clubs and staves, whilst the Roman soldiers had swords (Mt. XXVI, 47; Mk. XIV, 43; Lk. XXII, 52).

[1] οἱ ὑπηρέται = the official servants of the Sanhedrin; οἱ δοῦλοι, the house-slaves or private servants of the Sanhedrists; Jn. XVIII, 10, 18.

Josephus says that the Temple-guards were for the most part without weapons and inexperienced in military tactics.[2] The absence of every mention of the Roman soldiers in St. Matthew is easily accounted for by the fact that he strives everywhere to place in a strong light the guilt of the Jews, and of the Sanhedrists in particular. SS. Luke and Mark content themselves with the general term ὄχλος and ὄχλος πολύς (Luke XXII, 52 adds the Temple-guards). Perhaps the other two Evangelists purposely avoided mentioning the soldiers out of deference to their Roman readers. From the employment of Roman soldiers we may surmise that the Sanhedrin had made an arrangement with Pilate, who was in Jerusalem at the time [Note 2.] Undoubtedly the Sanhedrists motivated their petition for military aid by pointing out the danger of a riot on the part of the natives of Judea and Galilee, who were in Jerusalem in large numbers on account of the Easter festival (cfr. Mt. XXI, 46; Mk. XIV, 2). In doing so, they certainly avoided representing Jesus as one stirring up sedition, because this would have caused difficulties in the further course of a trial under their auspices. On the contrary, they probably denounced Him as a transgressor of the national order, as an offender against the faith of Israel. Torch-bearers also took part in the expedition (Jn. XVIII, 3). According to all indications the night was cold and dark (Jn. XI, 9 f. and XVIII, 3, 18; Lk. XXII, 53), in spite of the full moon. Upon the whole the "multitude" led by Judas (cfr. Acts I, 16) was not a motley crowd, but rather resembled a military band. The real commanders of the nocturnal expedition were the Sanhedrists; upon their orders and authority the arrest of Jesus was to be made, not in the name of the Roman government; the Roman soldiers were merely to lend assistance and to frustrate any attempt to rescue Jesus or to prevent his arrest. [Note 3.]

Far from any thought of flight, Jesus after the arrival of

[2] *Bell. Iud.*, IV, 4, 6.

the expedition boldly comes out of the garden to meet them (Jn. XVIII, 3, 4). The "leader," Judas, who knew that the garden of Olives was a favorite place of retirement for his Master (Jn. XVIII, 2; Lk. XXI, 37 and XXII, 39), when arranging the plot, had given the troop a sign by which to identify the one who was wanted (Mk. XIV, 44): Whomsoever I shall kiss, that is he. I know him well, depend on me; seize him and lead him away. When Jesus came forward, Judas saluted and kissed Him as if it were a sign of homage and respect. Our Lord gently and resignedly says: Friend, whereto are you come? Do you imagine that I do not know of your plan? He wished to give Judas to understand that his attempt at deceiving Him was in vain, and that, in spite of every precaution (Lk. XXII, 47), He saw through his traitorous design [Note 4.]. That Christ intended to unmask Judas as a consummate hypocrite is clear from the words which He (according to Lk. XXII, 48) adds: "Dost thou betray the Son of man with a kiss?" in which the rhetorical accent simultaneously rests on each of the words: treason committed against the Son of man (= the Messias), who brings redemption to the world, and this treason perpetrated by means of a kiss, the sign of love and friendship. [Note 5.] The eager kiss of Judas (*κατεφίλησεν*, Mt. XXVI, 49; Mk. XIV, 45) is easily accounted for by the hypocrisy of the traitor, who still plays the rôle of a friend, and by his eagerness to engage, so to speak, the attention of Our Lord, so that the band may meanwhile approach and carry out its design, *i. e.*, arrest Him. However, Judas did not gain his point. Before the arrest could be made (Jn. XVIII, 4–9), Jesus turned to the soldiers and servants and said to them: Whom seek ye? They answered: Jesus of Nazareth. Jesus declared: I am he. They went backward and fell to the ground as if dead. What is the meaning of the remark (Jn. XVIII, 5): "Judas also, who betrayed him, stood with them"? Some take this as a casual observation. But there are no meaningless remarks in the Gospel of St. John. Others hold

that the Evangelist inserted this remark after the words, "I am he," to suggest that the effect of these words extended also to Judas. Still others argue that the Evangelist wished to emphasize the tragic aspect of the situation, as if to say: Judas, the disciple, stands with the mortal enemies of Jesus and their emissaries; but in that case the remark would be rather an after-thought. Some say: John wished to characterize the brutal callousness, the shameless impudence of the traitor. This view also does not satisfy us. We prefer the interpretation alluded to above, *viz.*: indelibly impressed on the memory of St. John, who was an eyewitness of the event, is the moment when the evidence burst upon him with brutal clearness what Christ had meant in the Cenacle (Jn. XIII, 21, 26 f.). When he heard the words spoken by Our Lord and was informed about the person of the traitor, he imagined that the announcement referred in a general way to a defection of Judas at some future time; now, but a few hours later, when he saw Judas standing with the mob, his eyes were opened and he perceived that the prophecy was already being fulfilled. (Jn. XIII, 27) [Note 6.]

Was the falling down of the soldiers and servants a miracle, or can the fact be explained naturally? Some think it can, and their opinion *per se* does not sound improbable. According to Jn. VII, 44 f., the official servants of the Sanhedrin had been taken aback by the words of Jesus spoken on the feast of the Tabernacles and had desisted from laying hands on Him. Perhaps some of them had also witnessed His majestic bearing when He cast the buyers and sellers out of the Temple (Mt. XXI, 12 ff. and the parallel passages). At any rate, they knew of the extraordinary power of the Great Prophet of Nazareth. Being fully aware of this, they now saw Jesus stepping boldly forward and speaking to them with a firm voice. It was natural that they should be overawed and as if paralyzed, and, fearing some dire punishment, should fall to the ground. However, this explanation will not stand criticism. According

to St. John, not only the Jewish servants fell, but also the Roman soldiers, many of whom probably did not know Our Lord even by name. Therefore no sudden terror, but only a higher power could have caused them to fall. Moreover, the fourth Evangelist by the introductory verse (XVIII, 4: "Jesus, knowing all things that should come upon him") plainly intimates that he intends to relate a miracle. By *τὰ ἐρχόμενα ἐπ' αὐτόν* is primarily meant the arrest, which, according to a divine decree, was to inaugurate the condemnation and death of Jesus. To demonstrate *ad oculos* His perfect freedom in taking the Passion upon Himself, Jesus by His word, "Whom seek ye?" casts the mob to the ground. His enemies shall know that He has power to frustrate their designs (Mt. XXVI, 53) and that He delivers Himself into their hands absolutely of His own free will, that no power in the world can hurt Him against His own or His Father's will. Jesus now repeated His question, and when He had told them that He was the one whom they sought, He requested them not to molest His disciples. Terrified by His powerful words, they complied with His wish. Thus the words which Our Lord uttered in His prayer to the Father: "None of those whom thou gavest me is lost, but the son of perdition" (Jn. XVII, 12) were fulfilled and at the same time the divine decree was carried out, according to which the disciples, preserved from death for the nonce, should continue the work of Jesus on earth.

The Jewish servants and the Roman soldiers had meanwhile risen from the ground and, no doubt incited by the Sanhedrists, stepped up to Jesus and laid hold of Him (Mt. XXVI, 50; Mk. XIV, 46). When the disciples saw this, they rushed upon the men and cried: "Lord, shall we strike with the sword?" (Lk. XXII, 49; cfr. XXII, 38). Peter, without awaiting an answer from Jesus, drew his sword and struck Malchus, the servant of the high priest, cutting off his right ear (Mt. XXVI, 51; Mk. XIV, 47; Lk. XXII, 50; Jn. XVIII, 10). Only the fourth Evangelist tells us the name of the servant, and he

alone, who wrote so long after the death of the Prince of the Apostles, mentions St. Peter by name. Jesus requested Peter to put his sword back into the scabbard and sharply rebuked him for his hasty deed by reminding him of the danger in using the sword on one's own authority. The words, "All who take the sword shall perish with the sword," many interpreters take to be a legal maxim among the Israelites, based on Gen. IX, 6 (cfr. Apoc. XIII, 10): "Whosoever shall shed man's blood, his blood shall be shed by men" (*i. e.*, by the civil authority), and it is noteworthy that it is the first Evangelist who records this saying of Jesus (XXVI, 52). Others prefer the view that these words are a proverbial expression meaning that Peter did not intend to shed blood out of revenge, or to satisfy a passion, but merely to meet force by force, and in his excitement hardly thought of the men as the representatives and organs of the lawful authority (the Sanhedrin). Neither the one nor the other explanation is acceptable. Jesus wishes to express this idea: He who believes the Messianic Kingdom to be of this world, and attempts to defend it with the sword, shall perish by the sword, because my Father will give him no protection; otherwise I would ask the Father for a host of angels (XXVI, 53; cfr. Jn. XVIII, 36); however, I refrain from this in order not to place any obstacle to the fulfilment of the divine decree, repeatedly announced (cfr. Jn. XVIII, 11). Then He gives the direct answer to the question: "Lord, wilt thou that we strike with the sword?" by saying: "Suffer ye thus far," *i. e.*, no more violence! (Lk. XXII, 51), or, as St. Augustine[3] and other exegetes think: Let these men do what God permits them to do, *i. e.*, arrest me. At any rate, the words are addressed to the *disciples,* not to the mob, and they are a request not to hinder the men in their purpose. Having repaired the damage done by Peter, *i. e.*, restored the ear of Malchus, and having submitted to arrest, Jesus turns to His adversaries. St. Luke positively states

[3] *De Consensu Evang.*, III, 17.

(XXII, 52) that His words were intended for the chief priests, the ancients, and the commanders of the Temple-guard, which proves that the arrest was made by order and in the name of the Jewish officials. He says: The Judeans have undertaken a nocturnal expedition against me, as if I were a robber; they have come upon me at the very gates of the city and have taken me into custody, whilst precisely on these last days (Sunday, Monday, Tuesday) I came to them daily, not secretly but openly; I preached before all the people in the Temple; as if the very existence of the Jewish nation were at stake and as if a danger were threatening, they have accomplished my arrest by calling out the police and military force on the Sabbath. This, however, is not the triumph of their plans or schemes, but it happens by divine ordinance; the Spirit of God has foretold this event by the mouths of the prophets. He has in view the prophecy of Zachary (XII, 7): "I will strike the shepherd" (cfr. Is. LIII, 12). He then adds: The hour appointed by the Father for accomplishing the redemption has arrived; this is *their* hour, *i. e.,* the hour given them for the torture and killing of the Son of man, when they shall exercise their activity in the service of a higher power, the prince of darkness, the devil (cfr. Jn. XIV, 30; Lk. XXII, 53). [Note 7.] St. Matthew (XXVI, 56) and St. Mark (XIV, 50) add the remark that all the disciples now deserted Jesus and fled. As to the young man who, according to St. Mark (XIV, 51 f.), was seized, but, by casting off his linen night-gown, fled and saved his life, he was in all probability John Mark himself. [Note 8.]

1. We have already stressed the fact that it was not the intention of the Jewish authorities to arrest Jesus immediately before the Easter festival (Mt. XXVI, 5 and the parallel passages). The evening or night from the 14th to the 15th Nisan had been altogether omitted from their calculations when the agreement was made between Judas and the chief priests and Temple men (Lk. XXII, 4). When, therefore, Judas, after his unmasking and the order to leave, again appeared and reported the

discovery of the plot, and no doubt insisted on the immediate arrest of Jesus, the officials accepted the proposal only reluctantly and after a prolonged debate. Necessity alone forced them to yield. They realized that after the unmasking of Judas their agreement with him might become known on the following festival day, which would result in a riot. They realized also that Judas, now expelled from the company of the Apostles, could henceforth render them no more service and that they would be in a painful predicament if Jesus would leave Jerusalem on the day following the first festival day of Easter. Judas persisted that now, at once, this very night, he would be their "guide" in arresting Jesus,—or never, and they were forced to accept the proposal in spite of all their objections and misgivings. Of course, they had at once to devise effective measures for averting the danger of a riot. They decided to have Jesus arrested that very night, to pay the agreed sum to the traitor, and to ask the commander of the cohort stationed in the castle of Antonia to furnish the necessary soldiers to carry out the undertaking without any interference of the followers of Jesus and the festal pilgrims in the city. The change in the original plans caused by the unexpected appearance of Judas before the high priests in the night from the 14th to the 15th Nisan, must be taken into consideration to fully appreciate the subsequent events of that night.

2. The participation of Roman soldiers in the nocturnal expedition is formally attested by St. John (XVIII, 3) and intimated in the Synoptics (who mention swords). One point above all must be well borne in mind. Pilate, who was in Jerusalem on account of the Easter festival, was not molested with a petition to furnish soldiers. He had entered Jerusalem with a military escort, which took up quarters in and near the Herodian palace, the residence of the procurator on Mt. Sion. The Roman troop which went out to Mount Olivet was under the command of a "tribune" (Jn. XVIII, 12), the same man, commander-in-chief in Jerusalem, whom we meet in Acts XXIV, 7 and 22. St. John definitely emphasizes the participation of the Roman soldiers (XVIII, 3 and 12), but there is no essential difference between his account and that of the Synoptics. The Synoptic term ὄχλος (πολύς) may very well include the Roman troop. Aberle holds that Mark and Luke did not stress the participation of the Roman soldiers purposely out of regard for their Roman readers on account of the mortifying experience they underwent in falling down. This view has been rejected by some because it attributes to the Evangelists motives which do not agree with their plain and simple language and offends their absolute love of truth.[4] I have repeatedly

[4] Cfr. Schäfer, *Das Herrenmahl*, p. 82.

stated that I do not regard the Evangelists as diplomats, but must admit that more than once a certain prudent caution and regard for their original readers is discernible in their accounts. To cite an obvious instance: who will believe it possible or conceivable that Matthew, Mark, and Luke did not know the name of the disciple who cut off the ear of Malchus? Matthew, who was an eyewitness, undoubtedly knew of Peter's deed, but in view of certain Jewish lies and calumnies he intended merely to refute the charge that at the moment of His arrest Jesus and His disciples made an attempt at armed resistance. It is true, he says, that one of the disciples did resist, but with an altogether insignificant result, and moreover, he immediately received a rebuke which showed that Jesus repudiated every attempt at resistance. It is evident that Mark and Luke did not wish to mention Peter's name. Mark, who received his information from Peter and was, moreover, in all probability himself an eyewitness of the scene (Mk. XIV, 51), likewise preferred a general and indefinite expression to a positive mention of the name. The same must be said in regard to Malchus, who is named only by St. John. It is needless to call attention to similar cases, *e. g.*, the naming of Lazarus and his sisters in Jn. XI, 1 ff., as compared with the vague expressions of the Synoptics. Aberle is right, therefore, and St. John here again supplements the three Synoptics. The Fourth Evangelist, who wrote his Gospel in Asia Minor towards the close of the first century, no longer had any reason to conceal the participation of the Roman soldiers.

It is more difficult to reconcile the statements regarding the weapons and the sending of *the servants and Temple-guards*. To assume that the ὑπηρέται were non-Jewish slaves of the high priests, is for obvious reasons improbable; to point to the original meaning of the word, "a rower," and conclude from this that those men were slaves, will not do because of the way the word is generally used in the New Testament. Its ordinary meaning is servant (cfr. Lk. I, 2; 1 Cor. IV, 1; Lk. IV, 20; Acts XIII, 5; XXVI, 16), and nowhere is there any indication that slave labor or a condition of slavery is meant. It is more probable that the servants employed in the capture of Jesus were, at least for the greater part, uncircumcised *proselytes,* though no doubt also some native-born Jews were among them.

Painstaking investigations have been made to determine whether, and to what extent, at the time of Jesus Christ, the bearing of arms was permitted on the Sabbath and high festivals according to the Jewish law. Some think that during the festivals, especially at Easter, on account of the enormous concourse of strangers, a prohibition to carry weapons was issued by the procurator, either alone or in conjunction with the Sanhedrin. In my opinion the carrying of weapons, clubs, and torches after

the beginning of the Easter festival was contrary to Jewish views and customs. However, the Sanhedrists did not bother about this violation of the law any more than they did about putting Jesus on trial, or holding a session, or turning the prisoner over to Pilate, because they looked upon Him as a menace to their religious and political existence (Jn. XI, 47 ff.). They excused their unlawful proceeding by the plea of self-defence. This was evidently also the motive that inspired Peter, who undoubtedly had taken along a sword when leaving the Cenacle for Mount Olivet; because Jesus had spoken of approaching hostilities (Lk. XXII, 36), he had armed himself to meet force with force. Thus the accounts of the four Evangelists on the nocturnal expedition to Mount Olivet offer no reason for doubt to a really unprejudiced investigator.

3. The presence of the Roman soldiery is ascribed by some exegetes to the fact that the Jews, as subjects of the Roman Emperor, could not arrest Jesus without the consent and participation of the imperial authorities. This view has been rejected by experts on Roman jurisprudence on the ground that the local magistrates in the provinces possessed the right to arrest, bring to trial and place in custody any public malefactor.[5] However, in Palestine at the time of Christ the circumstances were very peculiar. Josephus tells us that the Romans,—aside from reserving the right of capital punishment,—did not encroach upon the *πάτρια ἔθη* of the Jews;[6] on the other hand, certain remarks in the Acts of the Apostles (especially chaps. IV, V, VII, IX, XXVI) compel us to assume that the Jewish Sanhedrin, during the administration of the Roman procurators, possessed a certain amount of autonomy in legal trials and the punishment of religious transgressions. Stephen, *e. g.,* is arrested, haled before the Sanhedrin, condemned, dragged out of the city and executed, without any interference on the part of the Roman authorities. But as St. Luke describes the proceeding as somewhat tumultuous, no conclusions can be drawn from it, at least in respect to the right of capital punishment. Saul, when going to Damascus to persecute the Christians, merely provided himself with letters from the high priest, though he intended to bring the members of the Christian church bound to Jerusalem; he received the necessary authority from the high priest and did actually imprison many of the faithful, and insisted on their being put to death (Acts XXVI, 10). Now while, accordings to Josephus,[7] it can hardly be doubted that the *"ius gladii"* ap-

[5] Walter, *Geschichte des röm. Rechts,* I, 236; Geib, *Geschichte des röm. Criminalprozesses,* 239, 249.
[6] *Ant.,* 14, 10, 2; 16, 2, 4 ff.; 16, 6, 2; 19, 5, 2.
[7] *B. I.,* 2, 8, 1; cfr. *Ant.,* 20, 9, 1.

pertained solely to the Roman procurator, not to the Jewish Sanhedrin, the stress laid on it by the Jewish historian and the Talmudists shows just as positively that the arrest, trial, and treatment of transgressions of a religious character belonged to the Sanhedrin. The Sanhedrin, therefore, did not need the consent of the Roman Procurator in proceeding to the arrest of Jesus; and they had all the less intention of asking his permission because to have applied to Pilate would from the outset have let the matter slip from their control. A report to the Procurator could only have been motivated by pleading danger to the State in Christ's person and activity and would have brought about the interference of that official, who would not have left the arrest, and much less the trial and juridical handling of Jesus, to the Jewish rulers. This the hierarchs by no means overlooked when weighing the matter, and therefore resorted to the expedient of communicating with the captain (chiliarch) of the cohort and asked him to furnish them a detachment of soldiers to prevent a riot (cfr. Mt. XXVI, 5; Mk. XIV, 2). Could the chiliarch furnish the Sanhedrin with a detachment of Roman soldiers without the knowledge and consent of the Procurator? The Procurator was in Jerusalem temporarily only, on account of the feasts (Easter, Pentecost, Tabernacles), and hence the chiliarch must necessarily have had the ἐξουσία, especially to act on his own initiative in urgent cases. Moreover, the Sanhedrin did not in this case solicit aid before 9 P. M., and on account of the late hour it was but natural not to molest the Procurator. The circumstance that the chiliarch personally commanded the troop speaks in favor of the supposition that he acted on his own responsibility. Finally, the demeanor of Pilate on the morning of the 15th Nisan, as described in Jn. XVIII, 28, gives us reason to surmise that the whole affair was new to him.[8] The employment of the Roman cohort with its tribune was a result, not of the desire of the Sanhedrin to procure permission for the arrest of Jesus, but of an endeavor to prevent and make impossible any interference by His followers and to facilitate the vindication of their action before the Roman authorities in case a riot or tumult would arise, because they could then say: What was possible to be done to preserve peace and order, we have done. Nebe is not altogether wrong in pointing out that the mighty preparations made by the Sanhedrists for carrying out their scheme can

[8] This is Dr. Belser's original view, as expressed in the first edition of his book. In the second, he says that probably the Jewish authorities applied directly to Pilate, who complied with their request for a detachment of soldiers and commanded the tribune to lead the troop, which probably consisted of the greater portion of the cohort stationed in Jerusalem.

be explained only by their evil conscience; they were well aware of the power of Jesus over men (cfr. Jn. VII, 44 ff.) and did not place overmuch confidence in their servants and the Temple-guards, but preferred to rely on a strong and well-armed troop of soldiers.

4. The well-known controversy about the meaning of ἔδωκεν (Mt. XXVI, 48) and δεδώκει (Mk. XIV, 44) most probably must be decided in the sense that Judas gave to the band the sign before or as they left the city. It was in his interest to agree upon a sign in ample time, *i. e.*, either in the city or on the road to Gethsemani, because by discussing this matter with the band when close to the garden, he would have betrayed himself; since the band was large, the giving of the password in a low voice would not have been possible in such close proximity to Jesus; but if Judas had done it with a loud voice, Jesus might have saved Himself by flight. For these reasons it is preferable to take the ἔδωκεν in Matthew in the sense of a pluperfect, and this brings it into agreement with Mark.

Why did Judas choose the kiss as a sign of recognition? At the present day, as in the days of Our Lord, the kiss is a symbol of love and veneration among Orientals. It is objected: Would Judas, "with the devil in his heart," dare to salute his Master with this exterior sign of reverence and intimate friendship after Jesus had given him plainly to understand in the Cenacle that He saw through his designs? But we must not forget that, according to an intimation of the Evangelists, Judas had already attained to the highest degree of *hypocrisy*. Sin beclouds and stifles reason. In spite of the traitor's unmasking, which had, however, remained concealed from the other Apostles (except John), he did not wish to expose himself in the garden. As he succeeded in leaving the Cenacle without arousing suspicion, so even now, when leading the band for the arrest of Jesus, he still thinks that he is able to deceive his former friends and companions (the Apostles) as to his real intentions (cfr. Jn. XIII, 29), and to make them believe that he is merely coming to pay a tribute of respect to the Master. St. Luke says (XXII, 47) that Judas "went before" the mob. This, too, was a piece of hypocrisy, to make believe that he had nothing to do with their mission. The words ἀπάγετε ἀσφαλῶς, peculiar to St. Mark (XIV, 44), give us a deep insight into the traitor's train of thought. Various anxieties must have troubled him. Undoubtedly the apprehension arose in his mind that Jesus might escape in some way; perhaps he also dreaded the possibility that the disciples after the arrest would sound an alarm and call the followers of Jesus from Galilee and Judea to their aid to rescue Him. This idea is suggested by the request of Judas:

"Lead him away with great caution (ἀσφαλῶς)." Perhaps also the one or other event in the life of Jesus passed through his mind, *e. g.*, the recollection of the incident related in Jn. VIII, 59; or perhaps he thought Jesus might break His fetters by His miraculous power. At any rate, Judas pronounced the warning in all seriousness.

5. How Jesus submitted to the kiss of Judas we learn from St. Matthew (XXVI, 50) and St. Luke (XXII, 48). According to St. Matthew he asked: ἑταῖρε, ἐφ' ὅ πάρει; according to St. Luke: Ἰούδα, φιλήματι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδως? He evidently spoke the words recorded by Matthew first, then those reported by St. Luke. The word ἑταῖρε (friend) merits our attention. *"Blanda allocution,"* some expounders say; it is the term with which a master addresses his pupils. True, but we must not forget that shortly before, in the Cenacle, Jesus had said to His disciples: "You are my friends, if you do the things that I command you" (Jn. XV, 14). Moreover, we must not overlook the fact, to which Origen called attention, that the dissatisfied man in the parable of the laborers in the vineyard (Mt. XX, 1–16) is also addressed by ἑταῖρε (XX, 13: "Friend, I do thee no wrong.") Hence Our Lord evidently wishes to emphasize the fact that Judas had been in His company for a long time and, like the other disciples, had received from Him every mark of love, though, as he now shows by his behavior, he was not a true friend. The words ἐφ' ὅ πάρει must not be taken as an exclamation = *ad quam rem perpetrandam ades!* No such exclamation is found in the Greek; nor as a command: "Do what thou hast come to do," for Judas has already performed his nefarious deed. The Vulgate and some of the Fathers of the Church, including Chrysostom and Augustine, regard the words as a *question:* "Friend, for what art thou here?" There is only *one* objection against this interpretation, namely, that ὅ instead of τί in a direct question would be a sign of "decadent Graecism." Perhaps it will be best to take these words as an incomplete sentence: "Friend, dost thou, forsooth, think I do not know for what thou art here?" This removes the difficulty about the ὅ, and the words fully answer the situation. Judas plays the rôle of a hypocrite, and Our Lord tells him: "I see through thy design and the purpose of thy coming is perfectly clear to me." Taken in this sense, the words of Jesus to Judas, as recorded in St. Matthew, agree perfectly with the question of Jesus according to St. Luke (XXII, 48): "Judas, dost thou betray the Son of man with a kiss?" Is it possible, Our Lord means to say, that you are so bold as to use the token of love, attachment, and tender friendship as a sign of treason? (On φίλημα cfr. 2 Kings II, 9; Lk. VII, 45; 1 Pet. V, 14; Rom. XVI, 16.) The sacred kiss, as an expression of fraternal

love, was in use in the Primitive Church; only on Fridays the Christians omitted it, as Tertullian[9] testifies, no doubt in remembrance of the kiss with which Judas betrayed the Master.

6. As to the place where Jesus was seized we obtain the details from St. John; the Synoptics (XXVI, 49; XIV, 45; XXII, 47) do not give full particulars on this point. According to St. John (XVIII, 4), Our Lord, when the troop approached, "went forth" to meet them (ἐξῆλθεν). Some think He came forth from the house in the garden, or from the interior of the garden, or from the circle of His disciples; but this exegesis seems doubtful. According to Jn. XVIII, 1, Jesus, after crossing the Cedron, had entered the garden of Olives; hence, when the Evangelist adds ἐξῆλθεν, he evidently means that Christ came forth from the garden. This view is not opposed either to the remark in verse 3 or to the one in verse 26, because in the former passage it is not expressly stated that Judas and the band entered the garden, but merely that they arrived at the garden; while XVIII, 26 may be expounded in the sense that the servant of the high priest saw Peter in the garden with Jesus by looking through the fence or gate. Thus far, it seems to me, the matter is quite clear. But if we go farther and ask, whether Judas fell to the ground simultaneously with the Jewish bailiffs and the Roman soldiers, we not seldom hear an affirmative answer, and it really does seem as if St. John, by the position of the statement regarding Judas standing by (XVIII, 5), would suggest to the reader the idea that Judas also was thrown to the ground by the word of Jesus as a punishment for his treason. The remark in this case would be intentionally inserted between the words of Jesus "I am he" and the resulting effect (verse 6). However, it seems to us that the Evangelist intends to say: When I stepped from behind Jesus out of the garden and saw Judas standing with the bailiffs, it was at once clear to me what Jesus meant when he said in the Cenacle (XIII, 27) that Judas had meanwhile been with His enemies, had mobilized them against Him, and led them to Christ's secret place of retirement. To this startling discovery the Evangelist wished to give expression by his remark, and he could hardly find a more appropriate place for inserting it than here. However, in doing so he was compelled to continue with ὡς οὖν (XVIII, 6) to describe the wonderful effects of Christ's words, "I am he."

Did Judas fall to the ground simultaneously with the bailiffs and soldiers? This question can only be answered by paying due regard to the purpose which Our Lord had in casting them to the ground. He evidently intended to give the Sanhedrists and the commander of the cohort to

[9] *De Orat.*, 14.

understand that, with all their armed force, they could not take Him prisoner if He were unwilling (cfr. Jn. XIX, 11). Now, since Judas was neither armed nor intended to take part in the seizure (Mt. XXVI, 48; Mk. XIV, 44), but acted merely as a guide (Acts I, 6), we are permitted to conclude that he did *not* fall to the ground with the rest. The text is by no means unfavorable to this view, as has been asserted by some; for the subject of ἀπῆλθαν and ἔπεσαν can only be the ζητοῦντες, *i. e.*, the ὑπηρέται and ἡ σπεῖρα mentioned in verse 3.

7. According to St. Luke (XXII, 52), Jesus addressed His protest against the outrageously brutal proceedings to the chief priests and magistrates of the Temple and the ancients, *i. e.*, to the commander-in-chief and the leaders of the individual sections of the Temple-guards; according to St. Matthew (XXVI, 55) and St. Mark (XIV, 48), to the band in general. On this point, too, St. Luke is more precise. It would be wrong to interpret his account as if he meant to say that Jesus sent His protest to the officials by means of the servants and deputies. Interpreted in their natural sense, His words mean that members of the Sanhedrin were actually present in the garden of Olives, and Our Lord directed His words of reproach to them. Some exegetes assume that in the beginning the Sanhedrists did not take part in the expedition, but when no news of the arrest came, the officials became uneasy and some of them went out to Mount Olivet to see whether the undertaking was successful. But it seems more likely that these commanders of the Jewish Temple-guards and these men of high-priestly lineage went along from the very start. The Jewish officials had too much at stake to rest satisfied with sending the servants and soldiers; no doubt a considerable number of them were present to superintend the men and urge them on, if need be. The saying of Jesus: "I sat daily with you in the Temple teaching," is not a piece of rhetoric, as if Our Lord would say: Frequently I was in the Temple teaching (thus Nebe). Our Lord has in mind only the three days after His triumphal entry, *i. e.*, Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday of the Passion week (Lk. XIX, 47; XXI, 37). So far as can be gathered from the writings of the Evangelists, He never sojourned in Jerusalem except on the high feasts of Easter, Pentecost, Tabernacles, and Dedication U. C. 782, and Purim and Easter U. C. 783. Because He lays stress on His daily presence in the Temple, He can mean only His last stay, from the 10th to the 12th Nisan. For although the hierarchs entertained a mortal hatred against Jesus as early as the feasts of Pentecost and Tabernacles, and already at that time attempted to seize Him and put Him to death (Jn. V, 18; VII, 30; VIII, 59), nevertheless the official resolution to execute Him was

passed only in consequence of the raising of Lazarus on the Purim feast, 783 (Jn. XI, 47 ff.). According to this and the measures recorded in Jn. XI, 57 we might expect that immediately on the day of the triumphant entry, or at least within the following days, they would have seized Jesus. But this was not the case. His opponents at that time did endeavor to ensnare him in His speech by proposing ticklish questions (Lk. XX, 20), but no arrest took place; they let Him continue His ministry unmolested in spite of their inward rage. In passing we may remark that the words of Jesus in the garden respecting His teaching in the Temple contain reliable circumstantial evidence to prove that He made His entry into Jerusalem already on Saturday the 9th Nisan, for on account of only two days He would not have expressed Himself as He did in Mt. XXVI, 55, Mk. XIV, 49, and Lk. XXII, 53. These passages are an essential supplement to the story of the entry and of the following days.

Why did not the Jewish officials arrest Jesus in those days? They had ample opportunities and could easily have done so. We may, in reply to this question, point to their fear of the populace; but the principal reason why the hierarchs did not seize Jesus at that time was that His hour had not yet come. His remark in the garden: "This is your hour, and the power of darkness" (Lk. XXII, 53) vividly recalls the words He spoke to the disciples eight weeks before: "If a man walk in the day, he stumbleth not, because he seeth the light of this world [*i. e.*, the sun]; but if he walk in the night, he stumbleth, because the light is not in him" (Jn. XI, 9 f.). This was an allusion to the dark night before the Easter festival, the 14th Nisan (cfr. Jn. XIII, 30), when the bright day of His public activity had come to an end, and when, walking at night in the garden of Gethsemani, He stumbled, *i. e.*, fell into the hands of His enemies, to whom, in union with the prince of darkness, this hour was assigned by a divine decree.

8. In my Introduction to the New Testament [10] I asserted the identity of the young man mentioned in Mk. XIV, 51 with John Mark, the author of the Second Gospel. Grimm [11] expressed himself in the same sense, likewise Zahn.[12] Nebe [13] does not share this opinion. He points out that several ancient writers designate James the Less or the Apostle John or Saul (later the Apostle Paul) as the fleeing young man, and says there is as little reason for these conjectures as there is for identifying the young man with Mark. What is decisive against this

[10] *Einleitung,* pp. 70 f.
[11] *Leidensgeschichte,* I, pp. 408 ff.
[12] *Einleitung,* II, p. 243.
[13] *Leidensgeschichte,* pp. 301 f.

view, he says, is the remark in Mt. XXVI, 56 that all the companions of Jesus fled. Against identifying the youth as St. Mark speaks the fact that the young man wore nothing but a linen gown; in such habiliment, Nebe says, no Apostle, no Christian youth, no Jewish student, no servant of a wealthy house would have strolled about on such a cold night as that of the 14th to the 15th Nisan. St. Matthew's remark that all the disciples fled, is no evidence against the view that the young man was John Mark. Those who hold this view proceed from the fact that Mark had not as yet been received into the Messianic Kingdom by the Baptism of water and the Holy Ghost, and hence was not yet a "disciple" of Jesus; from a remark in 1 Pet. V, 13 we may conclude that Mark was baptized by Peter after the Ascension of Christ and the descent of the Holy Ghost. The gown which the young man wore was undoubtedly a large linen sheet, at least the word σινδῶν selected by St. Mark is the same as the one used by St. Matthew (XXVII, 59) to designate the linen shroud in which the body of Jesus was wrapped, and we may fancy it to have been a night-gown or a counterpane. Why the wearing of such a garment should militate against the view that its wearer was John Mark, son of the owner of the Cenacle, is not plain. On the contrary, this very circumstance confirms that view. Evidently the young man had already gone to bed; then, aroused by some noise, he ran away. This surely fits in well with the story of the house with the upper chamber and of the son of that house who had noticed something unusual before going to bed, and then, when Jesus and the disciples departed, was roused from his sleep and followed them in his night-gown. It is worthy of note that already Victor of Antioch expressed the opinion that the young man belonged to the house in which Jesus had celebrated the passah.[14]

[14] *Caten.*, II, 92, ed. Matthaei.

SECTION III

THE PROCEEDINGS BEFORE THE SANHEDRIN

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

The three Synoptics upon the whole agree in their account of the events that took place in the palace of the high priest. St. Luke, it is true, seems to pass over the nocturnal session of the Sanhedrin altogether and mentions, as a substitute, so to speak, only the second secret session (XXII, 66–71). In matter of fact, however, St. Luke does not distinguish the nocturnal session from the subsequent consultation, but reports both hearing and sentence together in a summary manner. Then there is agreement between the Synoptics and St. John on this important point: all four Evangelists insert the denial of Peter into the report of the procedure against Jesus before the Jewish court and thus show that they bestow as much care and attention on the former as on the trial and condemnation of Jesus. Despite this general agreement, however, there are several differences between John and the Synoptics. John alone speaks of a preliminary hearing of Jesus in the house of Annas, but is altogether silent concerning the nocturnal session presided over by Caiphas and the decision to deliver Jesus into the hands of the Roman governor, whilst the Synoptics relate these events, but omit the hearing before Annas entirely.

This silence is not surprising in St. Matthew. He wrote for the Jewish converts of Palestine and hence was interested only in reporting the official session of the Jewish authorities under the presidency of Caiphas, who was high priest for that year.

The other two Synoptics followed the example of St. Matthew, because there was no reason why they should go beyond the limits set by the latter. St. John's purpose was to supplement the synoptic narrative by inserting a report of the trial before Annas; on the other hand he had no reason for repeating what his predecessors had said concerning the nocturnal session and the deliberation about handing Jesus over to the Roman authorities. To interpret the silence of John as a want of knowledge on the part of the Evangelist, would be a complete misunderstanding of his narrative. If at any time, then on this occasion, St. John shows that he presumes the existence of the Synoptics. Attention may be called to the noteworthy statement: *ἤγαγον πρὸς Ἄνναν πρῶτον* (XVIII, 13), as also to the remark in XVIII, 24: *ἀπέστειλεν οὖν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἄννας δεδεμένον πρὸς Καϊάφαν τὸν ἀρχιερέα.*

CHAPTER I

JESUS BEFORE ANNAS

(Jn. XVIII, 12–14, 19–24)

The bailiffs and soldiers conducted Jesus from Mount Olivet to the palace of the high priest Joseph Caiphas and then, by order of Caiphas, before Annas for a preliminary hearing. Annas was the father-in-law of Caiphas (Jn. XVIII, 13) and a man of extraordinary influence. He had been promoted to the office of high priest by Quirinius [1] and deposed by Valerius Gratus, the predecessor of Pilate [2]; he saw his five sons rise in succession to this dignity,—first Eleazar, then, after a two-year incumbency of a certain Simon, his son-in-law Joseph, who also was called Caiphas,[3] and after his deposition by Vitellius, his second son Jonathan,[4] and later the three other sons.[5] Annas held no official position during the year of Our Lord's death. On account of Lk. III, 2 it has been asserted that he filled the office of high priest for several years jointly with Caiphas, that he was, so to speak, the secular high priest or at least a substitute or sort of vice-president. However, this claim cannot be sustained in view of the positive statement of Josephus that Annas was removed from office by Valerius Gratus, A. D. 15, and the dignity transferred to Ismael, the son of Phabi, as also in view of what St. John says (XI, 49 and XVIII, 13 and 24). Accordingly, Joseph Caiphas, and

[1] 759/60 *p. u. c.* = 6 A. D. Cfr. Josephus, *Ant.*, 18, 2, 1.
[2] Josephus, *Ant.*, 18, 2, 2. Josephus calls him Ananus.
[3] *Ant.*, 18, 2, 2.
[4] Josephus, *Ant.*, 18, 4, 3.
[5] *Op. cit.*, 20, 9, 1.

he alone, was high priest in the momentous year [Note 1] in which Jesus exercised His public ministry and died (15th Nisan, 782 to 15th Nisan, 783), and as high priest presided over the Sanhedrin, as the Synoptics pretty plainly state (Mt. XXVI, 57; Mk. XIV, 53). That Jesus was taken before Annas, who sojourned in the palace of his son-in-law, is therefore not explained by the official position of Annas, but by the relationship which he bore to Caiphas, the regular high priest, and by the esteem in which he was held and the influence he still wielded. As the head of a family which at that time furnished most of the high priests (cfr. Acts IV, 6), as a member (leader) of the party of the Sadducees,[6] as a rich, able, wise and energetic man, Annas was the power behind the throne during the administration of his successors, who were mostly men of his house or family. The statement of St. John that Annas was the father-in-law of Caiphas, collated with the statements of Josephus regarding the person and position of Annas, fully suffices to explain the reason why Jesus was led before Annas. The hearing before this man was, of course, properly speaking not an official proceeding, but neither was it purely a private affair; it was to furnish a certain amount of material which might serve as a basis for the official session of the Sanhedrin. Note the important remark of the fourth Evangelist (XVIII, 14): "Now Caiphas was he who had given the counsel to the Judeans [*i. e.,* to the Sanhedrists], that it was expedient that one man should die for the people" (Jn. XI, 50). St. John means to say: The moment had arrived to act upon the parole given out by Caiphas: Jesus must die; on this point the son-in-law was one with his father-in-law; but first Jesus had to be cross-examined to ascertain what he had done (cfr. Jn. VII, 50 ff.), so that proceedings could be begun against Him according to law (κρίνειν; Jn. VII, 51).

Did Annas personally cross-examine Our Lord? Not a few exegetes answer this question in the negative, holding that

[6] *Op. cit.,* 20, 9, 1; cfr. Acts V, 17.

Caiphas was the one who, in the presence of Annas and under his supervision, subjected Jesus to a preliminary hearing. This view is based on the statement of the fourth Evangelist, who, in XI, 49–51 as well as in XVIII, 10, 15, 16, 24, 26, treats Caiphas as the high priest *par excellence,* as the reigning ἀρχιερεύς. Attention is also called to the passage in XVIII, 22, where, it is said, τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ can refer only to Caiphas, as if the servant wished to say to Jesus: "By your words you behaved irreverently and disrespectfully towards the sacred person of the high priest, and therefore you merit punishment." It must be admitted that the position of the words is not unfavorable to this view. Nevertheless I cannot agree with it in view of the twice-repeated οὖν in XVIII, 19 and XVIII, 24. The first οὖν evidently refers to the words XVIII, 13: "They led him away to Annas." It was Annas, therefore, who questioned Him with regard to His disciples and His doctrine. That the Evangelist gives Annas the title ὁ ἀρχιερεύς is not strange, since Annas had formerly been high priest and, according to the custom of the Jews, retained the title for life.[7] St. John furthermore could assume that this title of Annas was known to his readers from the Gospel of St. Luke. The οὖν in XVIII, 24 is well attested and can only mean: Because the hearing took a course painful to the presiding officer, he sent Jesus back to Caiphas. It is quite legitimate to reason thus: Since Jesus was brought before Annas for a hearing, the latter surely did not play the rôle of a mere spectator, but took a personal part in the proceedings and examined the prisoner. Moreover, if we assume that Caiphas conducted the hearing in the house of Annas, how shall we interpret the remark of the Evangelist in XVIII, 24? To interpret the aorist ἀπέστειλεν in the sense of a pluperfect ([but] Annas had sent Jesus bound to Caiphas, the high priest), or to relegate this verse behind XVIII, 13, is arbitrary. If we leave the words in their natural position and interpret

[7] Cfr. Josephus, *Ant.,* 20, 8, 5; *Bell. Iud.,* II, 13, 3; cfr. Lk. III, 2; Acts IV, 6.

them in their obvious sense, we shall have to construe the text as follows: After the preliminary hearing was finished, Jesus was led to the palace of the reigning high priest. But this is tantamount to "emptying" the words of the Evangelist of their content; for they clearly mean: Annas on his own authority sent Jesus to Caiphas. In the face of these considerations we cannot escape the conclusion that, according to the fourth Evangelist, Jesus had to undergo a preliminary hearing by the "high priest" Annas. [Note 2.]

What was the subject of the inquiry instituted by Annas? St. John says that he questioned Jesus as to His disciples and His doctrine. The question regarding the disciples must have risen almost involuntarily to the mouth of Annas, because he had hitherto seen Jesus only when surrounded by His disciples and followers; now, however, he sees Him alone. Annas was certainly not curious about the number and personality of the disciples of Christ; his object was rather to find out something definite about His purpose in collecting disciples and the manner and object of their instruction. That the question regarding His disciples practically coincided with that regarding His doctrine, we see from the fact that Christ takes the question asked by Annas as a question concerning His doctrine, for the one cannot be separated from the other. It was to His disciples that He had communicated His doctrine, which Annas imagined, or pretended to imagine, was dangerous to the Old Testament religion. Our Lord calmly and in a dignified manner, yet with emphatic firmness, refutes the charge that He propagated certain ideas incompatible with the established religion, ideas which cannot bear the light. Pointing to His public career, He says: I have spoken openly to the people; I have always taught in the synagogue and in the Temple before all Israel, and in secret I have spoken nothing. [Note 3.] Our Lord wishes to say: Witnesses who can give the fullest information regarding my doctrine exist in large numbers; if you and your associates were really anxious to ascertain the truth, you

would have long ago made an investigation and called in the hearers of my words from among all classes of the people, not to mention that the "Judeans" κατ' ἐξοχήν, the hierarchs and Sanhedrists themselves, could know and find out the gist of my doctrine and the power of my words (cfr. VII, 45 ff.); however, far from instituting an unprejudiced inquiry and examination of my doctrine, you have from the very first Easter festival conceived hatred and murderous designs against me because I was compelled to censure your conduct; you have sought to carry them out, and, finally, you have passed a resolution to put me to death and made it obligatory on every Israelite to apprehend me (Jn. II, 16 ff.; V, 18; VII, 45; XI, 47 ff.; XI, 56 f.). The issue in question now was to destroy the Prisoner, not to make a fair inquiry into His case. This sure and firm stand taken by Our Lord disconcerted Annas, who had intended to cross-examine Jesus in order to collect material for a charge against Him, but instead was set right and put to shame before a numerous audience. One of the servants standing near Jesus, who comprehended Annas' plight, believed it his duty to put an end to it by giving Our Lord a blow on the cheek, as if Jesus by His answer had shown a want of due respect for the "high priest" (cfr. Acts XXIII, 2). The judge has no words of disapproval for the brutal act. Jesus takes this insult with superhuman meekness and dignity, but not without rebuking the wrong committed and remonstrating with the insulter, saying: "If I have spoken evil, give testimony of the evil; but if well, why strikest thou me?" (Jn. XVIII, 23). Jesus thus gained a moral victory, and Annas could free himself from the painfully oppressive situation only by breaking off the investigation and sending Jesus to his son-in-law, the ruling high priest.

1. The expression, "the high priest of that year," used by the fourth Evangelist three times of Caiphas, has not been as yet satisfactorily explained. St. John is so precise and reliable in his historical statements

that no one will pay any attention to the allegation that he writes on the presupposition that the high priests at the time of Christ were in office only one year each, or that Caiphas at least was high priest only for one year. Nevertheless the explanation of the genitive τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκείνου (Jn. XI, 49, 51; XVIII, 13) as a genitive absolute of time (= high priest in that year) does not satisfy. St. John certainly could have written ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις or ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου (cfr. Mt. II, 1, Lk. I, 5). To remove the difficulty some say the Evangelist wishes to designate by that expression the year of Our Lord's death as one of great moment in the history of Israel. However, even this theory does not remove all difficulties. The only satisfactory explanation is that of Van Bebber, *viz.:* that the Evangelist had in mind a single, well-defined year, reaching from the eve of the 15th Nisan, 782, to the eve of the 15th Nisan, 783, fully taken up by the ministry and miraculous activity of Jesus, and brought to a close by His death (cfr. Jn. XI, 9 f. and Lk. IV, 19). Viewed in this manner the expression of St. John loses its strangeness; the gen. τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκείνου can be made dependent directly upon ἀρχιερεύς and no recourse need be had to analogies, which after all would not fit our case. For πολλῶν ἐτῶν, ἑκάστου ἔτους and similar expressions are genitives of time meaning: within many years, annually, but they stand by themselves, not immediately connected with a substantive, as is τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκείνου in the quoted passages.

2. According to the unanimous testimony of St. John and Josephus Flavius, Joseph Caiphas, and he alone, was the regular high priest at the time of Christ's death. Josephus[8] first records the induction of Joseph Caiphas into the office of high priest, after Simon, the son of Canith, had administered that office for a year and was removed by Valerius Gratus, and then reports the removal of Joseph Caiphas by Vitellius (36–37: ἀπαλλάξας τῆς ἱερωσύνης) and the installation of Jonathan, the son of Ananus (= Annas). This fully agrees with what the fourth Evangelist says in three places about "Caiphas, the high priest of that year" and the remark in XVIII, 24 about sending Jesus to the high priest Caiphas for a hearing. Therefore we find it somewhat strange that attempts have been and are still made to prove that Annas was high priest simultaneously with Caiphas, or at least that he was at the time president of the Sanhedrin (Nasi). The reference to Lk. III, 2 and Acts IV, 6 is of no avail. The Third Evangelist by his manner of introducing the man merely intends to show the very peculiar position of Annas, his decisive influence upon the management of the high-

[8] *Ant.*, 18, 2, 2.

priestly office, as the fourth Evangelist also does by his account (XVIII, 13, 19, 24). Apart from that, however, both Evangelists could call him "high priest," because, like others in those days, he retained this title even after his removal from office.[9] Moreover, we may look upon the designation by St. John ("high priest of that year") as a kind of supplement to, or correction of, St. Luke (III, 2). At any rate those who claim that Annas was Caiphas' substitute cannot appeal to St. Luke. because in those two passages St. Luke would not have placed Annas before Caiphas if he had regarded him as the vicar of the latter; even to-day no one would mention the vicar-general before the bishop. The theory that Annas was the president of the Sanhedrin must also be rejected as untenable in view of the gospel narrative. True, St. Mark merely says that Jesus was led away "unto the high priest," but St. Matthew gives his name as "Caiphas" (XXVI, 57). This fully harmonizes with St. John, who by the words ἤγαγον πρὸς Ἄνναν πρῶτον indicates the further course of events: from Annas, Christ, after the preliminary hearing, was led to Caiphas, the acting high priest, and completes this indication in XVIII, 24. St. John does not describe Christ's examination before Caiphas because he had nothing new to add to the account of his predecessors. St. John's story of the Passion unmistakably bears the character of a supplement. If, therefore, SS. Matthew and Mark record a nocturnal session of the Great Council, accompanied by an examination of Jesus under oath, they have in mind the officiating high priest Caiphas as the presiding officer and director of the Council, not Annas. What St. John thinks of this presiding officer and director of the Sanhedrin in the year of Our Lord's death, may be gathered from what he says about the resolution to put Jesus to death (Jn. XI, 47 ff.) According to his account, Caiphas as high priest and as head of the Sanhedrin, proposed to put Jesus to death. A preceding consultation with Annas is, of course, by no means excluded. Finally, aside from the statements of Josephus about the installment and removal of the high priests in those years, it seems *per se* inconceivable that the Roman procurators should have transferred the administration of the high-priestly office to *personae gratae*, but left the management of the Jewish official board to a different person.

Jn. XVIII, 24 is not transmitted uniformly. In the manuscripts there are variations regarding the words οὖν and δέ. Codices B and C have οὖν, but Aleph has δέ; A and D have neither οὖν nor δέ, but solely ἀπέστειλεν αὐτόν. Brandscheid, Hetzenauer, and Nestle give οὖν the preference; but if this οὖν is genuine, we have in it a strong argument

[9] Cfr. Schürer, *Gesch. d. jüdischen Volkes*, II, 221 ff.

in favor of the view that Annas conducted the hearing recorded in Jn. XVIII, 19 ff. Also in other respects Jn. XVIII, 24 has attracted attention from ancient times. Some manuscripts place the verse immediately after XVIII, 13; at a very early date the difficulty presented by this verse was recognized and attempts were made to remove it by a transposition. On account of the repeated remarks of St. John about the high-priestly dignity of Caiphas, it was believed more probable that the one who conducted the preliminary hearing of Jesus was the high priest κατ' ἐξοχήν, *i. e.*, Caiphas. But as the statement in Jn. XVIII, 24 contradicted this belief, a transposition was made, which made it appear that Jesus was first conducted to Annas, but sent by the latter at once to the ruling high priest Caiphas, who thereupon proceeded to examine Him. One point in favor of the view that Annas was the first to examine Jesus is the consideration that Caiphas had to make the necessary arrangements for a session of the Sanhedrin (send out the summons, procure witnesses, etc.). It is quite natural to suppose that, while the ruling high priest was thus occupied, his father-in-law Annas stepped in and inaugurated the legal proceeding by a semi-official hearing of the defendant. But the chief reason of assuming that the ἀρχιερεύς of Jn. XVIII, 19 was Annas, not Caiphas, is the consideration that St. John would not have made the observation embodied in XVIII, 13 if it had been his intention to say nothing further about Annas. The hearing of the prisoner before Annas was intended, just as XVIII, 9, to illustrate the statement of Jesus recorded in Jn. XVII, 12, that His disciples should not be sought out and dragged into court, which the hierarchs had planned to do. The theory advanced by several scholars that Annas and Caiphas lived in the same palace, though in different apartments, has found favor with many, and is probably correct. When the bailiffs and soldiers with their prisoner put in their appearance at the house of the high priest, Jesus was by order of Caiphas brought before Annas for a preliminary hearing. The three Synoptics are unanimous (Mt. XXVI, 57; Mk. XIV, 53; Lk. XXII, 54) in reporting that He was led from the garden of Olives into the house of the high priest, *i. e.*, Caiphas; to this place, following the cortège, also went Peter and another disciple; there occurred the denial by Peter and the condemnation of Jesus. The statement in Jn. XVIII, 13 by no means points to a different locality. It would be difficult to understand why the nocturnal expedition should have gone from Mount Olivet to any other place than the residence of the ruling high priest, for Caiphas had issued the orders for the expedition and the Roman tribune who at the request of the Jewish officials had placed the cohort at their disposal for the arrest of Jesus, would surely have refused to lead Jesus to any other place than the palace of

the high priest, on whom rested the chief responsibility for the whole affair.

3. The words of Jesus recorded in Jn. XVIII, 20 have not as yet received due appreciation. Especially the interpretation of ὁ κόσμος leaves much to be desired. Some exegetes see in it an expression analogous to the French *"tout le monde,"* but such a use of the word κόσμος cannot be authenticated in classical Greek, and much less in the New Testament. According to others the expression is said to mean "the whole world." While Jesus spoke for the most part only in the schools and in the Temple of the Holy Land, and although only a comparatively small portion of the world could until then have heard His doctrine, nevertheless His preaching soon after resounded εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἅπαντα (Mk. XVI. 15). This explanation is intended to do justice to the word κόσμος, but to me it seems forced and artificial. Our Lord told Annas that He had spoken to the whole world, *i. e.*, before all Israel and its rulers. Let it not be objected: Then the wording would have to be, παντὶ τῷ λαῷ. The Evangelist used ὁ κόσμος already in his prologue: ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἦν, καὶ ὁ κόσμος δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ ὁ κόσμος αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔγνω (Jn. I, 10): the Logos, when John the Baptist began to preach, was in the world already for thirty years, but although the world was made by Him, was created by Him, the world did not know Him. What does ὁ κόσμος mean in the third place? Evidently the people of Israel. The Divine Logos had been made flesh, had walked and lived in the midst of the people of Palestine, for the longest time in Nazareth, but no one recognized Jesus of Nazareth as the Messias and the Son of God, neither his brethren (Jn. VII, 5) nor for some time John the Baptist (Jn. I, 31), much less the people in and about Nazareth (Jn. I, 46) or even the official representatives of Israel (Jn. I, 26). To all he was merely the son of Joseph the carpenter of Nazareth (Jn. I, 46; VI, 42. Cfr. on ὁ κόσμος Chaps. XV and XVI of St. John's Gospel = the hierarchs and Sanhedrists as the representatives of the stiff-necked, impenitent Jewish nation and of unbelievers in general). I also wish to call attention to Jn. VII, 4 and XII, 19 as illustrating the meaning of ὁ κόσμος. The former is the more striking, because we meet there also ἐν κρυπτῷ and ἐν παρρησίᾳ. The brethren of Jesus ask Him to go to Jerusalem for the feast of the Tabernacles and there manifest His prophetic mission and His Messianic character by miracles, in order that the numerous disciples from Judea, who had deserted Him a short time before, and who would surely come to Jerusalem for the feast of the σκηνοπηγία, would be aroused to enthusiasm for Him and His work and follow Him with loyalty and affection. It is to no purpose, they tell Him, to labor further

in secret, *i. e.*, in Galilee, which is now deserted on account of the approaching feast: Go with us to Jerusalem, manifest thyself to "the world," *i. e.*, to all Israel together with its rulers, assembled there for the feast of the Tabernacles. That ὁ κόσμος has this meaning in the passages quoted, is undeniable. Likewise also in the passage XII, 19: "The Pharisees therefore said among themselves: Do you see that you prevail nothing? Behold, the whole world is gone after him." It is indeed strange to take ὁ κόσμος in this passage otherwise than in the sense: the entire Jewish people listen to His word and desert their former leaders. The context excludes pagans. Accordingly we may take it as an established fact that Our Redeemer said before Annas: I have spoken in the presence of, and to *all the people* of Israel, together with their rulers; I taught in the synagogue and in the Temple. Here we must evidently think of the synagogues scattered throughout the Holy Land, especially of those in Galilee, where Jesus, according to the testimony of the Evangelists, loved to preach (Mt. IV, 13; IX, 35; XII, 9; XIII, 54; Mk. I, 21, 23, 29; III, 1; VI, 2; Lk. IV, 13, 16, 20, 28, 33, 38; VI, 6; XIII 10; Jn. VI, 59). By the side of these Our Lord places the sacred precincts of the Temple in the Jewish capital, where He taught and labored on all feasts, beginning with the first Easter festival, and where the hierarchs had heard and disputed with Him. Thither on the principal festivals the *whole Jewish nation,* even the multitudes from the diaspora, resorted. Ὅπου. (Jn. XVIII, 20) can refer only to ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ. Παρρησία, in view of VII, 4, does not mean: without reserve, but *openly, publicly* (cfr. Jn. XI, 54: παρρησίᾳ περιπατεῖν); its antithesis is (cfr. VII, 4 and XI, 54) ἐν κρυπτῷ = in secret, *in oculto, remotis testibus.* But did not Our Lord frequently teach only His disciples, speak only to them? Certainly (cfr. especially Mt. X, 27), and it is surely incorrect to say that on such occasions He spoke of nothing else but what he was wont to preach in synagogue or Temple (cfr. Mt. XIII, 36 ff.). However, when He instructed His disciples in the deeper truths of salvation and in the mysteries of the Kingdom of God, He had them at least as witnesses. The Great Council was free at any time to interrogate "hearers" of His doctrine from Jerusalem, Judea, Galilee, and Perea, in short from all over Palestine, and it could also summon and question the disciples of Jesus, who could give more reliable information than the people, if need be under oath. However, the Jewish authorities did not want a formal judicial inquiry, as Nicodemus had boldly told them to their face (Jn. VII, 50 ff); they did not want to interrogate any hearers of Jesus; they condemned and rejected His doctrine from the very outset and now were animated solely by the desire to extract from Jesus one word that would furnish them a cause for condemning Him. The very

first judge before whom Our Lord is brought is filled with hatred and prejudice against Him. He is the leader of the magistrates who had Jesus arrested without bringing any legal charge, without even so much as deliberating on the proper proceeding against Him. If Jesus answers Annas at all, if He does not keep complete silence as He did later before King Herod Antipas and towards the witnesses who testify against Him in court, it is due to the circumstance that in this preliminary examination, instituted by order of the ruling high priest, the injustice and brutal violation of right does not as yet manifest itself so plainly and openly as it did later. However, Jesus declines to give a direct answer, but briefly calls Annas's attention to the proper way of directing the illegal proceedings against Him into the channel of legality and justice.

The word οὕτοι may have been accompanied by a gesture towards the ὑπηρέται present in the court-room, who were probably identical with the parties mentioned in Jn. VII, 45 f. Truly a fine piece of irony, which would explain the blow administered to Jesus and the sudden conclusion of the hearing.

CHAPTER II

JESUS BEFORE THE GREAT COUNCIL

(Mt. XXVI, 57–66; Mk. XIV, 53–64; Lk. XXII, 66–71)

St. Matthew, true to his purpose of placing the guilt of the Jewish people and in particular that of the Sanhedrin and its president in a clear light, is quite prolix in narrating the course of the trial during the night session held by the high priest in his palace. St. Mark, upon the whole, follows his example. St. Luke occupies a peculiar position between the two. He first relates (XXII, 63–65) how Jesus was maltreated and mocked. His account of this incident may be regarded as identical with Mt. XXVI, 67–68 and Mk. XIV, 65. It has reference to the brutality with which our Divine Saviour was treated *immediately after judgment had been pronounced upon Him.* Here SS. Matthew and Mark are more accurate in describing the sequence of events.

St. Luke then reports a hearing to which Jesus was subjected before the assembled Sanhedrin. He is asked whether He is the Son of God, and He replies affirmatively. The death sentence is not expressly mentioned. However, St. Luke in this part of his Gospel must have had in mind the hearing to which Jesus was subjected before the Sanhedrin, according to SS. Matthew and Mark, which concluded with the decision: "He is guilty of death" (Mt. XXVI, 66; Mk. XIV, 64). For the text of St. Luke's account on the whole coincides perfectly with that of the two other Synoptics. There is agreement also in a material respect. True, the indication of the time ("as soon as it was day"; cfr. Lk. IV, 42; Acts XII, 18) seems to

oppose this view. But the opposition is merely apparent, not real. According to SS. Matthew and Mark the session of the Sanhedrin in the palace of Caiphas took place at night and was followed immediately by a secret discussion early in the morning (Mt. XXVII, 1; Mk. XV, 1). St. Luke, therefore, is inaccurate in not properly distinguishing between the two sessions, but treating them as one. [Note 1.]

As the *place* where the session of the Sanhedrin was held the Evangelists mention the house of the high priest (Caiphas). St. Matthew (XXVI, 57) and St. Mark (XIV, 53) merely make the general statement: Jesus was led from Mount Olivet "to Caiphas the high priest" and "to the high priest"; but St. Luke positively designates the *house* of the high priest as the place to which he was brought (XXII, 54). According to tradition this house was situated on Mt. Sion. [Note 2.] There the Sanhedrin assembled in the night of the 14th to the 15th Nisan: the *high priests,* the *scribes,* and the *ancients* (Mk. XIV, 53; Mk. XXVI 57, 59). [Note 3.] Some of the council members probably had assembled in the palace of Caiphas before the arrival of Jesus, namely, those who had been informed before midnight of the latest proposal of Judas and the project of seizing Jesus. The others Caiphas summoned to a session after the arrival of Jesus. Most of them undoubtedly answered the summons with joy and expectation. But whether we may assume a *full* assembly is doubtful. From the wording of the Evangelists (*ὅλον τὸ συνέδριον*, Mk. XIV, 55; *τὸ συνέδριον ὅλον*, Mt. XXVI, 59) it by no means follows that all (71) members were present; we may draw only this conclusion that all three classes were represented and that a quorum was present. The session in the house of the high priest was *illegal* (as was also the preceding one; Mt. XXVI, 3), for the appointed meeting-place of the Sanhedrin was on the west side of the Temple. The choice of Caiphas's house was dictated not merely by the inability of entering the Temple-place at night because the gates were closed, but also by a desire to avoid attracting

public attention and to prevent scandal, which would have been given if the session had been held in the ordinary place. The sabbatical first Easter day had already begun. A further illegality consisted in holding the session *at night,* about 2 o'clock in the morning. The Jews had a law, founded on custom, under which a judicial trial was not to be begun before full daylight and closed before dusk. Moreover, the 15th Nisan as a σάββατον was an obstacle in the way of calling a session of the Sanhedrin. The "Judeans" undoubtedly allayed their scruples with the thought: πάντα ἔξεστιν, everything is lawful, since there was an urgent necessity of rendering innocuous one who was supposed to be a menace to their political and religious existence.

All these illegalities, however, are overshadowed by the one great injustice that the council from the outset did not meet to administer justice, but, in defiance of the law, to pronounce the death sentence. What impartiality could be expected of the presiding judge, the high priest Caiphas, who eight weeks before had said in a session of the same council concerning Jesus: "It is expedient for you that one man should *die* for the people, that the whole nation perish not" (Jn. XI, 50 and XVIII, 14)? Because a man of such mentality presided over the council, it was easy to foresee what the decision would be. The trial opened with the preconceived determination to put Jesus to death at all hazards (Mt. XXVI, 59; Mk. XIV, 55). No one had brought a charge against Jesus in due form before the council went into session. It was only during the session itself that the presiding judge formulated a charge by saying that Jesus had falsely called Himself the Messias and Son of God (Mt. XXVI, 63). And how was the necessary evidence procured? Witnesses for the prosecution were examined; however, it was contrary to the spirit of the law that these were not sought for and interrogated until during the trial. According to law only such witnesses could be taken into consideration as either offered themselves or had been summoned before

the beginning of the trial. When, therefore, Saint Matthew (XXVI, 59) says that the Sanhedrists *sought* false witnesses, he speaks not from the standpoint of the Evangelist, but from that of the Synhedrists themselves. These men in their hatred and sinful obstinacy unhesitatingly brushed the law aside and directly went in search of false witnesses, and in so doing they were not niggardly in making promises or paying out coin. They knew Jesus was a man of unimpeachable character (cfr. Jn. VIII, 46) and therefore were obliged to have recourse to the testimony of conscienceless persons, in order to condemn Him under the semblance of a judicial proceeding. But even in this manner they could not obtain sufficient material for pronouncing sentence. True, there were on hand not only the two witnesses required by the Jewish law (Dt. XVII, 6), but also other witnesses (Mt. XXVI, 60); but their testimony did not agree and was therefore unconvincing. When, evidently after some delay, two new witnesses came forward (*προσελθόντες*) and reported Christ's declaration recorded in Jn. II, 19 ("I am able to destroy the Temple of God and after three days to rebuild it") this testimony also should have been rejected, for the witnesses, while asserting that they had heard Jesus utter these words, did not report them as originally spoken, but in a maliciously distorted and falsified form (I am able to destroy, instead of: destroy this temple; *οἰκοδομήσω* instead of *ἐγερῶ*; *τὸν χειροποίητον* instead of *τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον*), as if Jesus had spoken with contempt of the Temple. Aside from this, the evidence suffered from another radical defect. There was no agreement between the witnesses; all of them misrepresented and distorted the sayings of Jesus, yet each gave them a different form.

The rule prescribed for all judicial trials, first to summon the witnesses for the defense and examine them (cfr. the suggestions of Our Lord before Annas, Jn. XVIII, 20 f.), was violated by the Sanhedrin, who were thus guilty of a glaring violation of justice. That the friends of Jesus, and

the Galilean and Perean pilgrims in general, were purposely excluded as witnesses, may be seen from Jn. XVIII, 16 sqq. In spite of the falsity of the testimony given by the last witnesses, the chairman of the Council requests Jesus to defend Himself against the charges of blasphemy ("Answerest thou nothing to the things that these witness against thee?"). Jesus refused to answer because of the malevolence both of the witnesses and the judges. Thereupon the high priest puts *the direct question:* Are you the Messias and the Son of God? According to Jewish law it was not within the competency of Caiphas to extract such a confession from Our Lord. Apart from that, his interrogation appears altogether abrupt, though this abruptness is merely apparent. The high priest arrived at this question by reflecting on the testimony of the witnesses concerning the alleged destruction and rebuilding of the Temple within three days. The Jews expected that the Messias would rebuild the Temple of God (Zach. VI, 12 ff.). This probably suggested to Caiphas the idea that Jesus claimed to be the Messias. For the rest, his question was quite natural. For although Jesus during His whole public ministry never once called Himself "Messias" and permitted no one to call Him thus (save certain exceptions; see my *Einleitung*), nevertheless from the beginning of His public career the question whether Jesus was the Messias and the Son of God was the chief subject of debate between Him and the "Judeans" (see the discourses in Jn. V. ff.), and the chief point of the great homage rendered to Jesus when he entered Jerusalem on Saturday the 9th Nisan was that He was hailed as the Messianic King (Jn. XII, 13 f.); which certainly did not escape the notice of the ἄρχοντες. Therefore, in their opinion, this question had now by all means to be discussed and brought to a decision. [Note 4.] With full freedom and due regard for the mission He had taken upon Himself, Jesus gives an affirmative answer to the questions put to him regarding His Messianity and divine sonship, in the form customary among the Jews when

affirming anything under oath: "Thou hast said it," which Mark transforms into "I am." To this answer, which must be taken as an affirmation under oath, because He accepted the solemn adjuration of the high priest, Our Lord, alluding to Dan. VII, 13 and Ps. CX, 1, adds the words: "You shall see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of the power of God (= God the Father, the almighty; Mt. XXVI, 64). The word ὄψεσθε, when applied to the Sanhedrists, may appear somewhat strange, because they do not seem to have seen His glory which began with the Resurrection and Ascension. But this is not so. Were not the members of the Sanhedrin witnesses of the descent of the Holy Ghost and the foundation and propagation of the Church, all "works" of the Son of man sitting on the right hand of the Father? And did not many of them witness the coming of the glorified Son of man to judge the murderous city, thus anticipating the General Judgment?

The high priest answers the sworn testimony of Jesus concerning his Messiaship and divine sonship by rending his garments. These were not the gorgeous official vestments which the high priest was permitted to wear only at divine service on high festivals,[1] but his ordinary garb. He feigned to express by this action his profound indignation at the atrocious deed of the accused, who had rendered Himself guilty of outrageous blasphemy by unlawfully usurping the Messianic dignity and the divine nature. He thereby declares Him guilty of blasphemy and intimates that further evidence is superfluous, because the confession made by Our Lord sufficed to condemn him. [Note 5.] Thus Caiphas at the close of the session was guilty of another illegal act, because he did not investigate the claim of Jesus, but without further ado pronounced the death sentence and had it confirmed by the members of the Sanhedrin. By saying, "What think you?" he asked for their vote, and all present voted "guilty": He is a blasphemer, deserving of the death penalty according to the law

[1] Cfr. Ex. XXVIII, 25 and 43 and Jos., *Bell. Iud.*, II, 15, 4.

(Lv. XXIV, 15 f.). Evidently he did not order the votes of the individual Sanhedrists to be taken, recorded, and counted by the clerk, as custom and the law required, but declared the question decided by the unanimous consent of those present. Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea, both secret disciples of Jesus, seem not to have been present when the sentence was pronounced; because, according to Mk. XIV, 64, all who were present at the session condemned Jesus to death. Luke (XXIII, 51) expressly testifies that Joseph did not assent to the plot of the Judeans to arrest Jesus and put Him to death, while Nicodemus, as early as the feast of the Tabernacles, had strenuously opposed any unlawful proceeding against Jesus (Jn. VII, 50 ff.)

1. On the relation of Lk. XXII, 66–71 to Mt. XXVI, 57–66 and Mk. XIV, 53–64, St. Augustine[2] remarks: *"Nocte autem intelligimus per falsos testes actum esse cum Domino, quod breviter commemoraverunt Matthaeus et Marcus, Lucas tacuit, qui enarravit, quae mane sunt gesta. Nam et illi, id est Matthaeus et Marcus, contexuerunt narrationem in iis, quae cum Domino acta erant, sed nondum commemoraverant, quod mane factum est."* Chrysostom and Euthymius express the same view. Among recent writers Brüll defends the identity of Lk. XXII, 66–71 with the quoted passages of the two first Evangelists. The agreement between the Synoptics is indeed incontestable. The words τί ἔτι ἔχομεν μαρτυρίας χρείαν (Lk. XIV, 71) agree perfectly with the words of the high priest Caiphas in Matthew (XXVI, 65) and Mark (XIV, 63): τί ἔτι χρείαν ἔχομεν μαρτύρων,—only that SS. Matthew and Mark represent the high priest as speaking alone, whilst St. Luke attributes the words to the Sanhedrists in general. Besides we observe an agreement of the words: αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἠκούσαμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ (Lk. XXII, 71) with: ἴδε νῦν ἠκούσατε τὴν βλασφημίαν (Mt. XXVI, 65) and ἠκούσατε τῆς βλασφημίας (Mk. XIV, 64). Furthermore, there is a similarity between the words of Jesus: ὄψεσθε τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καθήμενον (Matthew and Mark) and those in Luke: ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν δὲ ἔσται ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καθήμενος. The original form of this *logion* is that reported by SS. Matthew and Mark. These two Synoptics are also perfectly accurate in introducing the high priest as the one who put these questions to Jesus. St. Luke describes the "chief priests and scribes," or the Sanhedrin in

[2] *De Cons. Evang.*, III, 27.

general, as the questioners (Lk. XXII, 66). Objectively there is no difference between the two statements. But St. Luke's account is characterized by greater accuracy in that he clearly distinguishes two separate and distinct questions (XXII, 67–70) and reports the utterance of the Saviour: "If I shall tell you [*i. e.*, that I am the Messias], you will not believe me" (Lk. XXII, 67). To understand the import of these words, we must consider the conduct of the Judeans from the very beginning of Christ's public ministry. John the Baptist had designated Jesus as the Messias for Israel and its rulers (Jn. I, 19–34); Our Lord Himself had reminded the latter of this testimony on the festival of Pentecost (Jn. V, 33) and it had been the chief purpose of His public appearance at the different festivals in Jerusalem to testify by word and deed that He was indeed the promised Messias. But already on the first Easter He had reason to complain: "You receive not our testimony" (Jn. III, 11). Instead of comparing His testimony with the prophecies contained in Sacred Scripture, they had on the feast of the Tabernacles sent out their servants to seize Him (Jn. VII, 44 ff.). They simply would not listen to any testimony concerning Him and His mission. They had previously refused to believe in Him; therefore they will not accept His testimony now. The Saviour's additional remark: "If I would ask you, you would not answer," is interpreted by most exegetes as follows: If I would ask you in all seriousness for the reasons why you have seized me and hold me captive, you would not be able to give a satisfactory answer, because your conduct cannot possibly be justified. This interpretation is not to be entirely rejected, though we may note that Christ *did* express Himself concerning the unjust proceedings adopted against Him before the servants and the high priests (Mt. XXVI, 55 and the parallel texts) and again before Annas (Jn. XVIII, 19 ff.). Perhaps He merely meant to say: "I might ask you many questions, *e. g.*, concerning the qualities of the Messias according to the prophecies, and show you that all these prophecies are fulfilled in me; but you would refuse to answer me, even though you could not possibly deny the convincingness of my argument.

2. According to tradition, the palace of the high priest Caiphas was situated on Mount Sion. The statements of the Evangelists may be made to agree with this tradition. Whether Annas lived in the same palace with his son-in-law, Caiphas, is by no means a settled fact; although in ancient as well as modern times the view has found much favor that both men occupied different wings of one large palace with a courtyard in between.[3] The gospel accounts of the denial of Christ by Peter seem

[3] Zahn, *Einleitung*, II, 522.

to recommend this conjecture. However, we must not forget that tradition distinguishes the house of Annas from the palace of Caiphas and places the former at a point within the present walls of the city, where to-day stands a convent of Armenian nuns, whilst the palace of Caiphas is said to have stood somewhat north of the Cenacle. The most ancient sources at our command (the Pilgrim of Bordeaux, Theodosius, St. Cyril [*Catech.*, XIII, 38 f.]) know of but one house, that of Caiphas. The tradition concerning a separate house of Annas is of later provenience. As Annas was the father-in-law of Caiphas, there is nothing improbable in the assumption that he resided in the house of his son-in-law.

3. About the origin of the Sanhedrin, its composition, task, and sphere of activity, we are by no means well informed. Josephus, Philo, the Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles, it is true, furnish many details; but they all treat the Sanhedrin as a living institution, without enlightening us concerning its origin, duties, and powers. Josephus and Philo give us some details of the institution as it existed in the decades immediately before and after Christ. During the incumbency of the high priest Hyrcanus II, Herod, the son of Antipater, was summoned before the Sanhedrin on some well-founded charges. He appeared with an armed force, and when he found that the Council intended to condemn him to death, Hyrcanus, as *president* of the convocation, postponed the session to another day.[4] This Sanhedrin was, therefore, under the direction of the high priests and administered justice in criminal cases, as follows from what Josephus says about the president of the Sanhedrin: *φυλάξει τοὺς νόμους, δικάσει περὶ τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων, κολάσει τοὺς ἐλεγχθέντας ἐπ' ἀδίκῳ*,[5] as also from the words: Moses decreed that in every city seven fair-minded men should administer justice, and if these judges are in a quandary as to how to decide a case, they should bring the whole matter before the high priest, the prophets, and the ancients in the holy city, who shall then assemble and make a decision.[6] During the reign of Herod and of Archelaus the activity of the Sanhedrin was curtailed. Herod, after his accession to the throne, caused all members of the Great Council, together with Hyrcanus, to be put to death and spared only Sameas.[7] Particularly during the latter part of his reign this brutal king caused many to be put to death; he raged against his own relatives, and Josephus now and then tells us of the meetings of a council, which was, however, as it seems, composed for the most part

[4] Jos., *Ant.*, XIV, 9, 4; cfr. XIV, 8, 3.
[5] *C. Ap.*, II, 23.
[6] *Ant.*, IV, 8, 14.
[7] *Ant.*, XIV, 9, 4.

of friends and acquaintances or members of the royal family.[8] The reign of Archelaus was also despotic. After he was deposed, the Jewish State was administered by an aristocracy, and the government of the people lay in the hands of the high priests.[9] At the time of the Roman procurators the Sanhedrin was the supreme authority of Judea in religious, political, and judicial affairs, in so far as it did not conflict with the position, office, and powers of the procurator. More of this later. Josephus and Philo, in their history of this period, frequently quote the Sanhedrin as the board of officials with whom the Roman procurators dealt in matters concerning the Jewish people. These writers use the terms *οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ ἡ βουλή* or *οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ δυνατοί, οἱ πρῶτοι* or *οἱ ἄρχοντες, οἱ ἐν τέλει.* Cfr. Philo, *Legatio ad Caium,* 31: *μεταπέμπεται* (Petronius) *τοὺς ἐν τέλει Ἰουδαίων ἱερεῖς τε καὶ ἄρχοντες* (in the time of Caligula), Philo, *Legatio ad Caium,* 38: *τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἐν τέλει* (in the time of Pilate). Josephus, *Bell. Iud.,* II, 15, 3: *μεταπέμπεται* (Florus) *τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς σὺν τοῖς γνωρίμοις. Ibid.* II, 15, 6; *μεταπεμψάμενος τοὺς τε ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ τὴν βουλήν*; II, 16, 2: *οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ἅμα τοῖς δυνατοῖς καὶ ἡ βουλὴ παρῆν*; cfr. II, 17, 2: *τῶν ἀρχιερέων καὶ τῶν γνωρίμων.* In these passages the council, presided over by the high priests, appears as the supreme authority of Judea (cfr. also Josephus, *Ant.,* XVIII, 1, 1: the high priest Joazar). The council as the supreme court occurs in Josephus, *Ant.* XIV, 9, 3; XX, 10, 1. In the Gospels and in the Acts of the Apostles this board is introduced by similar designations; it is called *συνέδριον, e. g.,* in Acts IV, 15; Jn. XI 47; cfr. Mt. XXVI, 57; *οἱ ἄρχοντες καὶ πρεσβύτεροι καί γραμματεῖς* (Acts IV, 5; cfr. IV, 8, where Peter addresses the members as *ἄρχοντες τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ πρεσβύτεροι*; Mk. XIV(53: *οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς*; or Acts XXII, 30; *οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ πᾶν τὸ συνέδριον*; cfr. Mt. XXVI, 59; Mk. XIV, 55; Lk. XXII, 66: *τὸ πρεσβυτέριον τοῦ λαοῦ, ἀρχιερεῖς τε καὶ γραμματεῖς*). Once we meet with the expression *τὸ συνέδριον καὶ πᾶσα ἡ γερουσία τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ* [Acts V, 21]. The name *ἡ βουλή* is not found in the Gospels; however, *βουλευτής* is used to designate a member of the council, *e. g.,* Mk. XV, 43; Lk. XXIII, 50; cfr. *ἄρχων,* Jn. III, 1; *ἄρχοντες* occasionally alongside of *ἀρχιερεῖς, e. g.,* Lk. XXIII, 13 and XXIV, 20). That the "high priests" are, as a rule, mentioned first (an exception Mt. XVI, 21), is done to designate them as the leaders. The ruling high priest convokes the council and presides at it (Acts V, 21). The passage cited also contains a definite indication of the great influence wielded by the other high priests, who are certainly meant by *οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ* Who were the *ἀρχιερεῖς*? Besides the ruling high priest all those who at

[8] Cfr. *Ant.,* XV, 6, 2; XV, 7, 4; XV, 7, 6; XVI, 11, 1.
[9] *Ant.,* XX, 10, 1.

one time had held this office. Their number must have been considerable at the time of Our Lord, because the Roman procurators or governors of Syria installed or deposed high priests arbitrarily, as Herod and Archelaus had done before (cfr. Josephus, *Ant.* XVIII, 2, 1; XVIII, 2, 2; XVIII, 5, 3, and especially XX, 10, 1: "From the time of Herod until the day on which Titus set fire to the Temple and the city, there were in all twenty-eight high priests, who filled a period of one hundred and seven years"). It has been objected that the deposed high priests cannot have had a seat and decisive influence in the supreme council of the Jews, because it would have been paradoxical if Herod and Archelaus or the Roman procurators had appointed a high priest who had become obnoxious and whom they had removed from office, as a member of the supreme council. The man who was dangerous to the governors as a high priest must also have appeared dangerous to them as a Sanhedrist. This argument seems convincing, but it will not stand in view of the unequivocal statements of Josephus and the New Testament. Acts IV, 6 mentions, together with the ruling high priest, "Annas the high priest," who took a prominent part in the crusade against the nascent church. There is question in this passage of official or judicial proceedings against the Apostles, and hence Annas must have been a member of the Sanhedrin, as he was at the time of Our Lord's trial (Jn. XVIII, 13 ff.). The son of this Annas, Annus the younger, is called by Josephus in a description of the combat of the Zealots against the sacerdotal nobility, ὁ γεραίτατος τῶν ἀρχιερέων (*Bell. Iud.*, IV, 3, 7). This man was at the time here spoken of no longer ruling high priest, having been deposed in the year 62 on account of his proceedings against James (*Ant.*, XX, 9, 1). However, as Josephus testifies, He continued to belong to the ἀρχιερεῖς and possessed great influence as one of the ἄρχοντες or δυνατοί, *i. e.*, leading members of the Sanhedrin. This may also be inferred from the statement of Josephus in *Bell. Iud.*, IV, 3, 9, where the high priests are represented as a special class of dignitaries, who had at one time held the office (cfr. the allusion to this fact by the younger Annus in *Bell. Iud.*, IV, 3, 10) and together with the ruling high priest, as members of the supreme council, took an active part in the official business. It is, of course, true that the rank and title οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς at the time of Jesus was applied also to others, namely, to members of the distinguished families who in those days furnished the high priests. From Josephus we learn positively that this dignity was conferred on members of only a few families, the families of Ananus, Phabi, Boethos, and Kamith. It was members of these distinguished families whom St. Luke had in mind when he wrote (Acts IV, 6): ὅσοι ἦσαν ἐκ γένους ἀρχιερατικοῦ. Alongside of the ἀρχιερεῖς the Evangelists and Josephus mention as members of the

Sanhedrin also the Scribes (*οἱ γραμματεῖς*), who represented jurisprudence, but were at the same time theologians and, as a rule, belonged to the party of the Pharisees. They were therefore a counterpoise to the aristocratic priests of the Sadducee party. Besides the *γραμματεῖς*, the Supreme Council embraced *πρεσβύτεροι τοῦ λαοῦ*, who most probably were jurists chosen chiefly from the local courts established in the various towns, whose most prominent members were transferred to the supreme court in Jerusalem, the Sanhedrin.

The Sanhedrin probably numbered 71 members. In the Mishna (Sanhedr., I, 6) this number is based upon Nm. XI, 16: "Gather unto me seventy men of the ancients of Israel"; Moses was the seventy-first. Accordingly, the council at the time of Moses was the model for the Sanhedrin known to us. Its place of meeting was the council hall (*βουλευτήριον*) or the so-called Gazith. Josephus speaks of it (*Bell. Iud.*, V, 4, 2 and VI, 6, 3), but in a manner which leaves a doubt as to its location. We have in mind the west side of the Temple in the Valley of the Cheesemongers. Büchler opposes this view with a great display of erudition.[10] This scholar attempts to prove that the Gazith or Stone-hall was situated in the inner court of the Temple and did not harbor the Sanhedrin, the supreme court spoken of by Josephus and the Gospels, but an entirely different body, the supreme *religious council*, which regulated the religious life of the Jews, conducted the services in the Temple, and attended to the observance of the religious laws and regulations in the sacrificial service and in daily life. Its composition bore, as a rule, a Sadducean and only occasionally a Pharisaic imprint. This council, according to Büchler, always had its meeting-place in the Gazith, but was transferred to the eastern hall of the Temple-mount (market-court) forty years before the destruction of the Temple, according to the rabbinic tradition of the Talmud, or rather, as Büchler thinks, about the year A. D. 40. Büchler's argumentation has not convinced me. I still cling to the opinion that the Sanhedrin described by Josephus, by the Evangelists, and by the Acts of the Apostles was in the days of Our Lord the supreme authority of the Jewish nation,—supreme in religious matters, supreme in judicial affairs, and the supreme representative body in political affairs (in the two latter cases its jurisdiction did not extend beyond the boundaries of Judea), and that it held its sessions in the *βουλευτήριον* on the Temple-mount. In the case of Jesus, of course, it met, contrary to custom, in the palace of the high priest.

Regarding the *time when* this session began, Mk. XIV, 53 reports: "They led Jesus to the high priest; and [at the same time] all the

[10] *Das Synedrion in Jerusalem*, Vienna, 1902.

priests and the scribes and the ancients assembled together." These words are usually interpreted in the sense that the Sanhedrists arrived simultaneously with Jesus before the high priest. No one will be tempted to deny the correctness of this interpretation from the linguistic point of view. The idea is this: Whilst Jesus is subjected to a preliminary examination before Annas, the members of the Great Council, to whom messengers had been despatched immediately upon His arrival, made their appearance, and thus the session could now begin. This interpretation is not certain, however, and it must be admitted that the Sanhedrists assembled at the high priest's, and no mention is made of the time of the meeting. Jesus probably arrived on Mt. Sion between 1 and 2 o'clock; then followed the hearing before Annas and after that began the session of the Great Council,—hence a little before 3 o'clock.

4. In what sense does Caiphas use the title *υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ*? Jesus, of course, understood the phrase in a metaphysical sense when answering the question of the high priest. The Jews upon the whole had a very imperfect notion of the Messias. They expected him to be a man consisting of body and soul, who, highly blessed (*ἐκλεκτός*) above all others, would by a holy unction be made the adopted Son of God. In view of Ps. II, 7 he was called Son of God. For the rest, the Jews at the time of Christ had no clear notions of His nature and dignity. They regarded Him as the "Messias," without connecting this notion with "Son of God" in a higher sense, as we may plainly see from the answer which the Jews gave on another occasion. When Jesus said to them: "What think you of Christ, whose son is he?" they said: David's son; they, however, did not add, Son of God (Mt. XXII, 12 ff.). The demons had often testified when Jesus passed by: "Thou art the Son of God, the most high" (Mt. VIII, 29; Mk. III, 12; V, 7; Lk. IV, 41; VIII, 28). We must certainly see in this a confession of His superior nature. The Baptist had made known Jesus as the Son of God to the people of Israel (Jn. I, 34): this was the testimony to which Our Lord referred in Jerusalem (Jn. V, 31 ff.), and He declared Himself the Son of God with ever increasing positiveness from His first appearance in public on Easter 782 (Jn. II, 16) to his farewell on Tuesday, the 12th Nisan, 783. The "Judeans" waxed exceedingly wroth on each occasion and answered His statements by an attack on his body and life (Jn. V, 18; VIII, 59; X, 31). They regarded this claim as a blasphemy. Though they did not arrive at a clear understanding of the purport of these statements (Jn. VIII, 27), they nevertheless had an inkling of their meaning. They realized that Jesus introduced Himself not merely as an adopted son, but as the consubstantial Son of God; hence their

rage; hence also the verdict of Caiphas: "He has blasphemed God; what further need have we of witnesses?" He is guilty of death; he must be eradicated from among the people. From the answer to the first question (Lk. XXII, 67) the Sanhedrists, especially in view of Christ's reference to Dan. VII, 13 ff., could perceive clearly that He claimed for Himself the dignity of Son of man, visioned by the prophet. They correctly concluded (note the οὖν in Lk. XXII, 70) that He laid claim to the title "Son of God," especially as He had on previous occasions declared that He was not only the Messias (Jn. X, 25) but, as such, likewise the Son of God in the true and proper sense of the word (Jn. V, 18). Hence it would have been their duty to subject His decisive declaration, "I am the Messias, the Son of God," to a careful examination. When a born Jew, whose Davidic descent was undeniable, claimed to be the Messias, his words, his prophetic sayings, and his deeds should have been critically examined, a larger number of witnesses should have been summoned, the Biblical passages relating to this matter, like Dt. XVIII, 15, 21, should have been consulted and applied to his discourses and deeds. Only if, after careful scrutiny, his claims proved false, could sentence be passed or a penalty imposed according to the law. In like manner the relationship of the two ideas "Messias" and "Son of God" should have been examined, the scope and significance of the statements of Jesus regarding His divine sonship duly weighed on the basis of Ps. II, and CX. But Caiphas would not listen to the testimony of men or Scripture, but, as if fearing harm for his cause by a delay or an adjournment, he called on the Sanhedrists for their vote. His own statement suffices: Away with the blasphemer out of the land of the living!

5. St. Mark omits the adjuration of Jesus (Mk. XIV, 61). The expression "by the living God" (Mt. XXVI, 63) was used by the Jews in contradistinction to the dead idols of the heathen; some Jews no doubt used it to taunt the pagans, and for this reason the expression must have been odious to the latter. A certain sensitiveness evidently remained in many of them when they heard the expression, even after they had changed their opinion, *i. e.*, had become Christians. The asseveration of Our Lord must be viewed as an oath. Whether or not Caiphas was justified in demanding an oath from Him matters not; the decisive circumstance is that Jesus accepted the adjuration, and hence His words are on a par with a solemn oath. It was not necessary that Jesus should Himself utter the formula of the oath, as is customary in some countries. Among the Jews the one who swore listened to the

formula, and his answer to the question put was an oath. In His Sermon on the Mount Jesus had not only declared perjury as sinful and prohibited it for the members of His Kingdom, but also opposed the use of the oath as such (Mt. V, 33–37; cfr. Jas. V, 12): "Let your speech be yea, yea; no, no"; *i. e.,* when anything is to be affirmed, do not affirm it with an oath, but with a simple "So it is"; and when anything is to be denied, do not do it with an oath, but with a simple "It is not so." By this Jesus described the Christian ideal, saying according to the sense: Swearing by calling upon God as a witness is evil, has its origin and cause in an evil source, is the outcome and sign of a condition that should not be; therefore the oath has no place in the Kingdom of God, where fidelity, honesty, integrity, and truthfulness should prevail and plain, straightforward affirmation and negation should suffice. Since, however, according to Christ's own declaration (Mt. XIII, 24 ff.), good and bad are intermingled during the earthly existence of this kingdom and the members do not measure up to the ideal, the oath will remain a necessary evil until the consummation of the world. This was the case in the night of the 15th Nisan. Jesus was called upon by the lawful authority of the time and adjured by the living God to declare himself regarding His person and office, to give testimony of the truth on which the weal and salvation of Israel rested. On account of the malevolence of the questioner or questioners it seemed necessary to guarantee the reliability of His testimony by the highest form of asseveration and assurance in vogue among men, the one made under oath. Those who hear His testimony, will not hear His voice, will not accept His testimony, any more than that of the Baptist, because they are not of the truth (Jn. III, 11). However, it was a part of the task imposed on Him by the Father that He make an unreserved, solemn declaration before the representatives of the people, before the highest tribunal of Israel, of his Messianity and His divine sonship. There was no excuse left for the unbelieving Judeans (cfr. Jn. XVI, 8 f.); they rejected the testimony of Jesus, found His confession blasphemous, and, as was customary among the Jews when a blasphemy was uttered, Caiphas rent his garments and exposed his chest[11] Their grief and moral indignation at the alleged insult offered to God was, however, merely feigned and hypocritical. Zeal for the honor of God is accompanied by a genuine fear of God; such, however, dwells not in the heart of a man who does not scruple to commit a judicial murder and grossly violates every law.

[11] Cfr. Josephus, *Bell. Iud.,* II, 15, 4; Acts XIV, 14.

CHAPTER III

THE DENIAL OF PETER

(Mt. XXVI, 58, 69–75; Mk. XIV, 54, 66–72; Lk. XXII, 54–62; Jn. XVIII, 15–18, 25–27)

All four Evangelists report this event. We can easily see the reason. Extraordinary importance attaches to the denial of Peter, both on account of the prophecy Jesus made in the Cenacle, and because of the distinguished position held by St. Peter. The event had become known far and wide, and the enemies of Jesus and, after his Ascension, the adversaries of the disciples and of the nascent Church, certainly did not fail to picture the weakness shown by Peter in a very ugly light, passing in silence over his contrition. Therefore the Evangelists believed it their duty to stress not only the fall of Peter, but also his subsequent repentance and thereby to show that his fault caused no change in the dignity and high position conferred on him by Christ.

In the main the four accounts agree; but St. John furnishes important supplementary details. He reports that the first denial happened at the time when Jesus stood before Annas (Jn. XVIII, 18, 25 f.). This detail prevents us from taking a false view of the account given by Matthew, who relates the fall of Peter after recording the proceedings of the Sanhedrin at its night session. This manner of describing the event followed almost of necessity from the accompanying circumstances, because the first two Evangelists do not mention the preliminary hearing before Annas. As in other cases, St. Luke makes the transition to the chronologically correct account. He

first describes how Jesus was led from Mt. Olivet into the palace of the high priest, connects this incident directly with the denial by Peter, and then speaks of the official session of the Sanhedrin (Lk. XXII, 54 ff.).

The second and third denial occurred after Jesus was led away from Annas to Caiphas, *i. e.,* from one apartment of the palace to another, larger one, where the Sanhedrin held its session. Attention may here be called to the further information, peculiar to the fourth Evangelist, that Peter was admitted to the court-yard of the palace through the good offices of another disciple who was known to the high priest (Jn. XVIII, 15 f.). The majority of exegetes, past and present, are of opinion that this "other disciple" was John the Evangelist. They argue from the expression ἄλλος μαθητής, which they parallel with the well known ὁ ἄλλος μαθητής, ὃν ἐφίλει ὁ Ἰησοῦς, (Jn. XX, 2). However, they overlook the vast difference between ὁ ἄλλος μαθητής and the simple ἄλλος μαθητής, as found in the Cod. Sinait., Vatic., and Alex. Whoever takes into due consideration this considerable difference and the absence of the addition ὃν ἐφίλει or ὃν ἠγάπα (Jn. XIII, 23) ὁ Ἰησοῦς, will hesitate to adopt this view. In Jn. XVIII, 16 we meet, it is true, ὁ μαθητής ὁ ἄλλος, but here the article had to be used on account of the repetition of the same person. Remark, however, the additional words ὁ δὲ μαθητὴς ἐκεῖνος γνωστὸς ἦν τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ and ὃς ἦν γνωστὸς τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ. Those who hold that John was the companion of Peter, have made various attempts to render the acquaintance of John of Bethsaida with the high priest Caiphas plausible. John, they say, by order of his father, Zebedee, carried fish to the house of the high priest or himself supplied them, or had sold a plot of ground to the high priest, etc.,—all rather improbable surmises. It will be best to give up this opinion, though it was held by St. Chrysostom, St. Cyril, and Theophylact, and apply the passage to a secret disciple of Christ belonging to the Jewish aristocracy, a man of the type of Nicodemus or Joseph of Arimathea. This explana-

tion alone corresponds to the linguistic form of the account and renders the acquaintance with the high priest intelligible. Peter himself probably told Mark as well as his intimate friend John about the incidents in the palace of the high priest. The fourth Evangelist emphasizes that, besides Peter, another disciple was an eye-witness of the incidents in the house of the high priest; otherwise it would have been difficult to meet the objection that Peter could not testify in his own case, and his testimony must be viewed with distrust on account of his unmistakable temporary bewilderment; nay, the Synoptic accounts of Peter's fall and repentance might be called untrustworthy, because one cannot easily comprehend why he was permitted to enter the strictly guarded palace of the high priest.

The disciples had fled after the arrest of Jesus, but Peter soon regained his courage and, together with another disciple, followed the cortège at a distance to Sion. Deep-rooted love and anxious solicitude concerning the fate of their abducted Master was the motive that impelled both of them. The other disciple followed the cortège through the still open door. Some kind of control was undoubtedly exercised, but on account of his acquaintance with the high priest and his servants, no objections were raised to his entry. Peter, who perhaps had been separated temporarily from his companion, could not pass and remained outside the gate. When the other disciple noticed his absence, he went to the gate to talk to the portress, and with her consent admitted Peter to the inner court. [Note 1.] There the servants who had arrested Jesus were gathered together. The night being cold, they had lighted a fire in the middle of the courtyard and stood around it warming themselves. After the portress had performed her duty, she came to the fire and said to Peter: "Art not thou also one of this man's disciples?" Evidently Peter hesitated to answer, whereupon the maid took courage and said positively: Thou also wast with Jesus of Nazareth (Mk. XIV, 67; Mt. XXVI, 60;

Jn. XVIII, 17). Peter became exceedingly perturbed and, fearing to be insulted, maltreated, or even arrested, gave a seemingly evasive answer: "I know not what thou sayest" (Mt. XXVI, 70; Mk. XIV, 68). However, if we examine the expression more closely, especially as reported by St. Mark, we find that a real denial took place already in this first stage. Peter declared in the presence of all: "I know not Jesus, nor understand what thou meanest." Whilst Matthew and Mark report the answer in its Hebraic form, John gives it according to the sense: No, I am not [he whom you think I am]. [Note 2.] This first denial occurred while Jesus was being examined by Annas (Jn. XVIII, 17 ff.).

Peter now left the *αὐλή* and stepped into the gate-way in order to be alone and not to betray himself by his Galilean dialect; then a cock crowed, as if to warn him. But the portress accosted him once more and again declared him to be a disciple of Jesus (Mk. XIV, 69),—an assertion which another maid-servant shortly after repeated (Mt. XXVI, 71). Meeting with such unexpected difficulties, Peter returns from the *προαύλιον* or *πυλών* to the fire in the center of the court and, to remove all suspicion, he mingles with the servants who had captured Jesus. Presently a man (Lk. XXII, 58) and then several of the servants at the fire came forward with the charge that he was one of the disciples of Jesus (Jn. XVIII, 25). Peter, quite beside himself, answered: "No, I am not," and even went so far as to swear that he "knew not the man" (Mt. XXVI, 72).

Again a short interval elapsed, one hour, according to Luke. The Sanhedrin had just concluded its session. The servants were about to lead Jesus, now condemned to death, across the court to a place of safekeeping, when a servant of Caiphas, a kinsman of Malchus, whose ear Peter had cut off in the garden, stepped up to him and said: "Did I not see thee in the garden with him?" (Jn. XVIII, 26). Thus he was for the third time identified as a disciple of Jesus. Now all present joined in

and said to Peter: "Surely thou also art one of them; for even thy speech doth discover thee [as a Galilean]" (Mt. XXVI, 73; Mk. XIV, 70[b]). Peter again denied Jesus and amid cursing and swearing declared that he had nothing to do with Him. Scarcely had he finished his oath, when the cock crew again. (Jn. XVIII, 27; Mt. XXVI, 74; Mk. XIV, 72; Lk. XXII, 60). [Note 3.] The cock's crow aroused Peter from his mental stupor. At the same moment Jesus was led across the court; He turned to Peter and looked at him. It was a look full of tender reproach, but at the same time full of compassionate love, and the impression it made on Peter was indescribable. With terrible force the word of Our Lord, "before the cock crows twice, thou shalt deny me thrice" (Mk. XIV, 30) burst upon him. The fever suddenly left him, and the magnitude of his guilt was clearly and distinctly brought home to him (Mk. XIV, 72: ἐπιβαλών = *animum advertens, attendens*). Whilst the attention of the crowd was drawn towards Jesus, Peter quietly left the court-yard, went out and wept bitterly. The privileged Apostle who but a short time before had solemnly hailed his Master as "Christ, the Son of the living God" (Mt. XVI, 16), had in this dreadful night spoken of him as "this man," a manner of speech used only by "the Judeans" when speaking of Jesus (cfr. Jn. V, 12); he who a few hours before had declared his readiness to lay down his life for Jesus, was not willing to stand in the courtyard as one of His disciples, but completely repudiated his connection with his Master. However, Peter did not apostatize from the faith; even in the moment of severest temptation he retained in his heart the belief in Jesus as the Son of God; only he lacked the courage to profess his faith exteriorly, for fear of being ill-treated or at least driven away with shame and disgrace. Neither did his love for the Lord grow cold in those dark hours; the embers glowed under the ashes and were kindled anew by the compassionate love which, coming from the Heart of Jesus, touched his own heart.

True, even thus his fall, to which he was brought in the first place by excessive confidence in his own strength, was very great; however, who will dare to say that in a similar danger and embarrassment, in such a combat between love and fear, he would have been stronger than Peter? Who would not rather adore the inscrutable counsels of God, whom it pleased in His wisdom and love to found the Kingdom of Christ on this renegade and to verify the word: "He that is, has used that which is not, to complete his work?"

1. St. Augustine had John in mind when he wrote: *"Solet autem se Iohannes ita significare."* How little confidence he had in this explanation, however, appears from his expression: *"Quisnam iste sit discipulus, non temere affirmandum est, quia tacetur."* [1] We do not have here the phraseology by which the fourth Evangelist otherwise chooses to designate himself. Another thing which has induced me to abandon this view, is the inadequacy of the explanation that he was acquainted with Caiphas. It is almost incredible what human ingenuity has excogitated on this head in ancient and modern times. According to St. Jerome and others John was of sacerdotal lineage, whereas the Gospels say that he was the son of the Galilean fisherman Zebedee and his Galilean wife Salome. According to others, a female relative of John was employed in the house of Caiphas; therefore he was so well acquainted with the high priest that the portress admitted him without hesitation. Nay, it has even been surmised that John had studied in Jerusalem and looked to the high priest for the "precious pearl," though in fact John was an ἄνθρωπος ἀγράμματος καὶ ἰδιώτης as well as Peter. (Acts IV, 13). Of late the "explanations" have taken a more sober turn, contenting themselves with saying that the acquaintance was merely casual and that we know nothing about it at all.

My opinion on the question is briefly as follows: That John, who was a native of Bethsaida, was acquainted with the high priest Caiphas does not appear absolutely impossible, but is exceedingly improbable. Let us consider the matter from a different angle. If John, the companion of Peter, was in the palace of the high priest during the night of the Passion, where did he keep himself during the triple denial of Peter? We can readily understand that he may not have been constantly in the immediate vicinity of Peter; however, since Peter was in the court-

[1] *Tract. in Ioan.*, 113.

yard of the palace for quite a while, and the denial occurred in three distinct acts with various scenes, it is a matter of great surprise that no mention is made of John's participation or intervention in the fate of Peter. Should not John, even if out of fear he maintained a neutral attitude, have at least accompanied Peter out of the gate after his fall? The Evangelists say nothing of this. Hence there is only one possible explanation of the riddle: the ἄλλος μαθητής was a member of the Jewish aristocracy. This appears from the behavior of the portress (on this office cfr. Acts XII, 13), as described by the Evangelists. The disciple had entered in the company of Jesus without being accosted, and soon after his request to admit Peter was readily complied with by the maid, though she recognized the petitioner as a follower of Jesus, as her words addressed to Peter clearly betray: "Thou *also* wast with Jesus of Nazareth" (Mk. XIV, 67 and the parallel texts). This "also" characterizes the other as a "disciple" of Our Lord. The fact that the portress does not oppose the entrance of the latter and fulfils his request to admit Peter without parleying, allows us to infer that this man must have been a person of high standing who assumed all responsibility for Peter's conduct. All this does not fit the case of John, who, like Peter, was a fisherman with the Galilean brogue and besides was a young man and did not represent "anyone in authority." Thus we are compelled to take the view that the "other disciple" was a follower of Jesus of noble Jewish extraction. This assumption avoids the obscurity which enshrouds every other view. Evidently the "other disciple," after he had procured admittance for Peter, immediately went into the house or palace (οἶκος or οἰκία) of the high priest, whilst Peter remained in the courtyard (αὐλή) with the guards, ministers, and servants. According to Mt. XXVI, 69 and Mk. XIV, 54, Peter followed Jesus into the courtyard of the high priest and there "sat without in the court." It is probable that the disciple sought to come in contact with the high priest in order to learn something about the trial of Jesus, which took place in the palace proper, in a hall above the level of the courtyard, probably in the second story of the palace, as may be conjectured from Mk. XIV, 66: "Peter was in the court below." Hence the "other disciple" was in the house of the high priest during Peter's denial, while the latter was in the courtyard, and they did not leave the palace simultaneously.

2. It is difficult to comprehend the severe criticism which has been poured out on St. Peter for going into the courtyard of the high priests' palace. St. Matthew informs us of the purpose Peter had in view. He

follows Jesus to the palace of the high priest (ἕως τῆς αὐλῆς; αὐλή here has the sense of house or palace) he sits down (in the yard) among the servants, because he was anxious to see how it would all end. It is said: Jesus had clearly foretold the "end" (cfr. Lk. IX, 31), not once, but repeatedly, and in the presence of Peter (Mt. XVI, 21; Lk. IX, 22; Mt. XX, 17 ff.; Mk. IX, 30 ff.; Lk. XVIII, 31 ff.; cfr. Jn. XII, 7; XIV, 1 ff.; XVII, 1–9). To be sure! But the Evangelists do not fail to add to the prophecies of Jesus concerning His Passion the remark: "But the disciples understood not the saying" (Mk. IX, 32), and no one will assert that Peter on the night of the 15th Nisan was convinced that now the moment of fulfilment of those prophecies had arrived, and that in the course of this very day the Lord would be condemned to death. But even if we may assume such clear perception in the privileged disciple, we must not be surprised that he was urged on by the inquisitiveness of love. Attention is called by some to the urgent warning of Jesus in the garden to watch and pray in order to be preserved from a fall in a situation replete with temptation and exceeding Peter's strength. Attention is also called to the direct prophecy of Jesus concerning Peter's denial "in the night, before the cock crow thrice." Why, it is asked, did Peter pay heed neither to this warning nor to the prophecy, and why did he not rather seize the opportunity which the Lord had secured for him and the other disciples in the hour of His arrest, to watch and pray, especially since he had already experienced abundantly in the garden that he could only injure Jesus by acting on his own initiative? These are reflections of coolly calculating reason. Peter, on the other hand, followed the impulse of a heart glowing with love for Jesus. (Cfr. St. Chrysostom, *Hom. in Matth.* 39: πολλὴ ἡ θερμότης τοῦ μαθητοῦ). Love knows not the doubts and misgivings of calculating reason. True, some would like to read into the account of the Evangelist that Peter was torn by a struggle between his love for the Master and sober reflection. He followed the Lord "from afar," they say, evidently because he apprehended danger, but tender solicitude impelled him to follow Jesus. *"Caritas ipsum trahit, timor retrahit."* But love overcame fear, propelled him forward, and finally into "the lion's den." There he thrice denied his Master for fear of being expelled from the palace. But he was not fully conscious of his crime until he heard the cock crow for the second time. We may confidently assert that Peter's conduct in following Jesus, in spite of his denial, is more praiseworthy than if he had remained in a secret hiding-place while the Master was in trouble. Even at the moment when his confusion had attained the highest degree, when he repudiated amid oaths his connection with Jesus, his love was not

dead. As to his *faith* in the Messianic character and the divinity of Christ (Mt. XVI, 16), it had suffered no essential diminution. Peter had denied his Master merely outwardly; he had been guilty of a lie inspired by fear. Because his faith in Jesus had not ceased, a single glance of compassionate love from his Master sufficed to revive the spark of love still smouldering in his heart. Bitter repentance was its first expression. We must judge Peter's denial solely in connection with this repentance, and whosoever feels tempted to cast stones at Peter, should first examine his own life; if, after a serious self-examination, he finds that he has never yielded to human respect, never violated his conscience out of human respect, let him throw the first stone.

3. When did Peter deny the Lord? The Evangelists give us some information on this point, but it is not sufficient to preclude controversy. According to St. Mark (XIV, 68[b]) the cock crew for the first time when, on account of the inquiry of the portress, Peter had denied the Lord, hence shortly after the first denial, when the second act was preparing. When did the cock crow? The answer to this question is made easier, it seems, by consulting Mk. XIII, 35. There the night is divided into four sections: ὀψέ, μεσονύκτιον, ἀλεκτοροφωνία, and πρωΐ. These divisions correspond to the four Roman night-watches; ὀψέ denotes the time from 6–9 P. M (*prima vigilia*), μεσονύκτιον the time from 9–12 o'clock (*secunda vigilia*), ἀλεκτοροφωνία (*tertia vigilia*) the three hours from 12–3 and finally πρωΐ (*quarta vigilia*), the time from 3–6 o'clock in the morning. Many exegetes think that St. Mark in employing the words, ἀλέκτωρ ἐφώνησεν (XIV, 68) had in mind the third watch, say about 1 o'clock, and by the words XIV, 72, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκ δευτέρου ἀλέκτωρ ἐφώνησεν, 2 o'clock. According to this theory the three acts of Peter's denial would have taken place between 1 and 2 o'clock at night. Certainly no one will deny that the second Evangelist in XIII, 35 took note of the quadruple division of the night after the Roman style, and it is, moreover, pretty generally admitted that both St. Mark (XX, 1) and St. John (XVIII, 28) mean by πρωΐ (πρωΐα) the time from 3–6 in the morning. On the other hand it is not likely that these Evangelists, in mentioning the cock's crow, wish to express the time of the *tertia vigilia* or ἀλεκτοροφωνία. They do not have in mind the manner of designating the time by the cock's-crow, but the *real* crowing of a rooster, who probably first crowed about 2 o'clock and again about 3 o'clock in the morning, when the Sanhedrin had closed its session and Jesus was condemned. Peter then left the courtyard of the palace, whilst Jesus was taken into custody until he could be brought before

Pilate. No doubt Peter made use of the opportunity when Jesus was led across the courtyard and the attention of all was directed towards Him, to get away unobserved.

The denial of Peter is undoubtedly one of the most difficult chapters in the history of the Passion, and various exegetes maintain that it is impossible to reconcile the Gospel accounts of this incident. The difficulties must be admitted; however, we may see in this mode of reporting a splendid testimony in favor of the impartiality and truthfulness of the Evangelists. Really irreconcilable differences and actual contradictions can be maintained only by one who fails to recognize that, according to the four Evangelists, there is question here of one drama in three acts, of which each in turn is composed of two or more scenes. The first act is the simplest. Langen is undoubtedly wrong in representing the portress as asking Peter immediately upon his entrance: "Art not thou also one of this man's disciples?" (Jn. XVIII, 17). The maid mentioned by the three Synoptics is identical with the portress of St. John. However, according to the Synoptics, the maid (portress) stepped up to Peter only after he had taken a seat among the servants in the courtyard. This is quite plausible from another point of view. Peter, when he first entered, and for some time afterward, was under the care of the "other disciple," and hence, the maid would not have been so bold as to ask him such an invidious question. As to the motive of the portress in asking the question, the Evangelists do not express themselves, and many exegetes are of the opinion that we must not assume an evil intention in her, but rather an endeavor to gratify her curiosity and loquacity and to put on an air of importance. However, her manner of referring to Jesus as "the Galilean" and (Jn. XVIII, 17) "this man" certainly permits us to infer an interior antipathy. It would indeed be strange if the sentiments and opinions of their master had had no influence on the servants. The sequence of the scenes of the second act may, of course, be fancied in a somewhat different manner than described above. The incidents recorded in Jn. XVIII, 25 may be taken as an introduction or first scene. The portress having been quieted for the nonce, the servants standing around the fire taunted Peter with belonging to the disciples of Jesus. Peter denied it and walked towards the gate, when suddenly the cock crowed. The portress noticing his embarrassment, again began to harass him in the presence of the bystanders by saying: "This is one of them" (Mk. XIV, 69). Soon after another maid repeated the accusation (Mt. XXVI, 71). This view is based on St. John, who writes with constant reference to the Synoptics. But St. John continues the account, begun in XVIII, 17 and interrupted

in XVIII, 18, with XVIII, 25, by saying that Peter, after the first denial, still stood at the fire warming himself, and now some of the bystanders ask him: "Art not thou also one of his disciples?" Here the account of the Synoptics might be joined to that of St. John. Peter left the courtyard and went to the gate (*i. e.*, the θυρωρεῖον), where he was accosted by the portress and another maid. No one is forbidden to accept this sequence as correct; but we prefer to adhere to the view set forth above, in view of the fact that Peter, by the address of the portress, evidently came to realize his exceedingly dangerous situation immediately after the first fall and sought to gain an exit; it was only after the portress and the other maid accosted him that he returned and mingled with the servants at the fire. From that time he still remained one hour in the yard; and it is not strange that the Evangelists in the second as in the third act name different persons as interrogators: the portress, another maid, the bystanders, another man, a kin of Malchus. It is the habit of the ill-bred rabble to nag to death one who has been attacked or captured, and these coarse and brutal servants and soldiers were well aware that their aristocratic masters had seized "the Galilean" to satisfy their hatred, and therefore they took delight in venting their spite on one of His followers who had come among them; when one had gloated over the fear and embarrassment of Peter, another started to do the same. To question the Gospel accounts or to ridicule them is preposterous. In harmonizing these accounts, the important point is to show that Peter denied his Master three times, neither more nor less. It is quite possible that he was interpellated by three or more different persons.

CHAPTER IV

THE SECRET NIGHT SESSION OF THE SANHEDRIN

(Mat. XXVII, 1, 2; Mk. XV, 1; Lk. XXIII, 1)

Jesus spent the rest of the night after His condemnation in a room on the ground floor of the high priest's palace. Before being taken there (cfr. Lk. XXII, 61) He was subjected to disgraceful ill-treatment in the council chamber of the Sanhedrin by members of this body, who spat upon Him, buffeted Him, struck Him in the face with the palm of their hands, grossly mocked and derided Him (Mt. XXVI, 67 f.; Mk. XIV, 65). The example set by the ἄρχοντες was emulated by their servants, who, not indeed in the hall of the Great Council, but in the room in which Jesus was imprisoned, struck Him with their fists, blindfolded Him, mocked and blasphemed Him (Lk. XXII, 63–65). [Note 1.] About 4 o'clock in the early morning of the 15th Nisan, the Great Council reassembled secretly. The Evangelists do not mention the place where this meeting was held, but it was undoubtedly, as in the case of the first session, the palace of Caiphas on Mt. Sion. This may be indirectly inferred from the statement of the fourth Evangelist (XVIII, 28): "They led Jesus from Caiphas to the governor's hall" to the praetorium of Pilate (cfr. Mt. XXVII, 2; Mk. XV, 1; Lk. XXIII, 1). This occurred immediately after the conclusion of the morning session.

As regards the *purpose* of this session, views differ. The first Evangelist concisely states the purpose of the session in three words: ὥστε θανατῶσαι αὐτόν (Mt. XXVII, 1): the Sanhedrists "took counsel that they might put him to death."

This statement of St. Matthew is generally noted, but not correctly interpreted by exegetists, who find in it the idea that, having condemned Jesus to death for blasphemy on the ground that He claimed to be the Messias and Son of God, the Sanhedrists decided in the morning of the 15th Nisan to hale Him before the Roman Procurator in order that he might sanction the sentence of death and have it executed by his soldiers. The hierarchs and the Sanhedrists are believed to have been forced to this course because the *"ius gladii"* was withdrawn from them, as they themselves openly admitted before Pilate (Jn. XVIII, 31). But this interpretation will not stand the test of criticism. True, the right of inflicting the death penalty was at that time vested in the Roman procurators according to the letter of the law; nevertheless, as we learn from Jn. XVIII, 31, it would have been easy, with the consent of the Procurator to proceed against Jesus according to the Mosaic law, which provided the penalty of stoning for the crime of blasphemy (cfr. Acts XXVI, 10). However, to take this legal course was not so simple as it sounds. After Judas had appeared in the palace of the high priest and placed the enemies of Jesus before the categorical alternative, "now or never," they were compelled to act. They did act and pronounced the death sentence upon Him in their secret night session. But how was this sentence to be executed? At first they intended to put Him to death secretly (Mt. XXVI, 4), but this was no longer possible, since they had requisitioned the Roman military to aid in His arrest, and the news of His seizure was sure to spread among the people and likely to cause rioting (cfr. Mt. XXVI, 5). To execute Him in public on the morning of the 15th Nisan was impracticable because that day was a Jewish holyday. The Sanhedrists saw no other way out of this predicament than to hand their prisoner over to the Roman Procurator, Pontius Pilate (Mt. XXVII, 2; Mk. XV, 1; Lk. XXIII, 1). Some of them had considered this movement for some time (cfr. Lk. XX, 20), but the Scribes and

Pharisees, who were energetic opponents of the Roman government, were averse to such a measure, except as a last resort and in case of dire necessity. And so the resolution to deliver Jesus to Pilate was finally taken. In carrying it out, the declaration of Jesus that He was the Messias and Son of God could not be made the basis of the charge to be preferred before the tribunal of the Procurator; another accusation had to be framed up. He had to be charged with a political crime. That this was the actual charge made against Him before Pilate is definitely stated by St. Luke (XXIII, 2).

We can summarize our interpretation of the session of the Sanhedrin in the early morning of the 15th Nisan thus: The Great Council in its secret night session on the first Easter festival decided to hand Jesus over to Pilate and to ask the Procurator to execute Him as one guilty of the *crimen laesae maiestatis*. The formulation of the charge to be made before Pilate was as much the subject of debate as the delivery of the prisoner to the Roman tribunal. [Note 2.] In provincials who were not Roman citizens crimes such as those of which Jesus was accused (robbery, murder, sedition, high treason) were punished by crucifying the malefactor, and hence the Sanhedrists entertained no doubt that Jesus would be promptly put to death, especially in view of the fact that the Procurator had already ordered several ordinary criminals to be executed on the same day.

1. We cannot avoid an examination of the relation in which the accounts of SS. Matthew and Mark stand to that of Luke concerning the mockery, derision, and ill-treatment of Jesus after the death sentence had been passed upon Him. St. Luke gives the description of the scene (XXII, 63–65) immediately after the account of Peter's denial, differing in this from the other two Evangelists, who relate it in connection with the condemnation of Jesus. But the latter sequence is the historically correct one. The instigators of the ill-treatment of Jesus were not, as some suppose, guided so much by the idea: Jesus is a malefactor, and since we have not the right to put Him to death, we will at least torture him as much as possible; they rather inflicted the above-mentioned in-

sults on Jesus as a blasphemer who must be eradicated from among the people; as an outlaw, the Galilean deserved no better treatment than to be spat upon and maltreated in every conceivable manner. According to SS. Matthew and Mark the Sanhedrists themselves, *i. e.*, some of them, were the instigators of the mockery and ill-treatment of Jesus. St. Matthew says that they cried out: "He [Jesus] is guilty of death" (XXVI, 66), then spat in His face and buffeted Him with their fists. As no change of subject is indicated, we must understand that members of the Sanhedrin were the actors in Mt. XXVI, 67 and 68. St. Mark is still plainer; he contrasts with those who ill-treated Jesus immediately after His condemnation (XIV, 64), the ὑπηρέται (XIV, 65), into whose hands Jesus is given and who maltreat Him with blows, and can mean only Sanhedrists by the τινές mentioned first. As insults the Evangelists enumerate: spitting, blows applied with the fist, sarcastic requests to say who struck Him after they had covered His face and buffeted Him. St. Luke mentions as instigators of the ill-treatment the men who held Jesus, hence the ὑπηρέται, and his statement (XXII, 63–65), is best joined to the remark of St. Mark (XIV, 65): when the session of the Sanhedrin had been closed and the tormenting of Jesus had come to an end, He was handed over to the ὑπηρέται, who received Him with blows, mocked Him, covered His face and asked Him: "Prophesy, who it is that struck thee?" This was evidently done when Jesus was led from the first story to the basement and into the guard-room, where He was kept in custody by the brutal gang until the beginning of the morning session. (On the ill-treatment of Jesus, cfr. Is. L, 6 and LII, 14; St. Chrysostom, *Hom. in Matth.*, 85.).

2. Mt. XXVII, 1: "And when morning was come, all the chief priests and ancients of the people took counsel against Jesus, that they might put him to death." Mk. XV, 1: "And straightway in the morning, the chief priests holding a consultation with the ancients and the scribes and the whole council, binding Jesus, led him away, and delivered him to Pilate." What is the meaning of these passages? The phrases: συμβούλιον ἔλαβον, συμβούλιον ποιήσαντες, ἑτοιμάσαντες seem to refer to a regular session of the Sanhedrin. But if we take into consideration the context in which these phrases occur elsewhere in the Gospels (Mt. XII, 14; XXII, 15; XXVIII, 12; Mk. III, 6), we have to seek for a different interpretation, namely, that the Sanhedrists held a consultation. Of special importance in this connection is Mk. III, 6 (= Mt. XII, 14), where it is related that, when the Saviour cured a sick man on the Sabbath in Galilee, the Pharisees from Jerusalem grew angry (cfr. Mk. III, 7 f.) and "made a consultation with the Herodians against him, how

they might destroy him." In this passage there can be no question of an official session of the Sanhedrin, as plainly appears from Lk. VI, 11, where it is said that "they were filled with madness and they talked with one another, what they might do to Jesus." It was merely a confidential consultation, held with a view to decide what measures to adopt against Him. In the light of this text we must interpret Mt. XXVIII, 1 and Mk. XV, 1 as follows: Immediately after the session in which Jesus was condemned to death, the members of the Sanhedrin held a confidential consultation to debate the question how Jesus could be most effectively removed. The result was the decision to deliver Him to Pontius Pilate, as it was impracticable to execute Him because of the feast of Easter, and to imprison Him for any length of time might lead to rioting on the part of the masses. And since it was not likely that the Procurator would listen to the charge of blasphemy, they further decided to accuse Jesus of a serious political crime, *i. e.*, trying to obtain the crown.

Some exegetes have been inclined to explain *συμβούλιον* in Matthew and Mark as a regular session of the Sanhedrin. This interpretation was dictated by the thought that the Sanhedrists were ready to comply with the Jewish law, which ordained that a sentence of condemnation could be imposed only on the day following the hearing of the defendant. (Cfr. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes,* Vol. II, 3rd ed., p. 214). But this idea is not at all likely to have entered the mind of the Sanhedrists because the *συμβούλιον* took place immediately after the court session (Mk. XV, 1), that is to say, on the very same day (15th Nisan), and by giving it the character of a regular session of the Sanhedrin, they would not have secured for their action even the semblance of legality. Therefore *συμβούλιον* must be interpreted as a confidential consultation, as stated above.

Recently an attempt has been made to harmonize the accounts of the Synoptics by the theory that the two first Evangelists report no night session at all, but place the official hearing which ended with the condemnation of Jesus at the dawn of morning. This theory cannot stand in the light of Mt. XXVIII, 1 and Mk. XV, 1. If the secret consultation concerning the delivery of Jesus to the Roman Procurator took place at dawn of day, the regular session of the court must have been held sometime during the night. By comparing *πρωΐας* and *πρωΐ* with the similar designation of time found in Mk. XVI, 2 and Jn. XX 1, we arrive at the hour of 4 to 5 in the morning as the time of the confidential consultation, and the court session probably took place between 3 and 4 o'clock, and therefore was actually a *night session.*

CHAPTER V

SUICIDE OF THE TRAITOR

(Mt. XXVII, 3–10; cfr. Acts 1, 16–20)

This tragic event is reported only by St. Matthew, whose endeavor it always and everywhere is to show up the terrible guilt of the stiff-necked Jewry, and in particular that of the Sanhedrin. This guilt is perhaps most clearly manifested by the behavior of the Council towards the despairing Judas. Driven by his guilty conscience to the city and to the palace of the high priest to observe the outcome of the trial and to "see the end," Judas happened to see Jesus led from there to Pontius Pilate. By a process of reasoning, but no doubt also from the statements of the servants of Caiphas and others connected with the case, he realized that Jesus had been condemned to death by the Sanhedrin and that he was now being delivered up to Pilate to be executed (Mt. XXVII, 3). Sorrow for his deed now seized him, for the unhappy disciple had not expected such an outcome of his traitorous action. One would, of course, naturally suppose that, in view of the hatred manifested during the past year by the Jewish hierarchs and officials against Jesus, Judas could have foreseen with certainty the consequences of his deed; however, considering the gospel accounts of the influence of Satan on Judas (Lk. XXII, 3; Jn. XIII, 27), we must not forget the truth, constantly confirmed by experience, that the father of lies knows how to veil the hideousness of sin before the deed and only after the sin has been committed does he show its true mien and the terrible consequences, which he loves to exaggerate beyond

all reasonable bounds. *"Perfecto demum scelere magnitudo eius intellecta est,"* says Tacitus (*Ann.* XIV, 10) in reference to the matricide of Nero. Perhaps the Devil suggested to Judas before the deed the idea that Jesus would know at the decisive moment how to escape from the power of the Judeans, as he had so often done before. At any rate, Judas had not considered the possibility of delivering Jesus into the hands of Pilate, because the deliverance of a Jew into the power of the Roman authorities was without precedent in Jewish history. Now, when he saw Jesus being led away to the Procurator and perhaps overheard remarks about the disciple who had betrayed Him, the consequences of his crime rose up before his soul, and his previous joy over the reward he had received for his sinful deed turned into fear and consternation.

He hurried down from Sion to the Temple-mount to confess to the Jewish hierarchs that he had "betrayed innocent blood," and by this open confession to rehabilitate himself and get rid of the filthy blood-money. To that same place, immediately after the morning session, some of the Sanhedrists had gone from the palace of the high priest to prepare for the services on the great festival day of Easter (*chagiga* = festal thank-offering of the 15th Nisan), whilst the majority went with Jesus to the Pretorium of Pilate. Within the sacred precincts of the Temple, Judas stepped up to the high priests and rulers of the people, returned to them the wages of his treason, and cried out: Take back your money, for I have betrayed innocent blood! Did he perhaps imagine that, by returning the thirty pieces of silver, he would be able to induce these men to annul the death sentence or give up their intention of haling Jesus before Pilate? Hardly. To do this he would have had to join the cortège and implore the Great Council to abandon its intention of bringing a charge against Jesus before Pilate. Why, then, did he act thus? First of all he no doubt hoped to relieve his conscience somewhat of the anxieties and torments by returning the "reward of iniquity" (Acts I, 18). In his address to

the Judeans the unfortunate man manifests sorrow, and as he realizes the sinfulness of his deed, he confesses aloud before the high priests and rulers his guilt and the innocence of Him whom the Great Council had declared to be a blasphemer and a criminal. And when his associates in sin refuse to take back the price of treason, he goes into the Temple and casts the money on the floor. Evidently he was sorry for what he had done; but his sorrow was no salutary repentance, because it was aroused solely by seeing the consequences of his deed. It is of these he repents, not of his crime as such. He quarreled with God because He let him do what he did, instead of accusing himself and exclaiming: I have sinned against God and His anointed Son, and I am not worthy to live. But he did not believe in Jesus as the Messias, as appears from his confession: "I have sinned in betraying innocent blood" (Mt. XXVII, 4). He had never loved Jesus, therefore no thought of mercy, fidelity and grace comes to him now, as it came to Peter after his fall. This insensibility of the heart to true sorrow and the saving grace of repentance is easily comprehensible when we regard the magnitude of the graces Judas had received and trampled under foot. [Note 1.] His interior confusion was augmented by the behavior of the Sanhedrists, who treated him with contempt, drew back their hands from the proffered money, and with cruel callousness and exquisite hypocrisy declared: We do not share your views of the innocence of the Galilean: but if a mistake has been made in the proceedings against him, you bear the responsibility; look you to it (Mt. XXVII, 4). With this the Judeans left their accomplice and former friend to his fate. Judas was now seized with a fit of anger and despair, which irretrievably drove him into the arms of the devil. He withdrew from the Temple, left the city, and hanged himself, as St. Matthew reports with touching terseness and objectivity (XXVII, 5), and when he had passed away, the rope broke, the inanimate body fell to the ground and "burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out" (Acts I, 18 f.) Thus

ended the betrayer of the Godman. His fate was similar to that of the betrayer of David, Achitophel, to whom Our Lord had alluded in the Cenacle (Jn. XIII, 18) [Note 2.]

The Judeans, however, remained unaffected. They, who but a short time before had committed a heinous crime by condemning Jesus as a blasphemer and deciding to deliver Him into the hands of Pilate for the purpose of putting Him to death, and who by their merciless conduct had driven Judas to commit suicide, exhibit not the slightest trace of compunction, see in the appearance of Judas not the least warning or admonition to halt the proceedings against Jesus, but, on the other hand, manifest a great dread of the thirty pieces of silver. The money must not be put into the treasury (Mt. XXVII, 6), they say; because it is the price of human blood, *i. e.*, the blood of Jesus which shall be shed. To put such blood-money into the *corbona* is no more lawful than to accept the price of fornication (Dt. XXIII, 18). Mark well the excessive blindness by reason of which they neither see nor confess their own guilt, whilst they admit the guilt of Judas. That they took the money from the treasury of the Temple and by offering it to Judas incited him to treason, causes them no remorse of conscience. How true was the picture drawn of them by Our Lord, when He said: "Blind guides, who strain out a gnat, and swallow a camel" (Mt. XXIII, 24). They hurriedly consulted together and decided to do a good work with the wages of sin, namely, to buy a potter's "exhausted" field to bury in it the Jews who came to Jerusalem during the festival days and died there, as also those who in their advanced years returned from the diaspora to end their earthly career in the land of their fathers and be laid to rest in the sacred soil of Palestine (cfr. Acts II, 5). The potter's field bought by the blood-money of Judas was at an early date called by the Christians of Jerusalem Haceldama, *i. e.*, "the field of blood" (Mt. XXVII, 8), and proclaimed to future generations the crime committed against the Messias by the Sanhedrin.

The Evangelist adds the remark (Mt. XXVII, 9) that thus was fulfilled a prophecy of Jeremias. However, the words quoted by St. Matthew are found in the prophecy of Zachary (XI, 12 f.), where God addresses the shepherds of Israel, *i. e.,* primarily the prophet himself, then the Messias (Jn. X, 11 ff.). This shepherd in the fullest sense of the word complains to God of the ingratitude and disobedience of his flock and declares that he will lay down his office as shepherd. But before doing so, he will see whether the flock will desire him back, and he addresses to it the words: If it be good in your eyes, bring hither my wages, *i. e.,* that the separation between me and you be given outward expression, and if not, let it be. The sons of Israel at once accepted the offer and severed themselves from him: "and they weighed for my wages thirty pieces of silver" (the price paid for a murdered slave; cfr. Mt. XXVI, 15). Then the Lord, who is Himself despised and outraged in the person of the shepherd, said to me: "Cast it to the potter, a handsome price, that I was prized at by them." What is the meaning of the words: "to the potter"? It has been cleared up by the event of the 15th Nisan, 783, when the high priests and rulers in the name and by order of the sons of Israel (*ἀπὸ υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ*) prized the price of him that was prized [Jesus] at thirty pieces of silver, and after Judas had cast them into the Temple, used the money for buying a potter's field, and thus they, like the shepherd (Zachary), did what the Lord had pre-ordained, *i. e.,* fulfilled His hidden will (XXVII, 9, 10). The passage from Zachary is quoted by St. Matthew with considerable license (instead of the first person the third person plural: *ἔλαβον* and *ἔδωκαν*); he merely renders the sense. But why does he name Jeremias as the author of the prophecy, and not Zachary? Since the reading, *διὰ Ἱερεμίου* (Mt. XXVII, 9) is well attested, and the variant recommended by some, *διὰ τοῦ προφήτου* or *διὰ τοῦ Ζαχαρίου τοῦ προφήτου*, cannot be considered, it is but natural that one would conceive the idea of a mistake made by the Evangelist. Ori-

gen,[1] St. Augustine,[2] and St. Jerome [3] surmise a lapse of memory. However, this view cannot be accepted, because something is said of buying a field in Jer. XXXII, 6–9. The prophet Jeremias, by order of God, bought a field and weighed out to the seller the money for it, 7 staters and 10 pieces of silver. Accordingly the Evangelist, by quoting the prophecy of Jeremias, wishes first of all to draw attention to the buying of a potter's field in the year of Our Lord's death; he combines the words of Zachary with those of Jeremias, without specially mentioning the former. [Note 3.]

1. Matthew joins the account of the grewsome end of Judas immediately to the decree of the Sanhedrin to deliver Jesus up to Pilate. Evidently the two events are not only connected chronologically, but also interdependent as to cause and effect. From the fact that Jesus was led away to the Procurator, Judas knew that his Master's life was at stake. This turn of affairs he had not anticipated. He knew well the jealousy of the Jewish officials against the Roman administration and in particular their profound dislike of the cruel Pilate. Moreover, Judas knew that Pilate had thus far manifested no hostility toward Jesus, and the representatives of the Roman government were not in the habit of interfering in the religious affairs of the Jews. Now that the Great Council had altogether παρὰ δόξαν decided to deliver Jesus to the Romans and at once proceeded to carry out this decision, the conscience of Judas was aroused with terrible force. We must bear in mind here the incompleteness of the Gospel accounts. St. Matthew relates only the most important part of Judas' end. No doubt Judas heard with his own ears many disparaging remarks concerning his traitorous deed. Since he stayed most of the time in the courtyard of the high priest's palace, he was probably surrounded by the enemies and opponents of Jesus; however, that compassion and pity was aroused in some of them after the condemnation and leading away of Jesus can scarcely be doubted, in view of Jn. VII, 46. When Jesus was led away, there were undoubtedly some of His open or secret followers present, and many a word of disapproval may have been expressed, *e. g.:* Now the Galilean is led away to Pilate to be condemned and put to death; he was horribly maltreated during the night; the scoundrel who betrayed him

[1] *Com. ser.* 117.
[2] *De Cons. Evang.,* III, 7 and 30.
[3] *In Ps.,* 77.

was a disciple who was daily with him and even last night celebrated the Passah with him; I would not like to have anything to do with such an infamous rascal; he deserves to be hanged. Such or similar expressions probably reached the ears of Judas and increased his consternation. When he saw himself thus branded as a despicable traitor by friend and foe, he ran towards the Temple to confess his guilt to the priests and thus rid himself of it and the reward of treason. Note his confession that he had betrayed "innocent blood," *i. e.*, an innocent man. He speaks of blood because he knows that the life of the Master, whom he has betrayed, is at stake. He does not speak of the Messianic dignity or divine sonship of Jesus because he does not believe in it. Our Lord at one time, when preaching in Jerusalem during the Easter festival, had said to the Judeans through Nicodemus: If I have spoken to you earthly things (*τὰ ἐπίγεια*), *i. e.* proclaimed my baptismal activity for the purpose of inaugurating the Messianic kingdom on earth, and you believe not my words, how will you believe me if I shall speak to you *τὰ ἐπουράνια*, the far greater mystery of my personality, my descent from heaven, my return thither, my destiny to be the bread of life for all the world? (Jn. III, 12). Jesus foresaw the unbelief of the Jews regarding these matters. Judas, despite the fact that he had been made a member of the new kingdom like the other Apostles, failed to attain to faith in the higher nature, the heavenly origin, the divine sonship of Jesus, to the belief that Jesus would, with His glorified flesh and blood, feed the souls of men. At the critical moment, when the faith of the other Apostles proved staunch and true, Jesus solemnly asserted the unbelief and diabolical trickery of Judas (Jn. VI, 90; cfr. VI, 64). The fact that the original faith of Judas withered away and turned into infidelity, must be attributed to his moral aberration; the consequence of sin was, as almost always in such cases, unbelief (cfr. Rom. I, 21). Judas did not coöperate with grace in his moral development, but giving way to temptation, employed sordid and dishonest means to enrich himself (cfr. Jn. XII, 6); by his consequent disregard for the noblest emotions, by his evil-minded resistance to the attraction of grace (cfr. Jn. VI, 37 ff.), he induced a constantly increasing obduracy of heart and thereby the darkness of unbelief, so that he no longer recognized in Jesus the Messias and Son of God. Even thus, however, his testimony is of great weight. He had intimately associated with Jesus for a long time, never discovered the least sin or unlawful action in Him, and was obliged to acknowledge aloud before the rulers of the people: "He is innocent." Judas was sorry for his deed, but the source of his sorrow was selfishness. He did not wish to appear before the world as the venal betrayer of an innocent man and imagined he could wipe out the stigma

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and allay his conscience by an open confession. When he saw himself thwarted by the cruel rebuff of the Sanhedrists, he irretrievably fell into the power of the devil, who drove him to despair. Because he did not repent of his guilt before God, we must compare his confession (*ἥμαρτον παραδοὺς αἷμα ἀθῷον*, Mt. XXVII, 4) with that of the demons of hell, who according to the testimony of St. James (II, 19), "believe and tremble." His confession and sorrow lacked the motive of true faith and charity. Origen says: *"Videns igitur Iudas magnitudinem facinoris sui, paenituit quidem et locutus est ex poenitentia cordis, confessus peccatum suum ex eo, quod tradiderit sanguinem iustum; non autem secundum scientiam paenituit, sicut debuit paenitere. Existimavit enim praevenire in morte moriturum magistrum, et occurrere ei cum anima nuda, ut confitens et deprecans misericordiam mereretur."* He means to say: Satan, who had entered into Judas, left him, and thus he became repentant; but afterwards the evil one returned to him and exaggerated his sadness beyond the right measure, so that he despaired. The learned writer errs on this point as well as when he seeks and finds in the *ἥμαρτον* of Judas a remnant *"ex bona plantatione mentis et ex seminatione virtutis."* Neither can this view be made to agree with the various sayings of Jesus concerning the moral disposition of Judas; according to them the first beginnings of the terrible crime and end of Judas reach back at least to the days of Christ's discourse in Capharnaum, probably even to the days immediately following his baptism.

2. The parallel passage in Acts I, 16 ff. is declared by many modern exegetes to be irreconcilable with the description given by St. Matthew. According to St. Luke (or rather St. Peter), they argue, Judas did not hang himself on the day of Our Lord's death, but met death later by an unfortunate fall (*πρηνὴς γενόμενος ἐλάκησεν μέσος*; Acts I, 18); moreover, according to St. Luke, Judas bought the potter's field himself, while, according to St. Matthew, it was bought by the hierarchs with the money which Judas brought back to the Temple. We must, therefore, acknowledge two different traditions. Other scholars are of the opinion that justice can be done to the account in the Acts by assuming that Judas after his deed himself bought the field with the money he had received for his treason, and then deliberately put an end to his life. The *ἐκτήσατο χωρίον* (I, 18), we are assured, can mean nothing else. Those who hold this view add that since Peter, from the death of Judas until the election of his successor in the college of the Apostles, had spent most of his time in Galilee, he probably spoke before the assembled eleven about the death of the unfortunate fellow-disciple as he had heard it from others, whilst the true story, as St. Matthew relates it, became

known only later. We cannot accept this view. St. Peter expressly says (Acts I, 19) that the manner of Judas's death became known all over Jerusalem, and especially among the disciples; there may have been differences in minor details, but the manner of the traitor's death, the day and the hour, and the incident in the Temple were everywhere told in essentially the same form. From the standpoint of Catholic hermeneutics our chief endeavor must be to reconcile the two versions. For since the Holy Ghost inspired and guided both St. Matthew and St. Luke in writing their memorials, the assumption of a contradiction is precluded. In each account the points important for the context are stressed; to bring the statement of St. Luke into agreement with that of St. Matthew it is not necessary to employ any artifice. With the money cast into the sanctuary a plot of ground was bought by the Sanhedrists for a burial-place (St. Matthew). St. Peter expresses this idea in another form: Judas acquired the field by his nefarious deed, or rather by the wages paid him,—a mode of expression which becomes more intelligible by the very plausible assumption that the traitor was the first to be buried on the field bought with the reward of his crime. As to the manner of Judas's death, the *πρηνὴς γενόμενος* of SS. Peter and Luke (Acts I, 18), of course, does not mean, "he hanged himself" (Vulg.), but "falling with his face downward," hence on his face. Accordingly it is true that St. Peter does not mention the death of Judas by hanging. But note the aim of his words regarding the fate of Judas. It is not his purpose to give an account of the death of Judas to those assembled in the Cenacle, because all without exception were fully informed on that point, but, by calling attention to the terrible fate of his former fellow-Apostle, he intended to induce those present to choose the right man as his successor. He presumes that they know of the manner of his death, and only lays stress on the events which followed the hanging,—the falling down and bursting asunder of the body, in order to excite in them the thought of an additional punishment inflicted by God on the corpse of the traitor.

Analyzing the two accounts, therefore, we obtain the following grewsome, but not contradictory result: Judas hanged himself on the morning of the crucifixion of Jesus, in the valley of Hinnom, south of Jerusalem, with a rope fastened to a fig-tree; when he was dead, the rope (or the limb to which the rope was fastened) broke, the corpse fell down on its abdomen and burst asunder, and the bowels gushed out. Both accounts were well known in the early Christian days, but all were convinced that they could easily be reconciled. Euthymius, *e. g.*, harmonizes them as follows: *ὁ δὲ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τὸν θάνατον κατέφυγεν, ὅπως θᾶττον ἀπαλλαγείη τῆς κατεγνωσμένης καὶ ἐπωδύνου ζωῆς· καὶ οὐδὲ τούτου παραυτίκα τετύχηκεν, ὡς ἐγλίχετο· διαγνωσθεὶς γὰρ ὑπό τινων καθηρέθη τῆς ἀγχόνης· εἶτα ἐν*

ἰδιάζοντι τόπῳ διέζησε καιρὸν ὀλίγον καὶ πρηνὴς γενόμενος ἐλάκησε καὶ διερράγη μέσος. According to this account, Judas was taken down while still alive, lived for some time after, and was killed by a fall, which caused his body to burst asunder. From this attempt at a solution we see that in ancient times no one regarded the two accounts as contradictory. Theophylact expresses a similar view. Very peculiar is what Papias of Hierapolis is said to have written about the life of Judas (*Oecum. in Acta Apost.*, 2): πρηνὴς γενόμενος ἐλάκησε μέσος· τοῦτο δὲ σαφέστερον ἱστορεῖ Παπίας ὁ Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἀποστόλου μαθητὴς λέγων· μέγα ἀσεβείας ὑπόδειγμα ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κόσμῳ περιεπάτησεν Ἰούδας. We think it superfluous to quote the entire passage. According to Papias, Judas died on his field in consequence of being crushed by a wagon. The details of the phenomena which manifested themselves in the person of Judas during the latter part of his life, are described so that every reader receives the impression which Resch expresses in these words: "Although it is attributed to Papias, this tradition concerning the end of Judas leaves the impression of a greatly exaggerated apocryphal legend." It has a parallel in the fanciful description of the fate of Judas found in the apocryphal *Acta Pilati* (Codex C), in which the wife of Pilate also plays a rôle. If Papias is the source of this tradition, it must not be assumed that he got it from St. John the Apostle. The latter had before him the account of St. Matthew and of the Acts of the Apostles; if he had any fault to find with either of them or with both, he would surely have set it right in his Gospel. By his end as well as by his treason Judas has become a second Achitophel. This man betrayed David into the hands of Absalom (2 Kg. XVII, 1 ff.), and to him Our Lord alluded in the Cenacle when he said: He that eateth bread with me, has lifted up his heel against me (Jn. XIII, 18). Achitophel saddled his donkey, and went home, and after putting his house in order, hanged himself, and was buried in the sepulchre of his father.

3. The use of the article is peculiar in Mt. XXVII, 7: τὸν ἀγρὸν τοῦ κεραμέως: *the* field of *the* potter; not *a* field of *a* potter. Evidently many readers of the first Gospel knew the field or plot of ground which, at the time when the Gospel was written, served as burial ground for the ξένοι, and were acquainted with the previous owner, who had taken from this field the material used in making pottery; he probably was the only artisan of this kind in the place. And in view of this fact St. Matthew writes: "*the* field of *the* potter." In my opinion this manner of description much more than the one in XXVII, 8 ("for this cause that field was called the field of blood even to this day") permits us to draw a conclusion regarding the (early) composition of the

(Hebrew) Gospel of St. Matthew. In regard to the latter expression, it is admitted at present that it points at least to the time before the destruction of Jerusalem because it is incredible that a piece of ground would continue to bear the name "field of blood" after the environments had been destroyed and laid waste by a long siege and the inhabitants of the city had been killed or scattered in every direction. We cannot but agree with this reasoning, but may be permitted to add that the ἕως τῆς σήμερον by no means precludes that the Gospel was written about the year 42, and there are quite a number of exegetes who hold that there was but a short interval between the buying of the field and the σήμερον. The price paid for the plot of ground is regarded by some as too low, which may be admitted; it is, however, quite possible that the field had been so completely excavated or "exhausted" by the potter that it was no longer of much use for his business. As to the destination of the field, the Evangelist says (XXVII, 7): εἰς ταφὴν τοῖς ξένοις. How the expression ξένοις could be understood as applying to pagans, is difficult to see. True, in those days many pagans sojourned in Jerusalem. We need only mention the Roman garrison. Many others came there for a temporary stay, and certainly some of them died there. However, it is not easy to conceive why the "Judeans," *i. e.*, the Jewish hierarchs and officials, should have provided a burial-place for such pagan *advenae*. According to the Jewish view, the burial of pagans in or near Jerusalem was an abomination, which, considering the existing circumstances, had to be tolerated as an unavoidable evil. Hence οἱ ξένοι can only mean Jews and Jewish proselytes. Not merely from Palestine, but also from the diaspora many thousands came each year to the Jewish metropolis for the celebration of the various feasts; and no doubt there was scarcely a festival on which some of these pilgrims did not die. Moreover, not a few Jews born and raised in foreign countries returned to Jerusalem in their old age, settled near the Sanctuary, and were buried in the sacred soil of Palestine. Many of these were poor or in straitened circumstances, so that they could not acquire a burial-place of their own. Indications of the presence of such foreign Jews in Jerusalem are found in the account of the first Pentecost in the Acts of the Apostles (II, 5 ff.). Regarding the numerous visits of Jewish proselytes from foreign countries we are informed in Acts VIII, 27 ff. and in Jn. XII, 20 ff. By buying the potter's field for the thirty pieces of silver, the wages of Judas's treason, the high priests wished to provide for the burial of such foreign Jews and proselytes. The name "field of blood" was not given to this piece of ground by the Christians, as is generally believed, but by the Jewish inhabitants of Jerusalem; this, it is said, must be inferred from Acts I, 19: it became known to all the inhabitants of Jerusalem that the

field of the potter was bought with the money for which Jesus was betrayed, and that Judas ended so terribly on this field. Accordingly this field was called "field of blood," because it constantly recalled to mind the "blood-money" and the dreadful ending of Judas. It seems to me that the context and construction do not preclude the assumption that the Christians originated the name "field of blood"; certainly not all inhabitants of Jerusalem applied that name in the beginning, but only a few at first, and here the internal probability speaks in favor of Christians as the authors.

The difficulty on account of διὰ Ἰερεμίου τοῦ προφήτου (Mt. XXVII, 9) was felt by the Fathers and early ecclesiastical writers. St. Augustine (*De Cons. Evang.*, III, 29 ff.) is well aware that the Ἰερεμίου is not found in all manuscripts, but many have merely τοῦ προφήτου; nevertheless he favors retaining Ἰερεμίου because the majority of manuscripts contain the name, despite the fact that the words cited by the Evangelist as those of Jeremias are not found in this prophet, but in Zachary. Some have tried to solve the difficulty by assuming that the passage was originally in the canonical book of Jeremias, but was expunged by the Jews; but this assumption is arbitrary. Others suggest that the passage cited by St. Matthew was borrowed from an apocryphal source or from a work of Jeremias now lost. But such a borrowing is not demonstrable in St. Matthew, and the other two assumptions are too artificial to merit approval. Moreover, it would be passing strange if a passage contained in the prophecy of Zachary should be found literally in a book of Jeremias. Since the authenticity of Ἰερεμίου instead of the much surmised Ζαχαρίου is a settled fact—if the latter name was ever contained in Matthew, no one would have removed it—we would be obliged to accept the view that the Evangelist or a translator made a mistake, were it not for the fact that the purchase of a field with silver actually occurs in Jr. XXXII, 6–9. This fact leads to the view indicated above, that Matthew at first intended to cite both prophets, but stopped with the naming of Jeremias, without mentioning Zachary. It appears worthy of note that St. Augustine (*De Cons. Evang.*, III, 7, 30) is inclined to assume a lapse of memory on the part of St. Matthew, but in the end rejects this hypothesis because it contradicts his belief in the absolute inerrancy of the Bible.

SECTION IV

THE PROCEEDINGS BEFORE THE ROMAN TRIBUNAL

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

The purpose guiding each Evangelist in writing his Gospel is clearly manifested in the description of the proceedings before the civil tribunal. St. Matthew's aim was to set forth the guilt of the Sanhedrin and of the people ruled by that body (mostly Jerusalemites) in this act of the terrible drama. From his narrative the reader receives the impression that, properly speaking, it was not the Roman tribunal which ordered the condemnation and execution of Jesus, but that the crime was the work of the Jewish officials and the populace incited by them. The climax in the narrative of the first Evangelist is reached in his account of the message sent to Pilate by his wife and in the latter's declaration that Christ was innocent, and the cry of the populace: "His blood come upon us and upon our children!" These characteristic points are wanting in St. Mark, who otherwise agrees so closely with St. Matthew. The second Evangelist had not the same interest as St. Matthew in setting the guilt of the "Judeans" in a strong light, and his account is less tendentious. St. Luke's account is peculiar in several respects. In contradistinction to SS. Matthew and Mark he minutely formulates the indictment presented by the Jews to Pilate. Jesus is accused of having stirred up the people to sedition, of having arrogated to Himself the dignity of Messias and king of the Jews, and of having declared war on the existing order, especially on the Roman supremacy. From the account of St. Luke we can readily discern how Jew-

ish perfidy made the Messianic office of Jesus appear as a political crime, on which was based the charge before the pagan tribunal. St. Matthew (XXVII, 11) and St. Mark (XV, 2) intimate this fact, but St. Luke expresses it definitely. The latter furthermore sharply emphasizes the declaration of innocence made by the Roman Procurator (XXIII, 4); he, and he alone reports that Jesus was brought before the tribunal of Herod Antipas, the real sovereign of the country, who happened to be in Jerusalem at the time and who also found the Prisoner innocent. St. Luke then relates in detail Pilate's second declaration of innocence uttered in the presence of the Sanhedrin and of the people assembled in his *praetorium* (XXIII, 13 ff.) and describes the attempt of the Procurator to save Jesus from death by causing Him to be scourged and then dismissed, and, finally, the retreat of Pilate before the fanatical demands of the Jews. St. John, on his part, supplements the Synoptic account and fully informs us regarding the course of the trial, the cowardly retreat of Pilate, and the latter's share in the condemnation and execution of Jesus. At first Pilate positively refuses to comply with the demand of the Sanhedrin to condemn Jesus to death and insists on a regular trial. But step by step he gives way to the various cunning maneuvers and assaults of the Sanhedrists, until finally their threat of denouncing him to the emperor as a protector and abettor of treason overcomes the last resistance of the guilt-laden man and induces him to abandon the innocent Prisoner to his fate (Jn. XIX, 12 ff.). That the fourth Evangelist, in contradistinction to the accounts of Matthew and Mark, who show so much deference to the Roman government, should strongly emphasize the weakness, injustice, and responsibility of the Roman Procurator, we can readily understand. When St. John wrote, there was no longer any reason for an indulgent estimate of the Roman government, which at that time was already persecuting Christianity and the Church. Precisely in this portion of his Gospel St. John's purpose in writing

the history of the Passion is conspicuously in evidence, for here he furnishes the proof that the predictions of the Passion placed on record by him (as well as the prophecies of the Old Testament), were literally fulfilled. The sum and substance of these predictions is that Jesus will be delivered unto the death of the cross by the Jewish hierarchs. In a masterly manner St. John describes how Pilate at first opposed the fulfilment of this prophecy, how the hierarchs brought about its fulfilment by effectively rejecting Pilate's proposition (XVIII, 31), and how they successfully frustrated every further effort of the Procurator in behalf of Jesus.

CHAPTER I

JESUS BEFORE PILATE

(Mt. XXVII, 1–14; Mk. XV, 2–5; Lk. XXIII, 2–5; Jn. XVIII, 28–38)

"They brought him [Jesus], bound and delivered him to Pontius Pilate the governor" (Mt. XXVII, 2).

Pilate governed Judea as the successor of Valerius Gratus. He had entered upon his duties most probably in the spring of 780 or the fall of 779. Shortly after assuming the office of governor (ἐπίτροπος, ἔπαρχος, ἡγεμών) he had caused the Roman standards with the painted portraits of the emperors to be brought by night into Jerusalem and set up there. It required the utmost efforts and almost desperate remonstrances on the part of the Jews to induce him to remove the objectionable images from the city.[1] At Easter (or Pentecost) 781, less out of love for Tiberius than out of spite against the people, he caused gilded escutcheons with the name of the ruling emperor to be hung up in the (former) palace of Herod. The Jewish people again grew violently excited and called upon the four sons of King Herod and the Jewish nobility to remonstrate with Pilate. When the Procurator, in spite of their remonstrances, did not remove the escutcheons, they resolved to send a petition to Tiberius. The royal scion Herod Antipas personally took the petition to Rome. Tiberius manifested his displeasure and gave orders that the escutcheons be removed without delay from Jerusalem and placed in the Temple of Augustus

[1] Josephus, *Ant.*, XVIII, 3, 1; *Bell. Iud.*, II, 9, 2–3; Eusebius, *H. E.*, II, 6, 4.

at Caesarea.[2] It goes without saying that this incident undermined the authority of Pilate in Judea. From this episode dated the enmity between him and Herod Antipas (Lk. XXIII, 12). On the Feast of the Tabernacles, 782, a riot broke out in Jerusalem when Pilate, to defray the expense of an aqueduct built by him, ordered the treasury of the Temple to be opened. Some Jews from Galilee were massacred close to the altar of burnt-offerings (Lk. XIII, 1).[3] The rioting continued before the *praetorium* and had a sad and bloody ending. It was no doubt during this στάσις that Barabbas was arrested with some other rioters and kept in custody until the next crucifixion day (Lk. XXIII, 19; Mk. XV, 7) [Note 1.]

In consequence of his lack of consideration and his brutality Pilate was cordially hated by the Jews. According to Philo[4] his term of office was notorious for venality, robberies, deeds of violence, tortures, frequent executions without trial or sentence, and for sanguinary atrocities of every description. The picture drawn of the character of Pontius Pilate by Josephus and Philo agrees with what the Evangelists tell us regarding his behavior at the trial of Jesus. True, at first he is depicted almost as a friend of Jesus, ready to deal with Him according to the principles of justice, and hence to save Him. But he possesses no firm character and beats a cowardly retreat before the fanatical assaults of the Jews. From the supplementary account of the fourth Evangelist we obtain the impression that Pilate's initial attitude in the trial of Jesus was due less to his innate sense of justice than to a deep-rooted aversion for the Jews and the Jewish officials in particular. "You are no friend of Caesar, we shall accuse you in Rome"; with this slogan the Jews, according to Philo, had combated Pilate in the two preceding years, as a rule successfully, and with this same slogan they managed the case against Jesus and won a victory over this man, who was devoid of all moral principles

[2] Philo, *Leg. ad Caium*, §38 (and 24).
[3] Josephus, *Ant.*, XVIII, 3, 2; *Bell. Iud.*, II, 9, 4; Eusebius, *H. E.*, II, 6.
[4] *Ibid.*

and selfishly set his personal interests above justice and law. Whenever Pilate came to Jerusalem, he lived, not in the castle of Antonia, but in the palace of Herod the Great, where, according to Philo, he had caused the gilt escutcheons to be hung up. This palace was situated in the northwestern part of the upper city, over against the castle of David, and, according to Josephus, was connected with the three towers of Hippicus, Phasaël, and Mariamine.

To this place, unsurpassed for the magnificence of its arrangements,[5] the Sanhedrists led Jesus from the palace of Caiphas on the morning of the 15th Nisan, before 5 A. M. (ἦν δὲ πρωΐ, Jn. XVIII, 28). The Romans as a rule preferred to hold court in the early morning,[6] and in this case Pilate began early because he had to pass judgment on several criminals. [Note 2.]

The Sanhedrists had no doubt informed the Procurator of the result of the investigation in their court and asked him to include Jesus in the number of those who were to be crucified on the morning of the Easter festival. Having reached the governor's hall, they took their stand in front of it, as they could not go in without being defiled and thus prevented from eating the Easter sacrifice at noon (Jn. XVIII, 28). Whether the Jewish officials realized that their behavior offended the Procurator, need not be examined here; it is possible that, feeling offended at their conduct, Pilate determined to deal with them energetically. He asked them: "What accusation bring you against this man?"—thus taking the stand of a just and impartial judge who insists on a regular trial and declares that he will not pass sentence unless the evidence shows the accused to be guilty. We will not investigate the motives of his action, which was not inspired by love of justice, but rather by aversion for the Jewish people. The officials, nettled, answered: "If he were not a malefactor, we would not have de-

[5] Josephus, *Ant.*, XV, 9, 3; *Bell. Iud.*, I, 21, 1; V, 4, 4.
[6] Horace, *Epist.*, II, 1, 103 and 104; Seneca, *De Ira*, II, 7.

livered him up to thee." "Very well," replies Pilate, "if you bring no accusation against him, I will not act as judge; if, however, you look upon the accused as a malefactor from your [Jewish] point of view, take him and judge him according to your law." (Jn. XVIII, 31). These words of Pilate are usually taken as irony or even sarcasm, as if he had wished to remind the Jewish officials of the loss of the *ius gladii* and thus force them to admit their impotence. However, this view is erroneous. Josephus, who is the chief authority cited to prove that the right over life and death had been completely taken away from the Jewish Sanhedrin at the time of Christ, says that, after the deposition of Archelaus, Judea was made a Roman province, with a Roman knight by the name of Coponius as procurator. This does not exclude the possibility that the Sanhedrin, with the consent of the Procurator, could constitute itself as a judicial court for the trial of Jews who were not Roman citizens, condemn them to death and execute them for serious violations of the Mosaic law. Furthermore, we must consider that, when a riot broke out against Paul in the year 58, the commander of the garrison "on the next day" gave orders that the Sanhedrin should convene for a thorough investigation of the affair. The chiliarch in this case did not leave the matter altogether to the priests and the council, but presided personally at the trial, because Paul was a Roman citizen (Acts XXII, 29–30); and when Festus had become procurator of Judea (in the year 60) and after his first visit to Jerusalem had taken up the case of the Apostle in Caesarea, he ordered the accusers and the accused to be brought before his judgment seat and opened the trial, but did not pronounce sentence. He asked Paul whether he was willing to go up to Jerusalem and there be judged before him; in other words, the Roman Procurator wished to transfer Paul's case to Jerusalem before the Sanhedrin and have it decided there in his presence, or rather under his presidency (Acts XXV, 9). Accordingly the governor believed he had the authority to bring even a Roman

citizen before the Jewish tribunal for a decision involving life and death. This was all the more the case when there was question of a member of the Jewish nation who did not enjoy the rights of a Roman citizen. The gospels confirm this view. According to St. John, Pilate says to the Jewish officials: "Take him and judge him according to your law," thereby formally giving the high priest the privilege to convoke the Sanhedrin and to deal with Jesus under the law of Moses. But the hierarchs did not want this privilege, for it was precisely in order to have Him executed as a political traitor that they had handed Him over to Pilate. Therefore they reject the proposal of Pilate by crying: "*For us* it is not lawful to put any man to death!" But, it will be objected, by acting thus the Jews formally admit that they do not possess the *ius vitae necisque*. True, this meaning may be discovered in the words, nay, according to the text, they seem to preclude any other interpretation. And yet it requires no exegetical artifice to show this interpretation to be unfounded. The hierarchs understand Pilate as giving them the right and power to deal with Jesus according to the Mosaic law μέχρι τοῦ κτείνειν, and therefore they answer: "It is not lawful for us to put any man to death." Had they meant to say by this that according to the Roman law they were forbidden *under all circumstances* to put any man to death, this would have been a barefaced falsehood, which the Procurator would not have listened to without a protest, because the Roman government had expressly conceded to the Jews the right to execute without trial any person who would pass through the bars enclosing the inner court of the Temple, even though he were a Roman citizen.[7] Moreover, it would be more than strange if the "Judeans," who had repeatedly picked up stones to slay Jesus as a blasphemer (Lk. XX, 19; Jn. VIII, 59; X, 31), would now before Pilate, the representative of the Roman government, have called attention to the alleged withdrawal of the *ius gladii,* when this man solemnly granted them author-

[7] Josephus, *Bell. Iud.,* VI, 2, 4.

ity to deal with Jesus according to their own law and to carry out their sentence by executing Him. It is not the Roman law which they have in mind when they say: "It is not lawful for us to put any man to death," but the Mosaic law, to which Pilate had referred them (*κατὰ τὸν νόμον ὑμῶν*, Jn. XVIII, 31). They are, therefore, formally correct in replying to Pilate: Our [the Mosaic] law does not permit us to put to death any man, not even the greatest criminal, not even one guilty of high treason,—in other words, we are hindered by the law of the Sabbath from carrying out the sentence of stoning Jesus to-day, on the first Sabbatical feast-day of Easter; *you,* however, the pagan judge (this contrast is implicitly contained in the *ἡμῖν* placed at the beginning for the sake of emphasis), are free to put the Prisoner to death, all the more since others are to suffer the penalty of crucifixion to-day at your command. This interpretation was made in substance already by St. Augustine.[8] If it is objected that no "to-day" or "on the feast of Easter" accompanies the *ἡμῖν οὐκ ἔξεστι*, we answer: It was altogether superfluous to insert these words because the whole situation allows no doubt to arise in Pilate as to the meaning of their declaration. The hierarchs had informed the Procurator in the early morning, shortly before their appearance in his palace, that the execution of Jesus must be carried out without delay in the course of the forenoon of the 15th Nisan, and hence he at once understood their objection. The Talmud is not opposed to our interpretation of the words *οὐκ ἔξεστι*. It is true that, according to the Talmud, the death penalty was inflicted in Jerusalem on false teachers, prophets, and witnesses in festival seasons, not, however, on one of the *high feast-days.* This is confirmed by the Acts of the Apostles, an entirely reliable source (XII, 4), where it is related that Herod Agrippa I, in the year 42, "stretched forth his hand" and "killed James, the brother of John, with the sword" before the feast of Easter, but wished to postpone the execution of Peter until after the

[8] *Tr. in Io.,* XVIII, 31.

Pasch. [Note 3.] The hierarchs' interpretation of the Sabbath law was, therefore, altogether dishonest, because they declared the arrest of Jesus after the beginning of the Easter Sabbath, as well as the nocturnal court session, the examination of witnesses, and the condemnation of Jesus, to be lawful, but held His execution on the first festival day of Easter to be unlawful. However, no one will be greatly astonished at this inconsistency, because it is in full accordance with the character of these men. St. John intimates this (XVIII, 32) when he says (according to the sense): To such ignoble means the Judeans had to resort and to deceive Pilate in order to bring about the fulfilment of Christ's prophecy that He would be lifted up on the cross by the hierarchs (Jn. VIII, 28; XII, 32).

In consequence of Pilate's refusal to crucify Jesus without a trial, and the refusal of the hierarchs to deal with Him according to the Mosaic law, the Jewish officials had to formulate charges against Him before the tribunal of the Roman Procurator. The indictment contained three counts: (1) Jesus stirs up the people; (2) He forbids them to pay tribute to Caesar; and (3) He says that he is the king of the Jews. [Note 4.] The main charge was, of course, His claim that He was a king. The other two meant that He perverted and confused the minds of the Israelites; that He set on foot a movement which had taken hold of the entire country, and which, if the government did not interfere, might produce serious consequences. The distortion and malice in these charges is evident. The people had flocked to Jesus and listened to His teaching, and had seen Him work miracles, but He had scrupulously avoided anything that might have produced a public disturbance, or caused unrest, or started a movement dangerous to the government. Even in Jerusalem His frequent public appearances on high feasts had given no cause for interference on the part of the authorities. The second charge was a downright lie in view of the answer given by Jesus to the insidious question put to Him by emissaries of the Sanhedrin regarding the permissibility

of paying tribute to Caesar (Lk. XX, 21 ff.). To the Messianic dignity Jesus had actually laid claim, even before the Great Council, but He had by His conduct repudiated precisely the idea fostered by the Jews that the Messias would be a king and a worldly ruler, and had withdrawn from the people whenever they attempted to make him king (Jn. VI, 15). The perfidy of the hierarchs singled out from the concept of the Messias precisely the claim of kingship which, before Pilate's tribunal, could be construed only in a political sense.

Pilate now goes into the *praetorium* and orders Jesus to appear before Him to be interrogated concerning the charges brought against Him. We cannot blame the Procurator for proceeding thus, saying he should have known the falsity of the charges and definitely dismissed the case, because he knew how the hierarchs hated Jesus (cfr. Mt. XXVII, 18). The critics point to the example of Gallio in the case of the Corinthian Jews against Paul (Acts XVIII, 12 ff.). However, we must not overlook that the hierarchs couched the charge against Jesus in this form: "We *have found* this man perverting our nation," and He is a menace to the state (Lk. XXIII, 2). They thereby pointed to His having been tried in their forum and declared a menace to the State and community as *the result of a legal investigation and trial,* though Jesus had by no means admitted that He was a king in the political sense of the term. Under these circumstances Pilate was obliged to undertake the investigation of the case, for otherwise he would have had to expect a denunciation at the imperial court for neglect of duty towards treasonable machinations, especially since in the eyes of the Emperor Tiberius *"maiestatis crimen omnium accusationum complementum erat";*[9] even a procurator of a more irreproachable character and with a less objectionable past than Pilate would have been obliged to take up the case.

When Jesus had arrived in the court-room of the *praetorium,* the Procurator put to him a question which comprised all three

[9] Tacitus, *Ann.,* III, 28.

counts of the indictment: "Art thou the king of the Jews?" (Jn. XVIII, 33; Mt. XXVII, 11; Mk. XV, 2; Lk. XXIII, 3). Jesus at first does not give a direct answer, but frankly asks the counter-question: "Sayest thou this thing of thyself, or have others told it thee of me?" (Jn. XVIII, 34). He means: Of itself this idea would surely not have occurred to you; at no time have you personally observed or heard from others that I proclaimed myself king of the Jews (in a political sense), or that I instigated the people to rebellion or caused disturbance or discontent; you speak thus because of the report of the Jewish officials, to whose false charges of political and revolutionary machinations I will now oppose a true account of the nature of my kingship and kingdom. Having nothing but contempt for the Jews and Jewish ways, the haughty Roman, proudly conscious of his extraction and position, indignantly replies: "Am I a Jew?" *i. e.,* I care nothing for your controversies about the Messias and a Messianic kingdom, and would not have concerned myself with this affair; the charge concerning your kingship proceeds solely from your own people and especially (καί) from the high priests, in whose sense I put that question to you; therefore, render an account of your doings: what have you done to set the people of your nation in such commotion against you? (Jn. XVIII, 35). Jesus now informs him about His kingdom, its origin, nature, and purpose, at first in a more negative (Jn. XVIII, 36), then in a positive form: True, there is question of a kingdom; to found such I came down from Heaven and begun the work; my kingdom already has a considerable number of members, who by the Messianic Baptism have been made children of the kingdom; but it no more belongs to this world than I do; it is not an earthly, but a heavenly, divine institution. The powers and good things of this kingdom are not of a material, carnal kind; if they were, my followers and disciples would have met the cohorts of soldiers with force and fought for me, that I should not be delivered into the hands of

my enemies; the objects and purposes of my kingdom are supernatural (cfr. Jn. XIV, 1 ff.).

We can readily understand Pilate's question elicited by this declaration: "Art thou really a king then?" Jesus does not disown every claim to kingship. He adds: "For this was I born, and for this came I into the world [personal preexistence], that I should give testimony to the truth." By this testimony (μαρτυρία) He means chiefly His Passion and death. By His death on the cross Jesus confirmed in the most positive manner His claim that He is the Son of God, anointed from all eternity and made man in the fulness of time, the Messias or king of the Jews sent into the world (cfr. 1 Tim. VI, 13): Whoever is "of the truth" (cfr. 1 Jn. III, 19), *i. e.,* born of the Spirit of God, begotten anew from above and thus made a child of God, whoever hears my voice, is a genuine disciple of mine and a member of my kingdom. By these highly significant words Our Blessed Lord, before Pilate, gives an account of His mission as Messias-King, namely, to die in confirmation of His testimony. Pilate, however, the skeptical worldling, indifferent to higher ideas and ambitions, who regards the search after truth as folly, asks absent-mindedly: "What is truth?" (Jn. XVIII, 38), without suspecting that the One who stood before him was *the truth* and the life (Jn. XIV, 6), whilst he believed Him to be an enthusiastic dreamer, a philosopher of a peculiar kind, though not an ambitious man who was apt to become a menace to the peace of the Roman empire or to the rights of the emperor.

Pilate now returns from the *praetorium* to the Jews outside, to announce to them the result of his investigation. He says: "I find no cause in him" (Jn. XVIII, 38; Lk. XXIII, 4). Whilst Jesus gave a definite answer to each of the questions put to him by Pilate in the *praetorium,* He observed complete silence in regard to the false charges later brought against him by the Sanhedrists (Mt. XXVII, 12–14; Mk. XV, 3–5). [Note 5.]

1. According to Eusebius[10] Pilate entered upon his office in the twelfth year of Tiberius, *i. e.*, 779 (Tiberius ascended the throne August 19, 767). In his *Chronicle*[11] the same historian gives the thirteenth year of Tiberius (780) as the year of Pilate's appointment. In his *Church History* Eusebius cites Josephus, who, while he does not mention the year of Pilate's accession to office, names him as the successor of Valerius Gratus, who held the office eleven years, and gives his term of office at ten years[12] Pilate was removed from office in the spring of 790 (= A. D. 37), when, according to Josephus,[13] he hastened to Rome by order of Vitellius, but, despite his haste, did not find Tiberius alive.[14] Accordingly we must accept the 13th year of the reign of Tiberius (= 780, A. D. 27) as the year in which Pilate assumed office, in view of the statement of Eusebius in his *Chronicle*. Schürer, basing his view on the statement of Josephus, adopts the year 779 (= A. D. 26).[15] The Jewish historian speaks of two journeys of Vitellius from Syria to Jerusalem,[16] during the first of which he is said to have deposed Joseph Caiphas as high priest and installed Jonathan; during the second he put Theophilus in the place of Jonathan. All this is no doubt quite correct, but the deposition of Pilate must have occurred either in the latter part of February or in the beginning of March A. D. 37; for Pilate, despite his haste, did not find Tiberius alive. He probably reached Rome in the latter part of March, about fourteen days after the death of the Emperor.[17] Some time later Vitellius again went to Jerusalem, not, however, to an Easter celebration, but most probably for the feast of Pentecost, and learned of the death of Tiberius through a letter.[18] If the removal of Pilate by Vitellius occurred in the spring of A. D. 37, he must have assumed office in A. D. 27 (= 780) because he governed ten years.

On the events connected with the introduction of the field standards into Jerusalem during the fall of 780, Josephus furnishes us with a considerable amount of detail.[19] The date when the escutcheons or votive tablets were set up in the Praetorium, is not certain.[20] Schürer is of the opinion that this event occurred in the latter part of Pilate's term

[10] *H. E.* I, 9.
[11] Ed. Schöne, II, 146.
[12] Josephus, *Ant.*, XVIII, 4, 2; cfr. XVIII, 2, 2.
[13] *Ant.*, XVIII, 4, 2.
[14] Tiberius died March 16, 37.
[15] *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, 4th ed., Vol. I, p. 487.
[16] *Ant.*, XVIII, 4, 3 and 5, 3.
[17] Josephus, *Ant.*, XVIII, 4, 2.
[18] *Ibid.*, 5, 3.
[19] *Ant.*, XVIII, 3, 1; *Bell. Iud.*, II, 9, 2 f.
[20] Philo, *Leg. ad Caium*, § 38.

of office, and in proof of this appeals to a statement made by Philo[21] that the Emperor Tiberius assumed a friendly attitude towards the Jews only after the death of Sejanus (+ A. D. 31), who, he says, was an arch-enemy of the Jewish nation. This view does not seem plausible to me. Pilate knew that he was supported by the powerful Sejanus, the Jew-hater, and hence did not cease vexing the Jews in spite of his yielding in the first instance (introduction of the standards), and he even irritated them anew by setting up the votive tablets in the *Praetorium* at Jerusalem. That this event occurred in the year 781 (A. D. 28), in the second year of Pilate's administration, may, I think, be asserted positively. No one seems to know how the enmity between Pilate and Herod (Lk. XXIII, 12) originated. I am well aware that Philo does not positively assert that Antipas went to the imperial court in behalf of the indignant Jews, wrought up over the setting up of the tablets, but merely says that a bill of grievances was sent to Rome. But what is more natural than to assume that Herod Antipas, either alone or in the company of others, was the bearer of this petition? Philo expressly states that the sons of King Herod from the very outset sided with the Jews against Pilate. Antipas was "an intimate friend of Tiberius,"[22] and hence had reason to expect a favorable result. This conjecture almost becomes a certainty in the light of what Josephus tells us. He reports a journey of Herod Antipas to Rome, on which occasion, he says, the tetrarch came to Jerusalem and became acquainted with Herodias. The Jewish historian does not give the date of this journey; but it may be conjectured with certainty. After his return he went to live with Herodias. John the Baptist publicly denounced this liaison (Lk. III, 1, 2). That it was something new at that time and had given great scandal to the people we know from the Gospels. Taking all this into consideration, we do not hesitate to adopt the following chronology: the votive tablets set up by Pilate in Jerusalem in the spring of 781; Herod Antipas's journey to Rome in the summer of the same year; his return from Rome in the fall of 781.

2. Regarding Pilate's residence compare the statements of Josephus and Philo with those of the Gospels. Josephus speaks of the royal palace (*τὰ βασίλεια*) as the headquarters of the Procurator Gessius Florus,[23] and on this occasion mentions the judgment-seat in front of the building (*βῆμα πρὸ αὐτῶν*). In two other places[24] he speaks of the same

[21] *Op. cit.*, 124.
[22] Josephus, *Ant.*, XVIII, 2, 3.
[23] *Bell. Iud.*, II, 14, 8.
[24] *Ibid.*, II, 15, 1 and 5.

royal palace, but uses the expression ἡ βασιλικὴ αὐλή. The palace in its arrangement closely resembled a castle and is therefore also called φρούριον (τῆς ἄνω πόλεως ἴδιον φρούριον ἦν, τὰ Ἡρώδου βασίλεια; *Bell. Iud.,* V, 5, 8). This agrees with Jn. XIX, 13. For the period of Pilate's incumbency Philo [25] testifies that τὰ Ἡρώδου βασίλεια was the residence of the procurator. St. Mark (XV, 8) indicates that the residence of Pilate on the feast of Easter in the year of Our Lord's death was situated in the upper city; and in XV, 16 he calls it ἡ αὐλή [*sc.* βασιλική], ὅ ἐστιν πραιτώριον, which proves that the royal palace and the residence of the Roman Procurator were identical. According to Theodosius (A. D. 530), the distance between the palace of Pilate and the house of Caiphas was 100 steps; both were situated on Sion.[26]

The question why Pilate came to Jerusalem from Caesarea, his ordinary residence, precisely on the feast of Easter, 783, is not difficult to answer. At that time he was already well aware of the discontent of the Jews, which "blazed up precisely on the occasion of festal gatherings," [27] especially in consequence of the events during the first two years of his administration. Hence he went to Jerusalem for the feast of Easter to preserve order. But there were also other reasons for this journey. There was need of administering justice and of inflicting punishment upon several criminals and rioters who were kept in custody since the tumult on the feast of the Tabernacles, 782 (cfr. Lk. XIII, 1) to be executed on the crucifixion-day (feast of Easter).

As regards the time when Jesus and the Sanhedrists arrived at the *Praetorium,* there can be no doubt that it was a very early hour, for St. John says (XVIII, 28): ἦν δὲ πρωΐ. According to St. Mark (XIII, 35, cfr. XVI, 2) and St. John (XXI, 1), this expression signifies the time of the fourth vigil. Now, if we take into consideration the remark in Jn. XIX, 14 regarding the moment when the sentence was pronounced ("about 6 o'clock") we may with good reason designate the hour of dawn as the time when the proceedings began in the *Praetorium.*

The Evangelists do not fail to mention that Jesus was brought fettered before the Procurator. The expression of St. Matthew (XXVII, 2): δήσαντες αὐτὸν ἀπήγαγον and in St. Mark (XV, 1): δήσαντες τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀπήνεγκαν, seem strange to some exegetes, who rather expected δεδεμένον for the reason that Jesus was led bound from Mount Olivet to the palace of Caiphas and, after Annas had interrogated him, was haled bound before Caiphas (Jn. XVIII, 24), and it is nowhere mentioned that His fetters were meanwhile removed. This latter statement is quite

[25] *Leg. ad Caium,* § 38 f.
[26] *De Situ,* c. VII, p. 141 (ed. Geyer).
[27] Josephus, *Bell. Iud.,* I, 4, 3.

true, but the silence of the Evangelists on this point does not permit us to conclude that the fetters were not removed. No doubt they were removed before the hearing began; however, at all events, fetters were ostentatiously put on Jesus before He was led away in order that He might appear as a dangerous criminal.

3. When Pilate declared that he would hold a regular trial, the hierarchs replied ill-humoredly, as recorded in Jn. XVIII, 30: "If he were not a malefactor, we would not have delivered him up to thee." By this they supported their refusal to bring a charge. They said it in order to give the Procurator to understand that they appeared before him not as private citizens, but as members of the Jewish Supreme Court and as such officially demanded the execution of the prisoner. As officials it would certainly never have entered their minds to arrest Jesus, judge Him, and bring Him bound before the Procurator if they did not regard Him as a malefactor (with κακὸν ποιῶν; cfr. κακοποιός, 1 Pet. IV, 15). Very prudently they did not say a word of the alleged *blasphemy,* which they claimed to have proved in their night session, because they knew well enough that this would not impress Pilate, who would have promptly answered: That is none of my business; I am not competent to pass upon religious questions and controversies; you may judge such matters for yourselves (cfr. Acts XVIII, 15).

The hierarchs denounced Jesus before Pilate as a malefactor dangerous to the public welfare, knowing that high treason was punishable by crucifixion. Did Pilate learn of this charge only after the trial in the *Praetorium* had begun, or had he been advised of it beforehand? During the preceding night *pourparlers* had probably been held and arrangements made between the Sanhedrists and Pilate. The hierarchs had petitioned the Procurator to let them have a cohort (600 men) to assist in taking Jesus prisoner, and it is not unlikely that the idea had been suggested by Pilate himself. That there was some mutual understanding between them seems to be indicated also by the reply of the hierarchs in Jn. XVIII, 30. St. John mentions the participation of Roman soldiers in the seizure of Christ with the evident purpose of rendering intelligible the Master's reference to the fact in XVIII, 36 and XIX, 11. It is probable also for other reasons that Pilate had kept a vigilant optic on Jesus and the movement of the populace during the whole year of His public ministry, though he had found no reason for interfering, because the popular movement in question bore not even the semblance of a revolutionary uprising. The assumption that the Procurator attentively followed the career of the Saviour cannot be disproved by a reference to Lk. XXIII, 6 f., for in that passage there is probably question of

the *domicile* of Jesus, which may have been unknown to Pilate. That the latter was at his post on the festival of Easter needs no explanation, especially after his experiences on the last great Feast of the Tabernacles in Jerusalem.

Chrysostom in discussing the question why the Jews led Jesus to Pilate pointed in a general way to the political conditions of the time: *καὶ τίνος ἕνεκεν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀνείλον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν Πιλᾶτον ἤγαγον; μάλιστα μὲν τὸ πολὺ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας ὑπετέτμητο λοιπόν, ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους τῶν πραγμάτων κειμένων.*[28] Whether the great bishop made this statement after special research or merely in view of Jn. XVIII, 31, must remain undecided; but it is noteworthy that he adds the words: *σταυρῶσαι αὐτὸν ἐπεθύμουν, ἵνα καὶ τὸν τρόπον τῆς τελευτῆς ἐκπομπεύσωσιν.* This statement indicates the real motive of the Sanhedrists: they deliver Him up to Pilate in order that He may be removed by an ignominious death on the Cross. The same question regarding the reason why Jesus was led to Pilate is raised by St. Augustine: *"Cur non licet?"* he remarks on Jn. XVIII, 31; *"nonne lex eis praecepit, ne malefactoribus, praesertim (qualem istum putabant) de suo Deo seductoribus parcant? Sed intellegendum est, eos dixisse non sibi licere interficere quemquam propter dici festi sanctitatem, quem celebrare iam coeperant."* This view has been declared erroneous; if the same fate is prepared for me, I may console myself by looking up to the great Bishop of Hippo.

The statement of the Talmud regarding the execution of certain malefactors among the Jews on festival days is not opposed to our theory. Rabbi Akiba's statement in the Mishna, Siphra, and Tosephta, that false teachers, prophets, and witnesses as well as seducers of the people should not be put to death immediately, but brought to Jerusalem to be kept in custody and then executed on the feasts, is justly interpreted as meaning that the execution was to take place only while the pilgrims were assembled in Jerusalem, but not on one of the feast days proper. This agrees perfectly with what is related in Acts XII, 2–4, from which it is furthermore evident that no execution was ever performed by the Jewish people and their officials on the festal sabbaths. James the Less was executed during the Easter season (A. D. 62), but not on the chief festival day. That the administration of criminal justice had not been withdrawn from the Jews at the time of Christ is shown by the account given in the Acts of the proceedings instituted against the Apostles and disciples of Jesus in the years 31 to 33. The Apostles, contrary to the prohibition of the Sanhedrin, had preached the Gospel in Jerusalem, and were brought before the Grand Council, which held a

[28] *Hom. in Ioan.*, 83.

formal session and was about to decree the death of the offenders, when Gamaliel arose in the assembly and advised caution and patience (Acts V, 21 ff.). The proceedings against St. Stephen (Acts VI, 11–VII, 60) make it plain that the Jewish Sanhedrin sat in formal judgment upon the case of the inspired deacon and conducted a trial, though the account seems intended to create the impression that the trial, which in the beginning was legal, terminated in a tumultuous scene. We must, however, remember that Saul, who was so zealous for the law, co-operated in the execution without scruple. When St. Paul in his speech before King Herod Agrippa and the Procurator Festus recalls several executions performed by the high priests or the Sanhedrin (Acts XXVI, 10), he must have meant a legal procedure on the part of the Jewish authorities. According to Josephus [29] a proceeding was legal and orderly whenever the sanction of the Procurator for constituting the Sanhedrin as a court of justice had been obtained.

In view of all the facts it is beyond doubt that the Procurator Pilate, in the early morning of the 15th Nisan, 783, by the words addressed to the Jewish hierarchs, or rather to the high priest Caiphas: "Take him you and judge him according to your law" (Jn. XVIII, 31), intended to give them the ἐξουσία to convoke the Sanhedrin for a legal court session and deal with Jesus according to the Mosaic law. The Sanhedrists rejected this suggestion under the pretext that the law did not permit them to perform an execution on the festival day of Easter. In reality they did so because they wished to see Jesus crucified after the Roman fashion as a traitor, not stoned to death according to the Jewish law. The ἡμῖν οὐκ ἔξεστι, placed with such strong emphasis at the beginning of the sentence, demands the contrast: For thee it is lawful; which, if referred to the *ius gladii*, would sound absolutely trivial: We Jews have not the right to execute criminals; you, as Procurator, have it. According to our view, on the other hand, craftiness and cunning can be discerned in the argumentation: There is question here of a great malefactor, a traitor, whose immediate execution is demanded; we Jews, on account of the feast of Easter, cannot deal with him; you, who are not a Jew, can do so.

4. Lk. XXIII, 2 has to be reconstructed in the following manner: τοῦτον εὕραμεν διαστρέφοντα τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν καὶ κωλύοντα—καὶ λέγοντα. . . . We must, therefore, view the indictment of Jesus by the Jews as consisting of three counts: (1) He has caused sedition and dissension among the people and is a disturber of the peace; (2) He has forbidden us to pay the customary tribute to the Roman emperor; (3) He claims to be

[28] *Ant.*, XX, 9, 1.

the Messias and king of the Jews. The third charge was calculated to impress Pilate most profoundly, because he could understand it in no other way than that Jesus claimed to be a political king. Thus the accusation of *"crimen laesae meiestatis"* was made in due form. Marcion, after τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν, has the words: καὶ καταλύοντα τὸν νόμον καὶ τοῦς προφήτας and after βασιλέα εἶναι, the words: καὶ ἀποστρέφοντα τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα.[30] The Cod. Colbert. has *"et solventem leges et prophetas,"* and on XXIII, 5: *"et filios nostros et uxores avertit a nobis."* According to this authority the indictment contained five distinct counts. We cannot say off-hand that the two points mentioned by Marcion represent an arbitrary interpolation. The charge of "dissolving the law and the prophets" reminds one of the repeated charge of the Jews that Jesus broke the law of the Sabbath (καταλύει τὰ σάββατα, λύει τὸ σάββατον; *e. g.*, Jn. V, 18; cfr. Acts VI, 14), while the charge of alienating women and children suggests the enthusiastic cries of the *pueri Hebraeorum* on the day of His triumphant entry into Jerusalem (Mt. XXI, 15 f.) and of the scene depicted in Lk. XXIII, 27 ff. Evidently Our Saviour strongly attracted the women and children. It is strange, however, that the two above-mentioned points do not appear in the best codices of St. Luke's Gospel.

Pilate restricted his inquiry exclusively to the main point: Jesus the Christ and king, and having convinced himself that this charge was unsupported by evidence, and that no political motive or revolutionary tendency inspired Him, he clearly saw that Jesus was being made the victim of religious and hierarchical envy (Mt. XXVII, 18). The nullity of the second apparently grave charge (κωλύοντα φόρους Καίσαρι διδόναι) Pilate evidently recognized at once. History[31] and experience probably taught him that the opponents of the imperial tribute (poll tax and tax on land) must be sought elsewhere, namely, among the enemies and accusers of Jesus (the Pharisees).

5. The inadequacy of the Synoptic description of the trial of Jesus before Pilate is evident; without the Johannine account we could not form an historical conception of the scene. Take, for instance, Mt. XXVII, 11 and Mk. XV, 2. Surely Pilate must have been instructed by the accusers of Jesus before he could ask Him whether He (whose appearance was not at all imposing) was the King of the Jews. In Luke we have an improvement as compared with the first two Evangelists,

[30] Epiphanius, *Hær.*, XLII, 316.
[31] Cfr. Josephus, *Ant.*, XVIII, 1, 1; *Bell. Iud.*, II, 8, 1.

inasmuch as he informs us concerning the counts of the indictment. But even what he says about the charges (Lk. XXIII, 3, 4), would remain obscure without St. John, for we could not understand why Pilate, having received from Jesus an affirmative answer to the question: "Art thou the king of the Jews?" should have gone out immediately and declared to the Jews: "I find no cause [nothing criminal] in this man." (Lk. XXIII, 4). St. John sheds light on this by telling us of the other questions asked by Pilate and the answers given by Jesus (Jn. XVIII, 33–37) concerning the nature of His kingdom. It was only after Pilate had been thus convinced of the harmlessness of the kingship of Jesus, that he made the above-quoted declaration. Also in another place a bright light is shed on the fragmentary account of the Synoptics by St. John. St. Matthew mentions a *κατηγορεῖσθαι αὐτόν* on the part of the high priests and ancients (XXVII, 12), and Mark an accusation "in many things" (XV, 3); both Evangelists, however, at the same time strongly emphasize the silence of Jesus regarding these charges (Mt. XXVII, 12, 13; Mk. XV, 4, 5). Now St. John says that, at the commencement of the trial before Pilate, Jesus answered all the questions asked by the Procurator promptly and to the satisfaction of the latter, so that His silence can have referred only to the calumnies and falsehoods put forward by the Sanhedrists. St. John certainly was not present at the hearing within the palace of Pilate; if he nevertheless gives exact information concerning this event, we shall not go far amiss by conjecturing that Jesus Himself told the disciples of it during His frequent conversations with them between the Resurrection and the Ascension. We know that He repeatedly explained to His disciples at that time the necessity of His Passion and death (cfr. Lk. XXIV, 26, 44). On one of these occasions He may very well have mentioned the words spoken by Him on the morning of the 15th Nisan in the *Practorium* (Jn. XVIII, 37). For it is beyond doubt that by these words uttered before Pilate, Jesus alluded to His approaching death by saying: "For this was I born, for this came I into the world, that I should give testimony to the truth." It is a formal declaration of the purpose of His Incarnation and His ministry in the world, namely, to give testimony of Himself as the consubstantial Son of God and as the Messias or king of the Jews sent by the Father, and to seal this testimony by His teaching and miracles, but above all by His death. Some exegetes call attention to the words of St. Paul in which (1 Tim. VI, 13) he points to the testimony of Jesus before Pilate: *παραγγέλλω σοι ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ ζωογονοῦντος τὰ πάντα καὶ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ μαρτυρήσαντος ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πειλάτου τὴν καλὴν ὁμολογίαν*. The "beautiful confession" which St. Paul has in mind, it is

said, are precisely the words of Jesus: ἡ βασιλεία ἡ ἐμή, etc. (Jn. XVIII, 36). Here the truth appears mingled with falsehood. The circumstance that the exegetes who construe the Pauline ὁμολογία as referring simply to the verbal testimony of Jesus and translate ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πειλάτου by "before Pontius Pilate," gives rise to doubts as to the reliability of the entire explanation. Moreover, this explanation does not correspond to the solemnity of the occasion in which Paul reminds Timothy of the ὁμολογία of Christ. Both objections vanish, however, if the words are understood of the testimony of Jesus given by His deeds. Jesus Christ *under* Pontius Pilate gave testimony of the beautiful confession, *i. e.*, confirmed it by His death on the Cross. In proof of this meaning of μαρτυρεῖν, Van Bebber points to the use of μάρτυς in Apoc. I, 5 and III, 14. The phrase ὁ ὢν ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας (Jn. XVIII, 37) is as a rule interpreted unsatisfactorily thus: He who has love for the truth, who is a friend of the truth, listens to my voice. According to this interpretation Our Saviour did not mean the truth revealed by Him, but merely wished to acknowledge that, despite the clouding of the truth by the fall of Adam, the passion and desire for truth still strongly assert themselves in many souls. Hence the sense of the passage would be: Everyone who still has a desire for the eternal truth, and sighs and longs for it (*qui studio veritatis ducitur*), will hear my voice. I do not, however, regard this explanation as probable, for the reason that this manner of locution is also used in 1 Jn. III, 19 and, according to the context, in a *Christian* sense. There the Evangelist says: If we have living charity, we shall know that we are of the truth. The Evangelist has in mind believers in Christ, who are born of the Spirit of God (1 Jn. III, 24) and he speaks the language of his Master, who said before Pilate: Everyone who is of the truth, *i. e.*, who comes to me drawn by the Father (Jn. VI, 37 ff.), who enters my kingdom by faith and baptism in the Holy Ghost, hears my voice, hears the testimony which I give especially by my death, and has this testimony permanently in himself (cfr. Jn. V, 38).

CHAPTER II

JESUS BEFORE HEROD ANTIPAS

(Lk. XXIII, 5–12)

To be consistent, Pilate should have followed up the solemn declaration of innocence with an acquittal of Jesus. But on accouut of his shaken prestige he had not the courage to obey his sense of justice. He feared to arouse the displeasure of the Judeans by a prompt dismissal of the case; he knew the sentiments of the Jewish people towards his person and the consciousness of his many sins paralyzed him. The Jewish officials, noticing that Pilate wished to break off or postpone the trial, reiterated their accusations with greater vehemence and preferred many grievous charges against Jesus (Lk. XXIII, 5; Mk. XV, 3). They laid special stress on the crime of stirring up sedition and endangering the public peace and safety. Although the rebellion fomented by Jesus has not as yet broken out, they said, it may start at any moment, whenever He gives the signal; the danger is so much the more threatening because He does not confine his agitation to Galilee, but extends it over the entire land (*καθ' ὅλης τῆς Ἰουδαίας*; Lk. XXIII, 5).

The Procurator, who had expected that Jesus would defend Himself against these charges, but at the same time could not but admire His silence and majestic meekness (Mt. XXVII, 14), thought he had discovered an excellent way out of the painful dilemma when he heard the word "Galilean" and learned that Jesus was from that province, hence a subject of Herod Antipas [Note 1]. He decided to send Jesus to Herod as a way out of the predicament.

Herod, commonly called Herod Antipas, was a son of Herod the Great. Since the death of his father (750) he held the position of tetrarch of Galilee and Perea, but stood in bad repute among the larger portion of the Jewish people on account of his marriage with Herodias and his unjust proceeding against John the Baptist. Herod, on the present occasion, had come from his ordinary residence, Tiberias, to Jerusalem for the passah feast and dwelt near the *Practorium Pilati* in the so-called little Herodian palace,—the palace of the Hasmoneans or Agrippa on the east side of Mount Sion.[1] Since his journey to Rome he was at odds with the Procurator,—a fact which undoubtedly caused Pilate some worry on account of the Tetrarch's great popularity at the imperial court.[2] Now a favorable opportunity presented itself to show him an act of courtesy and thus to restore friendly relations. Herod had long cherished the desire to see Jesus (Lk. XXIII, 8). St. Luke (IX, 9) reminds his readers that when the Tetrarch, shortly after the death of the Baptist, heard of the activity of Jesus, he felt qualms of conscience over his unjust deed and feared that the executed Baptist had arisen from the dead in the person of Jesus of Nazareth. This happened about September, 782, and from that time on Herod evidently watched the person and activity of Jesus. About December, 782, he seems to have harbored the thought of doing away with Jesus. For according to St. Luke (XIII, 31), one day while Our Lord sojourned in the territory of Antipas, some of the Pharisees came to Him and said: "Depart hence, for Herod has a mind to kill thee." Jesus in His answer called Herod a fox, a cunning and evil-minded man, and declared that He had still three trips to make from the territory of Herod to Jerusalem before He would meet His death (Lk. XIII, 32 f.). He meant the journeys to the feasts of the Dedication and Purim, to the resuscitation of Lazarus, and the last journey (Jn. X. 22 =

[1] Josephus, *Bell. Iud.*, II, 16, 3 and II, 17, 6; *Ant.*, XX, 8, 11.
[2] *Ant.*, XVIII, 2, 3.

Mk. X; x, 40 = Mk. X, 1 ff., XI, 54 ff.). According to the sense, this answer is similar to the one He later gave in Perea (Jn. XI, 9 ff.): Despite his murderous intent, Herod can do me no harm, because my hour is not yet come.

It was to this potentate that Pilate, on the morning of the 15th Nisan, sent Jesus, as if Herod were the proper judge to decide His fate. Herod rejoiced to see Jesus, expecting that He would perform a miracle or pronounce a prophecy, *i. e.*, regarding his own destiny (dreams of kingship), and thus furnish entertainment and amusement for the court. He had meanwhile abandoned his former murderous plan because he had satisfied himself of the harmlessness of Jesus and His activity. He now questioned Our Lord concerning the charges made against Him. But Jesus remained silent in the presence of the lecherous, adulterous, and pompous potentate, the murderer of St. John. Herod did not act as a judge, he did not put his questions to ascertain the facts, and on this basis to pronounce a judgment, but merely to gratify his curiosity, to amuse himself and his courtiers, and, finally, to make frivolous sport of the accused and to give vent to his sarcasm for Him. The Sanhedrists evidently waited until the anger of the Tetrarch had been aroused. This finds its explanation in the secret fear which arose in them because Herod had at first treated them with reserve, nay even with contempt. The charges of the Judeans may have referred to the alleged claim of Jesus concerning the kingship over the Jews, which also endangered the throne of the Tetrarch, or to the violation of the Jewish law against founding a new religion; or perhaps they quoted the remark made by Our Lord regarding the foxy character of Herod (Lk. XIII, 32). The latter, though greatly mortified by the silence of Jesus, did not pass judgment upon Him by word or sign. He knew nothing of any sedition caused by Jesus in his territory, was aware of no armed uprising, and it may be that, for a moment, the voice of his conscience warned him against committing a new murder and that the former censure of his

adulterous union with Herodias by those who were now the accusers of Jesus came back to his mind. Finally, his decision was no doubt also influenced by the consideration that the Procurator himself had found no cause in Jesus. He therefore sent Jesus back to the tribunal of Pilate, thus returning the compliment paid him by the latter and acknowledging the competency of the Roman governor. Herod ranks far below Pontius Pilate in character. Whilst Pilate at once discovered the innocence of Jesus and believed Him to be a harmless dreamer, Herod saw in Him not a just and holy man, as he had formerly seen in John the Baptist (Mk. VI, 26), not a noble-minded visionary, but an ordinary juggler or magician. He viewed the absolute silence of Jesus as a condemnation of himself and his conduct and for that reason was exceedingly angry and sought to take revenge on Jesus by mocking Him, in which procedure he urged his courtiers and guardsmen to take part in order to hide his own discomfiture.

As to the meaning of the jest intended by Herod when he clothed Jesus with a white garment, there are many and various opinions. Most probably the Tetrarch intended to expose to mockery the alleged kingship of Jesus. A white and gorgeous vestment was worn by the Jewish kings on festive occasions. Solomon was in the habit of driving about, dressed in a white garment;[3] King Agrippa used to appear in the theatre clothed in white, and sometimes also the Roman governors wore white.[4] [Note 2.]

1. The episode related by St. Luke (XXIII, 5–12) is not found in the other three Evangelists, and it cannot be said that this event exercised any material influence on the course of the great drama of the Passion. The incident is of the greatest interest, but it is not a necessary link in the history of the Passion. St. Matthew did not care to incorporate the event in his Gospel, as most of his Judaeo-Christian readers were well acquainted with the character of Herod Antipas and knew he was an object of contempt. The Jewish historian Josephus says that his failure

[3] Josephus, *Ant.*, VIII, 7, 3; XIX, 8, 2; cfr. *Bell. Iud.*, II, 1, 1.
[4] Tacitus, *Hist.*, II, 89.

in the war with his father-in-law, Aretas, was universally ascribed by the Jews to the vengeance of Heaven for his unjust treatment of John the Baptist.[5] The First Evangelist, therefore, did not wish to encumber his account with the incident, especially since it ended in failure. St. Mark, as so often, followed the example of St. Matthew. St. John saw no reason for treating of a matter which was not calculated to promote the purpose of his Gospel. St. Luke had prepared the way for the pericope under discussion by his description in IX, 7–9. Moreover, we have a second canonical testimony in Acts IV, 27, in the speech of Peter. True, there is a certain discrepancy between the two passages. According to St. Luke, Herod Antipas mocks Jesus σὺν τοῖς στρατεύμασιν (Vulg.: *cum exercitu;* XXIII, 11); while according to Peter, Herod and Pilate met in Jerusalem, Pilate accompanied by ἔθνη, Herod by λαοὶ Ἰσραήλ. This divergency does not constitute a material difference, as the idiom of St. Peter shows that the word στρατεύματα in St. Luke's Gospel means attendants or guardsmen. It is not improbable that the Tetrarch, who wished to make an impression by a grand display of force, had soldiers and military officers with him; however, he was not allowed to enter the ἀρχή of the Procurator (Jerusalem) with an organized military troop or regiment of soldiers and officers in uniform, but had to be contented with a large retinue of courtiers and attendants in citizen's clothes. In this sense St. Justin Martyr must have understood the account of St. Luke in the two passages, for he speaks of a meeting of the Jewish king (= Tetrarch), accompanied by *Jews,* with the Procurator Pilate "and his soldiers" against Christ.[6] Resch concludes from St. Justin's statement that the two men actually met while the trial was still going on. Though this was quite possible on account of the proximity of the two palaces, we cannot accept this theory. St. Justin by the word συνέλευσις merely expresses the hostile action of *both rulers,* the Jew as well as the pagan, against Christ, which Peter also means by συνήχθησαν ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ ἐπὶ τὸν ἅγιον παῖδα. Although Herod pronounces no legal sentence, his failure to declare Christ innocent, together with his positive action, was tantamount to a condemnation. In the apocryphal *Acta Pilati*[7] the scene is related in close adherence to the canonical account. Whilst this document also mentions the "white garment," the *Diatessaron*[8] speaks of *a vestis coccinea,* which garment, however, plays a rôle only later (Mt. XXVII, 28). St. Luke's expression, ἀναπέμπειν (XXIII, 7), must not be interpreted as *mittere in locum altiorem,* as if the Tetrarch

[5] *Ant.,* XVIII, 5, 2.
[6] Justin M., *Apol.,* I, 40.
[7] IX, 301; ed. Tischendorf.
[8] *Arab. ad Luc.,* XXIII, 11; ed. Ciasca.

lived in a palace situated higher than that of Pilate;[9] for this reason, if for no other, St. Luke afterwards uses the same verb to describe the sending back of Jesus from Herod to Pilate (XXIII, 11). Nor can the meaning of the word be: *mittere ad personam dignitate seu potestate superiorem,* because Pilate did not look upon the Tetrarch as one having greater power and dignity than himself. There remains, therefore, solely the interpretation: Pilate sent Jesus to Herod as the competent judge. True, Pilate did not question the legality of a trial before the Roman tribunal, because according to Roman law every criminal could be judged not only where he was born or where he resided, but also where he had committed a crime (*forum originis, domicilii, delicti*). The Jewish officials had brought Jesus before his judgment-seat as a man who had stirred up the people in Judea and Jerusalem and claimed to be king of the Jews, and who had been made a prisoner there. Pilate, on the contrary, seeks to pay the Tetrarch a compliment by sending Jesus to him, thereby showing that he renounces his rights in favor of the Tetrarch and grants him precedence. It is this thought of Pilate that St. Luke suggests to the readers of his Gospel by employing the word ἀναπέμπειν. Herod, in sending Jesus back to Pilate, *indicta causa.* did not, of course, do the Procurator a favor, because he did not extricate him from the painful predicament; but Pilate certainly felt flattered that Herod would not make use of the proffered honor on foreign soil, so to speak, but left the decision to him. That is why St. Luke again uses ἀναπέμπειν in the second place (XXIII, 11). "It was a sort of diplomatic handshaking," destined to take an important place in history. As regards the friendship which arose in consequence thereof, one recalls the word of Cicero: *"Inter malos nulla amicitia";* but there are alliances among the wicked for selfish purposes. Pilate owed Herod gratitude for a judgment agreeing with his own and was able to confront the Jewish officials with it. Furthermore, Pilate thought he could improve his position somewhat by placing a man of great respect and political influence under obligations to himself, and Herod Antipas, who at that time harbored the idea of proclaiming himself king, may have promised himself greater freedom of action in pursuing his dynastic interests. The mills of God grind slowly, but they grind exceeding fine. When Herod believed he was near his goal and, at the instigation of the ambitious Herodias, went to Rome to ask for the royal title, he was deposed by Caligula in consequence of the machinations of his nephew, Herod Agrippa, and banished to Lugdunum (Lyons) in Gaul (A. D. 39);[10] he died ingloriously in exile.[11]

[9] The latter in the fortress Antonia, Herod in the αὐλὴ βασιλική on Mt. Sion; cfr. Pölzl, *Passion and Glory,* p. 169.

[10] Josephus, *Ant.,* XVIII, 7, 1, 2.

[11] According to Jos., *B. I.,* II, 9, 6, he died somewhere in Spain.

Pontius Pilate was deposed by Vitellius in 37 and sent to Rome to vindicate himself. It is believed that he committed suicide.[12]

2. The significance of the white garment with which Jesus was invested must evidently not be sought in the fact that He was to be mocked as a pretender to the royal dignity. We are apt to think involuntarily of the *toga candida* in which the candidates for office in Rome were accustomed to present themselves to the people and accordingly suppose that the Tetrarch and his retinue intended to mock Jesus as an unsuccessful aspirant to the royal crown. There would have been something exceedingly tragical in this wanton jest, inasmuch as Antipas himself later miserably failed in his efforts to obtain the title of king. There can be no question that the above-mentioned Roman custom was known to the Tetrarch; but it is more than doubtful whether the Jewish people had any knowledge of the same; without such knowledge they could not have understood the "jest," yet Herod had evidently intended the masquerade in the first place for the Jews. Certain it is that Herod proceeded from the charge of the Jewish officials that Jesus claimed to be king of the Jews. As kings usually wore a white gala garment on festive occasions, the Tetrarch wished to declare by this habiliment that the kingship of Jesus was a silly farce. This interpretation permits us to understand the satisfaction which Pilate experienced when Herod sent Jesus back to him. Before Jesus and the Jewish officials started back to Pilate, Herod no doubt sent a messenger to inform the Procurator of the outcome of the trial. We can easily surmise the tenor of that message: I feel very much indebted to you for your courtesy in sending the Galilean to me; however, I can discover in him nothing but a stupid fool and have treated him accordingly; I now send him back to you. Pilate rejoiced because Herod agreed with him, and assured the Tetrarch of his gratitude and great respect. Some exegetes see in the action of Herod a mockery of Christ's office of high-priest and point to the white color of the gown and the sacerdotal tunic as a proof. We cannot agree with this view. The Gospels, it is true, report that many believed Jesus to be a prophet and the Messias, but not that they regarded Him as a priest. Therefore there is no reason for assuming that Herod intended to mock Jesus as a priest.

The behavior of the Tetrarch on the morning of the 15th Nisan in view of his former secret dread of the person of the miracle-worker (Mt. XIV, 2) is somewhat surprising. It is not probable that he suddenly believed the miracles, of which he had heard before, to have been

[12] Cfr. Eusebius, *H. E.*, II, 7; *Chron.*, ed. Schoene, II, 150 f.

delusions. Since he asked for a sign (σημεῖον, Lk. XXIII, 8), his faith in the powers (δυνάμεις) of Jesus must have been still alive. It is, therefore, quite probable that the Tetrarch at first treated Jesus with a certain deference and friendliness, also for this reason because he was well aware of the true sentiments of many of His accusers towards his own person. But when Jesus persistently refused to answer any of the questions put to Him, the Tetrarch was deeply disgraced and humiliated in the presence of his courtiers. Strange notions of public honor often play a fatal rôle with persons absolutely devoid of the moral sense (cfr. Mk. VI, 26). Herod's former kindness now turned into ill-temper, to which he gave vent by mocking Jesus. The silent and fettered Galilean now appeared to him as a fool, from whom all magic power had departed.

The objections raised by Strauss, Baur, and Keim against St. Luke's account of the scene before Herod have nearly all been abandoned, for not one of them is able to stand the test of criticism. Whosoever unduly stresses the silence of the other Evangelists may with the same right object to each of the many texts peculiar to Luke, whose plain, candid, unpretentious manner of describing the event, it seems to me, offers a sufficient warrant for the historical reliability of the story. St. Luke furthermore on this occasion discloses an excellent knowledge of the facts. His remark on the enmity existing between Herod and Pilate is indirectly confirmed by what Philo and Josephus say about the behavior of the Tetrarch towards Pilate in his action against the Jews, and as St. Luke (Acts XII, 20 ff.), *c. g.*, in his account of the death of Herod Agrippa (A. D. 44), surpasses Josephus in accuracy of information, so also here by his very definite statement concerning the hostile relations between Antipas and Pilate.

The objection that there was no time left for this episode in the midst of the many events recorded by all four Evangelists, is without foundation. We shall later treat more in particular of the chronological statements of the Gospels concerning the condemnation and crucifixion of Jesus. For the present we merely wish to say that the difficulty here discussed arises only for him who assumes that the Temple-mount (castle of Antonia) was the residence of Pilate and the royal palace on Sion that of Herod. But this view is unfounded; both palaces, "the royal court" and the Hasmonean citadel, were situated within a short distance of each other on Mt. Sion; the going from the one to the other and back and the proceedings in the Hasmonean citadel certainly required no more than about thirty minutes; since Jesus remained silent, the questioning cannot have lasted more than ten minutes, upon which followed the mockery, lasting only a short while. Jesus was back in the palace of Pilate before 6 A. M.

CHAPTER III

THE SECOND TRIAL BEFORE PILATE—JESUS AND BARABBAS

(Mt. XXV, 15–26; Mk. XV, 6–15; Lk. XXIII, 13–25; Jn. XVIII, 39–40)

Having been informed by Herod of the result of the trial and the opinion of the Tetrarch, Pilate retried the case in his own court after the return of Jesus. Of this second trial before Pilate, St. Luke gives us the most detailed account. The Sanhedrists, who by order of Pilate had followed Jesus to the Hasmonean palace to prosecute the case there, had arrived with Him in the *praetorium,* followed by a large crowd. The Procurator once more comes out, sits on the judgment-seat, and in the presence of the high priests and officials (*i. e.,* the Sanhedrists; cfr. Lk. XXIII, 10) and of the populace, whom Pilate purposely admitted because he believed them less hostile or perhaps even favorably disposed towards Jesus, gives a survey of the trial and of the results thus far obtained, by saying: The main charge against Jesus, that He stirred up the people to sedition, has proved to be groundless in the investigation which I have made; and the trial before Herod, His sovereign, has brought to light no crime worthy of the death penalty (οὐδὲν ἄξιον θανάτου ἐστὶν πεπραγμένον αὐτῷ; Lk. XXIII, 15). This solemn declaration agreed fully with the truth. But who would have expected that immediately after this utterance the same mouth would add: "I will chastise him therefore, and release him!" It is evident that Pilate was induced to utter these words by the desire to achieve the liberation of Jesus by making a concession to the fanaticism of the Jews; but it is

equally clear that by this proposal he left the domain of justice and law, and out of human respect started upon a downward course, where there was no stopping. If Jesus was not guilty, the judge had no right to punish Him, but it was his duty to declare Him innocent. Pilate's proceeding was not only unjust, but also unwise. For passion and hatred will not be appeased by half-measures; they must either be curbed or satisfied. By yielding, Pilate made himself the puppet of the Jews. Now, when the moment had come to open the proceedings, the scene changed. [Note 1.]

Since the time of the Roman occupation the first festival day of Easter, the 15th Nisan, was not only the customary day for crucifixions, but also for granting amnesty. On that great day of the passah (Jn. XVIII, 39) the Jewish people were wont to petition the governor for the release of one of the criminals who had been condemned to death. After this one had been set at liberty, the Procurator would proceed to pronounce the death sentence upon those not included in the amnesty and order their execution.

The custom was connected with the festival of Easter because this was looked upon as a feast of liberation. On the morning of this day (15th Nisan) the people had been freed from the servitude of Egypt (Ex. XII, 22; Nm. XXXIII, 3). The granting of pardon took place in the early morning, so that the one who was set free might "eat the pasch" with his fellow-countrymen, *i. e.,* take part in the customary thank-offerings and sacrificial banquets (Dt. XVI, 14, 15; XXIII, 7). The Fourth Evangelist expressly designates this custom as a Jewish one (XVIII, 39), which must be understood in its connection with the significance of the Easter festival; the Romans, who were clever politicians, allowed the Jews to retain this former right as a privilege.

While Pilate was debating with the officials and the populace, a large crowd rushed to the upper town, took its stand before the *praetorium,* and began to ask him to do them the

accustomed favor (Mk. XV, 8). A comparison of Mk. XV, 8 with Mk. XV, 25 and Jn. XIX, 14 shows that the hour for amnesty was set very early, between 5 and 6 o'clock in the morning, from which fact, in connection with the remark of St. John: ἵνα ἕνα ἀπολύσω ὑμῖν ἐν τῷ πάσχα (XVIII, 39), we may conclude that it was the morning of the 15th Nisan, when the release and liberation of Barabbas took place. [Note 2.]

The Procurator on this occasion was not averse to hearing the popular cry for amnesty, because he saw in it an opportunity of setting Jesus free. "Whom will you that I release to you, Barabbas or Jesus, that is called the Christ?" he replied to the petition of the Jews. It must be taken as an established fact that Pilate put his question to the people and officials in a disjunctive form, though according to St. Mark (XV, 9) and St. John (XVIII, 39) it might appear that he directly proposed the release of Jesus. That he placed Jesus by the side of Barabbas for a choice, follows from Lk. XXIII, 13 f. The account of SS. Mark and John is, however, by no means unintelligible. By selecting from among the prisoners one who was a notorious rebel and murderer, and contrasting him with Jesus, the Procurator, so to speak, forced the Jews to ask for Jesus; he formally puts up both for a choice, but by the very contrast seeks to influence them in favor of Jesus. One is almost tempted to give him credit for this act, were it not for the fact that the expedient resorted to was absolutely reprehensible from the standpoint of justice. Pilate had formally declared Jesus guiltless, yet he now proposes that the populace should ask for His release, as if He were a malefactor convicted of a grievous crime; for only criminals were released on the festival day of Easter.

When Pilate had made his proposal and it was still being discussed, a memorable incident occurred which encouraged him in his endeavor to save Jesus. His wife, whose name according to tradition was Claudia Procula, was a pagan by birth, but perhaps, like many religiously inclined pagan women of

that period, a Jewish proselyte.[1] She sent him a message: Do this just man no harm, let him go unmolested; for I have suffered many things (during the night of) this day (σήμερον) in a dream because of him. This episode is reported solely by St. Matthew (XXVII, 19). To relegate it to the domain of myth, as Strauss, Keim, and Holtzmann do, is one of the most outrageous performances of modern exegesis. There is not a single trait of the story which could arouse a reasonable doubt. In the latter part of the reign of Augustus it became customary for Roman officials to take their wives with them into the provinces.[2] If Pilate had his wife with him at Caesarea, it is quite credible that she accompanied him to Jerusalem, especially if we assume that she was a proselyte. As to the dream related by the Evangelist, we should be careful not to reject it as improbable. The fame of Jesus had spread over the whole of Palestine and penetrated into the surrounding countries. No doubt it had also reached Caesarea, and if Pilate and his wife arrived in Jerusalem several days before the 15th Nisan, Procula had surely heard of Jesus, of his righteousness and moral grandeur, and of the hatred with which the Jewish officials pursued Him. The noise and bustle in and about the palace at break of day most probably had also reached her ears. By enquiring she learned of the trial. She was once more overcome by sleep and all the natural presuppositions for an oppressive dream were present,—which does not, of course, preclude a supernatural influence. The Evangelist evidently intended to describe her dream as an event due to divine inspiration. His train of thought is this: Whilst the Jews close their eyes and in their spiritual blindness rage against the anointed of the Lord, a ray of divine grace in the form of a vision opens the mental eyes of the gentiles and convinces them of the supernatural character of Jesus, His righteousness, and His irre-

[1] Cfr. Acts XIII, 16 and 50; XVI, 14; XVII, 12; Josephus, *Ant.*, XVIII, 3, 5.

[2] Tacitus, *Ann.*, III, 33–35.

proachable life. Pilate, who could view the episode in no other light than as a warning from Heaven, turned to the people and their leaders with the question: Whom of the two shall I release unto you? (Mt. XXVII, 21). Meanwhile the hierarchs had been busy persuading and instigating the people, so that they now answered the question of the Procurator with loud cries, according to the parole given out by the Sanhedrists: "Away with this man, and release unto us Barabbas!" (Lk. XXIII, 18). Pilate is taken aback by this decision, and in his painful embarrassment asks them: "What [since you ask Barabbas to be released] will you then that I do to the King of the Jews?" (Mk. XV, 12). He said this with the intention of releasing Jesus (Lk. XXIII, 20). However, his words went completely beside the mark. The Jews would accept no king from his hands, and on account of the weakness shown by the Procurator a moment before, they now grew more insistent. By the question: "What shall I do to Jesus?" he had indeed manifested his irresolution. He, the Roman judge, the armed representative of the law, does not issue commands, but subordinates his authority to the whims of the "multitude" and its leaders, though he knows very well that they—at least the officials—are moved by envy and hatred (Mt. XXVII, 18). The answer came very quickly: "Crucify him, crucify him!" And the further question: "What evil has this man done?" put by him, the legal and solely competent judge, to the excited mob, found a still stronger echo in the exclamation: "Let him be crucified!" Now the Procurator sacrifices Jesus; he renders the decision that "it should be as they required" (Lk. XXIII, 24). This prisoner is but a provincial,—thus the egotistic coward calculates,—and his life is of no weight compared with the impending calamity of my being accused at the imperial court and removed from office. I am merely yielding to the impetuous demand of the Jews; His blood is upon them. In order solemnly to express the latter idea, Pilate, accommodating himself to a Jewish custom, publicly washed his hands, as if by this act

he could cleanse himself of the guilt incurred by his unmanly weakness. The blood of Jesus, it is true, came first upon those who had raised the fatal cry (Mt. XXVII, 25), upon them and their children; but it also came upon the hands of Pilate, and the stain is indelible, because he yielded to injustice, though he was firmly convinced of the innocence of the accused and in duty bound and able to protect Him. [Note 3.]

1. After the return of Jesus from the Hasmonean palace, Pilate again negotiates with the high priests and leaders of the people (*i. e.*, the scribes and ancients, members of the Sanhedrin). He thus continues on the downward grade; instead of simply communicating to the Jewish officials in due form the result of the trial before Herod, as this verdict agreed fully with his own, he should have definitively dismissed the case, as Gallio did at a later period, when he drove the Corinthian Jews from his judgment-seat (Acts XVIII, 16). Instead, Pilate lets them do as they please and calls to his tribunal those standing at a distance and again parleys with them. He points to the thorough investigation made by him before sending Jesus to Herod. He may well say: I have made the investigation *ἐνώπιον ὑμῶν* (= in your presence; Lk. XXIII, 14); for in the first place he had received the accusations of the Sanhedrists in the *Praetorium,* and then from the judgment-seat had communicated to the Judeans the result of his investigation, and finally he had listened to their further charges in the presence of Jesus outside of the palace and had requested Him, although in vain, to answer. With the same assurance Pilate could call the attention of the Jews to the testimony of Herod regarding the innocence of Jesus. Evidently Pilate had been informed of the outcome of the trial by a messenger from Herod. Moreover, he could not but construe the sending of Jesus back to him by Herod under the circumstances described by Luke as an acquittal. By clothing Jesus in a white garment, the Tetrarch had declared him to be a mock king.[3]

It is not probable that Herod, besides the political, declared also the religious innocence of Jesus. He may have asked one or the other question regarding the doctrine of Jesus and His miracles; nevertheless the chief point of inquiry evidently was the question whether He was king of the Jews. Since Pilate was now in a position to use Herod's decision in favor of releasing Jesus as an argument against the Judeans, one

[3] The correct reading of Lk. XXIII, 15 is: *ἀνέπεμψεν γὰρ αὐτὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς.*

would expect that he had good reasons for dismissing the case, because he could cite the Jewish principle: "In the mouth of two witnesses every word shall stand" (Dt. XIX, 15; cfr. Jn. V, 32 ff.).

Lactantius strangely says: *"Pontius et illorum [Iudaeorum] clamoribus et Herodis tetrarchae instigatione metuentis, ne regno pelleretur, victus est."* This statement has no support in Sacred Scripture. He is also mistaken in saying: *"Nec tamen ipse sententiam suam protulit, sed tradidit eum Iudaeis, ut ipsi de illo secundum legem suam iudicarent."* [4] According to the Gospel (Jn. XVIII, 31), Pilate merely made a proposal to that effect, which was, however, in matter of fact not accepted. Pilate, at the request of the Jews, by his sentence inflicted on Jesus the penalty of crucifixion. Picturesque are the words of St. Luke (XXIII, 15): ἰδοὺ οὐδὲν ἄξιον θανάτου ἐστὶν πεπραγμένον αὐτῷ, that is: Behold [it is quite plain] nothing has been done by Jesus (αὐτῷ, *dativ. graec.* = ὑπ' αὐτοῦ) deserving of the death penalty; after two trials He stands here without guilt. Παιδεύειν (XXIII, 16: Vulg.: *emendatum illum dimittam*) means to chastise bodily; the aorist is used in the sense of the future: I shall have him chastised, scourged, and then release him. Resch holds that παιδεύσας in the first place (Lk. XXIII, 16) has a future meaning, whereas in the second place (XXIII, 22) it must be taken as a preterite. Between XXIII, 16 and XXIII, 22, he says, the scourging of Jesus actually took place; hence Pilate here wishes to say: Having meanwhile caused him to be scourged, I will let him go. There is a misunderstanding here. Παιδεύσας is in the future tense also in the second place. According to St. Luke (XXIII, 22) Pilate says: I will chastise him therefore (as I said) and let him go. This παιδεύσας was fatal for Pilate; as a just judge he was obliged to say simply: ἀπολύσω οὖν αὐτόν. This chastisement of one who had been acquitted by two tribunals, was inflicted to satisfy the demands of the Jewish officials, who, Pilate thought, on account of this chastisement would appear more or less justified in the eyes of the people.

2. According to Jn. XVIII, 39 Pilate said to the Jewish populace and to the Sanhedrists: ἔστιν δὲ συνήθεια ὑμῖν, ἵνα ἕνα ὑμιν ἀπολύσω ἐν τῷ πάσχα. This expression has been recognized by many exegetists as of great importance, because it expresses that the release must take place within the passah festival, not before or after. Thus, *e. g.*, Nebe and Schäfer, who both add that this expression suggests not so much a festival day, as merely the eve of a feast (day of preparation). These learned scholars, however, stopped half-way because they did not take

[4] *Inst.*, IV, 18, 6.

into consideration the full context, *i. e.*, the early morning hour, the time shortly after 5 A. M., an hour or so before the condemnation of Jesus (about 6.30; Jn. XIX, 14). Van Bebber carried this interpretation a step farther in the right direction by demonstrating that the unusually early setting of the time for the vote would be altogether inexplicable if it had been the 14th Nisan; on this day any hour of the forenoon would have been suitable for granting the amnesty, whereas on the 15th Nisan, the first day of the Easter festival, the numerous praise and thank-offerings lasted from early morning until noon, and hence the granting of an amnesty had to be done at the break of day. Pilate used the general expression: ἐν τῷ πάσχα, which had long before become current in Greek. In his mouth the term was perfectly intelligible. The notion that the above-mentioned custom was introduced by the Romans in connection with the *lectisternia*[5] is untenable in view of the terms in which, according to Jn. XVIII, 39, Pilate speaks of it in the presence of the Jews: ἔστιν συνήθεια ὑμῖν. The custom of pardoning convicts is proved to be a genuine Jewish custom by its inseparable connection with the object of the passah, which was a feast of liberation. According to St. John it is quite clear that this custom was observed *only* on the feast of Easter. It is strange to see Origen[6] defending the opinion that this custom was introduced by the Romans. When it arose among the Jews we do not know; some think it was during the time of the Machabees, while others seek its origin in remote antiquity. The Talmud contains no serviceable data on the subject. The Evangelists leave us in the dark as to whether the proposal of Pilate (παιδεύσας αὐτὸν ἀπολύσω) was rejected by the Jewish leaders and their followers, or prevented by the gathering multitude. Most exegetes adopt the former opinion, but various considerations favor the latter. The actual course of events may have been as follows: At first the proposal was met by a vehement muttering and confused shouting; the Jewish officials first had to give out the parole and instruct the multitude; then a pause ensued, during which a large crowd came up from the lower town to demand "what he was wont to do unto them"; the amnesty was then granted. St. Matthew (XXVII, 16) says: εἶχον δὲ τότε δέσμιον ἐπίσημον, λεγόμενον Βαραββᾶν. It is not οἱ ὄχλοι nor οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς, nor οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι who are subject of the sentence. The prisoner was a Jew, and thus "the Jews had Him," *i. e.*, He belonged to them. The subject, therefore, is *Pilate* and, in general, the *Romans*. Evidently the Vulgate means the same with its *habebat*. Barabbas was a notorious (*insignis*, περιβόητος) criminal of bad repute, at first a highway robber (Jn. XVIII, 40), then a participant in the revolution in Jerusalem. I do

[5] Cfr. Livy, V, 13.
[6] *Com. ser.*, 120.

not understand how some exegetes can be in doubt about the proximate occasion of his arrest, as St. Mark tells us: *ἦν . . . δὲ μετὰ τῶν στασιαστῶν δεδεμένος, οἵτινες ἐν τῇ στάσει φόνον πεποιήκεισαν* (Mk. XV, 7). These words surely cannot be interpreted as referring to a riot which occurred at a former period in Pilate's term of office. The article before *στάσει* indicates that it is *the* well-known riot, known to *us* from Josephus [7] and from Lk XIII, 1. It had occurred on the feast of the Tabernacles in 782, and not a few from Galilee had taken part in it. Pilate suppressed it by force and with much shedding of blood. Barabbas and others were made prisoners on that occasion and kept in custody; cfr. Lk. XXIII, 19: *διὰ στάσιν τινὰ γενομένην ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ φόνον βληθεὶς ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ*. The reason why he was kept in custody until the feast of Easter is easily discernible: this day was the customary day for the crucifixion of condemned criminals. Because the Jews of all Palestine were assembled in Jerusalem on the first feast of Easter, the administration of penal justice on that day was expected to have a salutary effect in curbing and suppressing the tendency towards rebellion against the foreign rule. The accounts of the Evangelists regarding the form of the question about the granting of the amnesty are at bottom in complete accord; Pilate's efforts were evidently directed towards releasing the King of the Jews, as he had intimated by contrasting Jesus with Barabbas.

3. The intervention of Pilate's wife is mentioned also in the *Acta Pilati*.[8] Seized with fear, Pilate intended to leave the tribunal; whilst he was deliberating with himself, his wife sent a messenger to tell him: *μηδὲν σοὶ καὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τῷ δικαίῳ τούτῳ· πολλὰ γὰρ ἔπαθον δὲ αὐτὸν νυκτός*. The Cod. Colbertinus says: *"Sedente autem illo pro tribunali misit ad illum uxor eius dicens: nihil tibi sit et iusto illi; multa enim hodie per somnium passa sum propter eum."* Finally the *Diatessaron:* [9] *"Sedente autem praeside pro tribunali, misit ad eum uxor eius dicens ei: cave ne laedas iustum illum. Multa enim passa sum hodie in somnio propter eum."* The statement of the *Acta Pilati* that the wife of Pilate was a proselyte [10] is very significant. As for the rest, I cannot agree with Resch when he gives the preference to these documents on some points, especially the *νυκτός* as compared with the *κατ' ὄναρ* of Matthew. The *κατ' ὄναρ* is a peculiarity of the first Evangelist (I, 20;

[7] *Ant.*, XVIII, 3, 2.
[8] II, 1, 223; ed. Tischendorff.
[9] Ed. Ciasca, 89 a. Cfr. Resch, II, 340 f.
[10] *θεοσεβὴς καὶ ἰουδαΐζουσα, l. c.*, 223; cfr. *Gesta Pilati*, II, 343: ***mulier mea cultrix dei est et in iudaismo magis vobiscum sentit.***

II, 12, 13, 19, 22), and he uses it here in the same manner as he did in the history of the Holy Family, namely, to demonstrate the supernatural character of the dream of Procula. Resch endeavors to do away with this characteristic by saying that even without a dream Procula could have suffered severely during the night, because as a proselyte she sympathized with Jesus and was solicitous about her husband, and evidently during the night had been apprised (perhaps by Joseph of Arimathea, a friend of her husband),[11] of the arrest of Jesus. This latter supposition is not improbable, but all these facts merely make it clear that all presuppositions for the genesis of such a dream were present in Procula's case. The Fathers of the Church (Origen, Chrysostom, Augustine) were well aware of this, yet they ascribe the dream to a special divine inspiration. The great advantage of the canonical account as compared with that of the *Acta* and *Gesta Pilati* is evident; the latter represents Pilate as telling the Jews of the message of his wife, whereupon the Jews answered: We have already told you that he (the Galilean) is a sorcerer; he has caused the dream. The apocryphal writers arbitrarily embellished the brief and simple account of St. Matthew. The orthodox Protestant exegetes defend the historicity of the dream. The episode is really quite touching. Procula does not meddle with the official affairs of her husband, but merely wishes to warn him against provoking the anger of God by condemning an innocent man. She thereby manifests fear of God and genuine piety, and at the same time suggests to her husband a second motive for a just treatment of Jesus: "I have suffered many things this day because of him." If Pilate does not fear God, he ought at least to have compassion on his wife. Pilate was not worthy of Procula's love; he paid no heed to her well-meant warning; and we may readily believe that the woman (*θεὸν σεβομένη*) by her sincerity found the God whom she sought and whom the "just one" had made known to men. God sent her the dream that she might warn Pilate not to commit an injustice against the just and holy one; the dream was sent not for her sake, but for Pilate's sake. St. Chrysostom perceived this, for he remarks that by the dream of Procula God wished to warn the Jews of proceeding further against Our Lord.[12] However, the latter assumption is hardly admissible, unless Pilate informed those standing in the *praetorium* of the message of his wife, as the *Gesta Pilati* asserts without canonical warrant.

That the interruption caused by the message of Procula was actually exploited by the Jewish leaders for the purpose of stirring up the multitude against Jesus, is asserted by St. Matthew (XXVII, 20) and

[11] *Evang. Petr.*, v., 3.
[12] *Hom. in Matth.*, 86.

St. Mark (XV, 11). The latter positively declares that the populace was stirred up and incited by the high priests. In choosing the means for attaining their purpose they evidently were not very scrupulous. Perhaps they had begun their πείθειν earlier; undoubtedly they had utilized the time immediately after the trial before Herod, while Our Lord was being mocked and led back to Pilate, for the purpose of summoning willing elements of the city population to Sion to the *praetorium* to demand the death of the false king of the Jews.

As regards the crowd which rushed to Mount Sion about 5.30 A. M. to ask for the release of Barabbas, it was composed for the greater part of inhabitants of the capital, because these took the liveliest interest in the case. The Jerusalemites were generally antagonistic to the person and work of Jesus (cfr. Mt. II, 3; Jn. I, 11), and even those who entertained a favorable opinion of Him, did not dare to manifest sympathy for His cause *"propter metum Iudaeorum"* (cfr. Jn. IX, 22). Among the inhabitants of the province of Judea who had come to the feast, not a few were also inimical to Jesus, as we know from Jn. XI, 46. Nevertheless we have every reason to believe that among the multitude assembled in front of the palace of Pilate on the morning of the 15th Nisan, there were also some followers of Christ. Pilate himself must have thought so, else he would not have proposed Jesus for amnesty after his suggestion to dismiss Him after a scourging had been rejected. He believed, or was aware, that not a few of those present were friendly to the captive Messias-King and would demand his release. The remark about the mighty efforts made by the Sanhedrists (Mt. XXVII, 20) permits us to conjecture that the change in the sentiment of the people towards Jesus was brought about gradually. If even Peter and the other Apostles were thrown into consternation at the Master's arrest, we may imagine how it affected the more timid and secret followers of Jesus. Nor must we forget that the Jewish people were upon the whole brought up in obedience to their "superiors," so that many succumbed to their incitement. Finally, attention must be called to the fickleness of crowds. When they saw the prophet of Nazareth in chains and exposed to mockery, many were ashamed of their former faith in Him and made haste to repudiate the pseudo-Messias. The devil also may have aided in producing complete confusion and blindness, so that the voices which demanded the crucifixion of Jesus gained the upper hand (Lk. XXIII, 23), and it thus came about that the death of the Author of life was demanded and the murderer recommended for amnesty (Acts III, 14). Such a decision Pilate had not believed possible; he heard it with consternation; but he does not deserve our sympathy in this painful plight, because he deviated from the path of duty, though he

knew from the start the secret motives (envy and jealousy) of the high priests and officials in delivering Jesus into his hands (Mt. XXVII, 18).

Both St. Matthew (XXVII, 23–25) and St. Mark (XV, 6–15) strongly emphasize the guilt of the Jewish people. It is true, the people were strongly influenced by their leaders, but they confirmed the judgment of those leaders, and the whole nation, as it were, called down the blood of the Messias upon its head (Mt. XXVII, 25). It was in order to please or to satisfy the people that Pilate delivered Jesus to the executioners (Mk. XV, 15). What a disastrous communion between leader and people! A pagan strangely endeavors (though in vain because of his cowardice engendered by guilt) to have Jesus set free, and his noble consort tries to prevent him from condemning an innocent man. But the prisoner's own conationals, His brethren according to the flesh, vehemently demand His death. Mt. XXVII, 19–25, just like Mt. II, 1–12, is of very great importance for forming a correct estimate of the First Gospel, its plan and character.

CHAPTER IV

THE SCOURGING AND MOCKING OF JESUS

(Mt. XXVII, 26–30; Mk. XV, 15–19; Jn. XIX, 1–3)

Pilate yielded to the demand of the Jews and released Barabbas. Jesus was delivered up to be crucified (Mt. XV, 15; Lk. XXIII, 24). The Roman soldiers now scourged Him in front of the *praetorium,* probably in the court-room near the tribunal of the judge (cfr. Mt. XXVII, 26, 27; Mk. XV, 13–16). This punishment, which under the *Lex Porcia* (195) and the *Lex Sempronia* (123) could not be inflicted upon a Roman citizen, was one of the most cruel corporal punishments ever devised, and pagan,[1] Jewish,[2] and Christian[3] writes are unanimous in emphasizing its painfulness and barbarity. It was inflicted with a lash made of leather thongs provided with sharp pieces of bone or lead (balls) at the ends. The delinquent was completely stripped of his clothes and tied to a low stake; he had to stand in a stooping position with his face near the ground, so that the skin was torn by the first blow and the blood spurted out.[4] It not seldom happened that the victim died under the blows of his tormentors.[5] Some of these writers speak of a laceration produced by the blows by which the bones were exposed. Regarding the scourging of Jesus, we may be sure that it was carried out in the most painful and brutal man-

[1] Cicero, *In Verr. Act.,* II, V, 63, 163; Gellius, *Noctes Att.,* X, 3; Suetonius, *Calig.,* 26.
[2] Jos., *B. I.,* II, 14, 9.
[3] Eusebius, *H. E.,* IV, 23, and the Acts of the Martyrs.
[4] Cfr. Cic., *In Verr. Act.,* II, V, 62, 162.
[5] Cfr. Liv., 26, 16; Suetonius, *Calig.,* 26; *Martyr. Polyc.,* 2; Jos., *B. I.,* VI, 5, 3.

ner, by lacerating the back as well as the chest and the face.[6] The fanatical Sanhedrists, who had previously done their utmost to incite the populace and no doubt had also to a considerable extent resorted to bribery (ἔπεισαν), certainly did not fail to egg on by word and deed those who performed the scourging. If Pilate subsequently hoped to excite pity by exhibiting the scourged and crowned Jesus, Our Lord must have been in a frightful condition. According to tradition,[7] a pillar was substituted for the stake when the scourging was performed on Him. The complete denudation of Jesus before the performance is made certain by a scrutiny of the sacred text. Finally, as to the purpose of the scourging of Jesus, it was not an examination under duress, an extortion of a confession,[8] but the performance of the cruel act which as a rule preceded the crucifixion. Pilate in the case of Jesus permitted the customary prelude (*praeludium*) to be performed, although he had not as yet formally pronounced the death sentence, but had merely declared that the Jews should have their way (Lk. XXIII, 25). [Note 1.]

When the frightful spectacle had come to an end, the soldiers again clothed Him whom they had ill-treated (a conclusion drawn from Mt. XXVII, 28: ἐκδύσαντες αὐτόν), led Him into the interior of the palace, and there, evidently in the guardroom, the four soldiers who had been entrusted with the scourging gathered about Him (ἐπ' αὐτόν; XXVII, 27), the whole cohort, *i. e.*, the bodyguard of the Procurator, removed His upper garment, and in place of it hung around His shoulders an old, red military cloak [Note 2], imposed on His brow a crown plaited of thorns, and put a reed into His right hand to represent the royal scepter. After this they pay Him royal homage: they step in front of Him, bend their knees, salute Him mockingly as the king of the Jews, spit on Him and strike

[6] Cfr. Cic., *l. c.*, 54, 142.
[7] St. Jerome, *Epist.*, 108, 9.
[8] Cicero, *In Verr. Act.*, II, 54, 142: "*quaestio per tormenta.*"

Him in the face. We cannot, at least directly, charge the Procurator with the guilt of this horrible ill-treatment. The soldiers, without his orders,[9] arranged for themselves a guard-room sport and by this mocking homage wished to give expression to their contempt for the unsuccessful king and for the Jewish sovereignty in general. However, Pilate at least tolerated the wantonness of the soldiers towards Jesus. Nevertheless just as the white garment which the Tetrarch Herod Antipas had put on Our Lord to mock his Messianic kingship, was in reality a symbol of His innocence and royal dignity, so these coarse soldiers by their hideous sport gave unwilling testimony to the Messianic kingship of Jesus and the significance of His work for the salvation of mankind, and soon the time came when the Roman people and all nations of the earth actually bent their knees in adoration before this King, and by a very remarkable coincidence many who belonged to the Roman legions paid homage to Him and spread His reign in the Roman Empire, until finally under Constantine the Roman military power placed itself under the protection of Christ the King.[10]

1. The account of SS. Matthew and Mark is defective in this section concerning the scourging and condemnation of Jesus. St. Matthew says: "He released to them Barabbas, and having scourged Jesus, delivered him unto them to be crucified" (Mt. XXVII, 26). St. Mark: "And so Pilate being willing to satisfy the people, released to them Barabbas, and delivered up Jesus, when he had scourged him, to be crucified" (Mk. XV, 15). The account is so concise as to be obscure and open to misinterpretation. St. Luke records with equal brevity that Pilate "delivered Jesus up to their will" (Lk. XXIII, 25). Still a careful study of the latter's account may produce some light.

The first question that arises in this connection is, what was the meaning of the penalty known as scourging? The usual answer is: This penalty was part and parcel of, as it were the prelude to, crucifixion. It is, however, possible, that the scourging of Jesus, ordered by Pilate,

[9] It is different in the *Acta Pilati*, according to which the mocking was done according to an express command of the governor (IX, 5, 301).
[10] Lactantius, *De Monte Persec.*, 44.

was not a preparation for the crucifixion, but a separate and independent punishment. According to St. Luke, Pilate solemnly declared: "I will chastise him therefore, and let him go" (Lk. XXIII, 16 and 22). St. John says that Pilate "took Jesus and scourged him" (μαστιγοῦν), and then exhibited Him to the people in the hope that they would pity Him and he would thus be enabled to release Him (Jn. XIX, 1 and 6). Consequently, there was not yet question of condemning Jesus to the cross when He was being scourged. Scourging as a separate and independent punishment was not unknown in the Roman Empire. Josephus [11] relates that the Roman Procurator ordered a certain Jesus, son of Ananus, to be whipped with scourges until his bones became visible. The defectiveness of St. Luke's account consists in this that he mentions only Pilate's proposal to scourge and release Jesus, but not its execution, merely stating the decision of the Procurator, promulgated after the release of Barabbas, that the Jews should have their way. Was Jesus scourged once more before the crucifixion, as some exegetes suppose? I do not think so. Pilate no doubt refrained from a repetition of this punishment, and the Jews agreed because they feared that if Jesus were scourged once more, He would die, and they preferred to see Him die on the cross (Jn. XIX, 5).

The remarks of the Synoptics concerning the "delivery" of Jesus must be safeguarded against misunderstanding. SS. Matthew and Mark report that Pilate released Barabbas, but "scourged Jesus" and "delivered him to be crucified." The παρέδωκε seems to call for a supplementary αὐτοῖς, *i. e.*, "to the Jews," especially in view of St. Luke's statement: παρέδωκεν τῷ θελήματι αὐτῶν—"Jesus he delivered up to their will" (Lk. XXIII, 25). Lactantius and others correct the text accordingly. But the Evangelists do not say that Pilate delivered the Saviour to the Jews; they merely state that he gave in to their demand that Jesus be executed on the Cross. First he delivered Him into the hands of the soldiers, who had orders to execute Him. It was only after his last effort to save Him had failed (Jn. XIX, 4–16) that he delivered Him to them to be crucified (τότε δή—παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν αὐτοῖς, ἵνα σταυρωθῇ (Jn. XIX, 16). St. John, the only one of the Evangelists who reports this futile effort of Pilate, leaves no doubt that the cortège which led Jesus out to Golgotha was headed by the hierarchs, though the sentence had been pronounced by Pilate.

2. According to St. Matthew (XXVII, 28) the soldiers put a scarlet cloak about Jesus (χλαμύδα κοκκίνην); St. Mark (XV, 17) calls the gar-

[11] *Bell. Iud.*, VI, 5, 3.

ment a purple cloak (πορφύραν); similarly St. John (XIX, 2): ἱμάτιον πορφυροῦν. The expression χλαμύς in St. Matthew designates the garment distinctly as an upper garment, because χλαμύς means "a soldier's cloak." The word has passed into Latin ("*chlamydatus miles*"; Plautus, *Pseudol.*, IV, 2, 8). Generals and emperors wore the *paludamentum*, which was a *chlamys*, but it was longer and of finer texture, a purple gala-garment. Purple and scarlet (κόκκος) are now regarded as two different colors: the latter is a bright red, the former a dark red; however, in ancient times hardly any distinction was made between the two, as Horace[12] shows. The soldiers of Pilate evidently used an ordinary short cloak, which belonged to one of the men, or was perhaps the property of the "regiment." The color evidently could be still faintly distinguished as red, though the original ground-color had faded away. This cloak was intended as a badge of the royal dignity which Jesus claimed, and the crown of thorns represented the diadem. Nebe says the soldiers plaited a crown of thorns before the eyes of Jesus, to demonstrate to Him that the path to royalty is strewn with thorns and it is easier to be caught by the thorns and bleed to death, than to gain a crown. This view appears to me rather far-fetched. The soldiers happened to have thorns near at hand and in their brutality used this material as a substitute for the diadem or royal crown. The purple garment as well as the crown of thorns are also mentioned in the so-called *Gospel of Peter*: πορφύραν αὐτὸν περιέβαλον (v. 7ª) καί τις αὐτῶν ἐνεγκὼν στέφανον ἀκάνθινον ἔθηκεν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ κυρίου (v. 8). In this document the Jews, not the soldiers, appear as the actors: "They received the Lord [from King Herod, not from Pilate], ran along and pushed him forward saying: Let us drag the Son of God, because we have him in our power."

The scourging of Christ and the imposition of the crown of thorns have latterly been made the subject of profound investigation and discussion. The literature on this topic has grown to quite respectable proportions. The historicity of the Gospel account is no longer denied. Even philosophers, *e. g.*, Wendland and Reich, accept those accounts as trustworthy though their interpretation of them is anything but plausible. They explain that Jesus was treated by the soldiers as a Saturnalian or Sacaean king (τὰ Σάκαια = a Persian feast). In these pageants a condemned murderer was clothed in gala dress and permitted to indulge in all manner of luxuries, only to be scourged and hanged in the end. This interpretation has not met with universal favor. Between a king of the Saturnalia or Sacaea and the King of the Jews there was indeed a certain resemblance, but the differences were far greater. The defenders of this theory are

[12] *Sat.*, II, 6, 102–3, 106.

compelled to adopt a rather unlikely association of ideas in the minds of the Roman soldiers. The incident described by the Evangelists can be more plausibly explained by assuming that the soldiers were inspired in their cruel sport by memories of the game of Mimus, in which a Jew and the King of the Jews were common characters. This latter hypothesis is far more probable than the one mentioned first, though it, too, is open to objections. Thus the soldiers of Pilate by their mockery of Jesus intended to show their contempt not so much for the Jew in Him, as was customary in the Mimus, but rather for the Saviour Himself. They taunted Him by saying: If you become king, you will require the insignia of royalty and the corresponding homage; these we are now offering to you. The scene can be explained satisfactorily without recourse to the Mimus hypothesis.[13]

[13] Cfr. Lübeck, *Die Dornenkrönung Christi,* 1906; Birt, "Zur Verhöhnung Christi," in the *Preuss. Jahrbücher,* Vol. CXXXVII, No. 1, pp. 92–104.

CHAPTER V

PILATE'S FINAL ATTEMPT TO SAVE JESUS AND THE FORMAL DEATH SENTENCE

(Jn. XIX, 4–16)

1. Pilate comes out of his palace again and announces to the Jews assembled in front of it that he is about to bring Jesus before them once more. On this occasion he utters the words: "Behold, I bring him forth unto you, that you may know that I find no cause in him" (Jn. XIX, 4). The meaning is: I allowed Jesus to be scourged in deference to your demands, though I held Him to be guiltless; now I wish to enter once more into negotiations with you, in order that His life be spared; for I am fully convinced of His innocence. The argument is quite convincing. As matters stood, the leading forth of Jesus for a renewed discussion of His case could be interpreted only as a proof that the Governor actually believed Him innocent. Pilate could justify his action because he had not yet pronounced final judgment.

Jesus immediately came forth from the palace, "bearing the crown of thorns and the purple garment" (Jn. XIX, 5). Moved to pity by the sight of the "man of sorrows" (Is. LIII, 3), the Roman Procurator utters his famous *"Ecce homo"*—"Behold the man!" But his expectation that the sight would move the Jews was not fulfilled. Their sinful obstinacy appears at its height at this moment, when they raise the hue and cry: "To the cross with him! To the cross with him!" Like wild beasts excited by the sight of blood, the high priests

and their followers thirst for more blood at the pitiful sight. According to St. John (XIX, 6), they cried out: "Crucify him! Crucify him!" No participation of the people is mentioned, whence some exegetes conclude that the mob was touched and experienced a momentary feeling of sympathy. This is, however, unlikely. [Note 1.]

2. Pilate replies angrily: "You take him, crucify him; for *I* find no cause in him" (XIX, 6). The common interpretation of these words is rather unsatisfactory. It is that the Procurator, incensed by the inhumanity, brutality, and rude insensibility of the Judeans, wished to ridicule them on account of their political dependence, which does not permit them to satiate their fury with the blood of the innocent victim, since he alone possesses the power over life and death. We can not adopt this view. Pilate at that moment was far from the mood of mockery and derision imputed to him. The situation was altogether too serious. What he wished to say in reply to the cry of the Jews, "Crucify him!" was this: All your thoughts and endeavors are directed towards one object, namely, to see Jesus crucified; I cannot comply with your wish, for I consider Him not guilty and shrink from the responsibility of executing an innocent man. If *you* are not afraid to assume this responsibility, you may go ahead and crucify Him. The Jews were not permitted to inflict the death penalty, as Pilate well knew. He might therefore have expressed his idea differently, thus: I refuse to crucify Jesus, but will permit you to put Him to death. If, instead, he says: λάβετε ὑμεῖς καὶ σταυρώσατε, this is explained by the fact that crucifixion was the main subject of the discussion and the thing which the hierarchs desired to wrest from Pilate. The Jews at once grasp the sense of Pilate's words and reply: If *you* find no fault in Jesus and refuse to inflict the penalty, *we* will make use of the authority you grant us and execute Him; because our (the Mosaic) law demands death as a penalty for blasphemy. They evidently advert to Lv. XXIV, 16. They do not care to enter upon a discussion of the

question whether Jesus really violated the law, but are content with the general accusation: "He has made [declared] himself the Son of God." In acting thus, they evidently had in mind His personal testimony as recorded in Jn. V, 17 ff.; X, 30 ff. They knew, of course, that the law punished blasphemy by stoning, but speak only of death, not of the manner of its infliction, because they wished Him to be crucified. [Note 2.]

3. When Pilate heard that Jesus had declared Himself to be the Son of God, fear of the mysterious personality of the accused overcame him. He had, of course, no adequate conception of the meaning of the words "Son of God," nor was he of a religious turn of mind; and still we can understand his fear. Already depressed by the consciousness of having treated an innocent man as a base criminal, he now, recalling the dream of his wife concerning "that just man," asks himself the question: Is not this accused prisoner, whose face, in spite of the cruel treatment to which he has been subjected, reflects such wonderful meekness, patience, innocence, and majesty, after all an extraordinary being, perhaps one of the gods appearing in human form? In this case I shall incur the vengeance of heaven if I proceed any further against him. St. John (XIX, 8) adds that "Pilate feared the more," *i. e.*, more than before, thereby suggesting that he had felt uneasy at the personality of Jesus, just as Matthew also suggests (XXVII, 19). Oppressed by painful presentiments, Pilate once more leads Jesus back into the *praetorium* to inform himself more in detail about His origin. "Whence art thou?" he asks Him (Jn. XIX, 9). Jesus leaves the question unanswered, not because He fears that a definite statement regarding His heavenly origin might convince Pilate of His divinity, induce the Procurator to set Him at liberty and thus frustrate the work of salvation; but for the same reason which caused Him to be silent in the presence of Herod Antipas, namely, because by His former statements regarding His person and the origin and character of His kingdom (Jn. XVIII, 36, 37) He had

already enabled Pilate to form a correct opinion of Him. Moreover, to regulate his attitude in this trial Pilate did not require special enlightenment regarding the origin of Jesus; all that was needed was the conviction that Jesus was innocent, and this conviction he possessed. Irritated by the silence of Jesus, Pilate attempts to inspire Him with fear: "Knowest thou not that I have power to crucify thee, and I have power to release thee?" (Jn. XIX, 10). Fear had again given place to pride in the heart of Pilate, and he does not see the self-accusation contained in his words. The voice of divine truth is lifted up to strike the presumptuous pride of the governor, who boasts of his power: "Thou shouldst not have any power against me, unless it (*viz.:* ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν) were given thee from above," from God (XIX, 11). Jesus wishes to say, remember that you possess power over me only because it was conferred on you by a divine ordinance; since this power is granted by God, you are bound to render an account of its use to Him. The added words: "Therefore, he that hath delivered me to thee, hath the greater sin" (XIX, 11), advert to the only circumstance which might to a certain extent exonerate and excuse Pilate. Our Lord means to say: You are not, it is true, free from guilt if you sentence me out of human respect, instead of using your power according to strict justice. Every abuse of the power granted to you by God is culpable; but compared with that of Caiphas and the hierarchs, your culpability is very much less. For as judge, you have received power over me from God, whereas they have laid violent hands on me and brought me before your tribunal out of hatred and malice. [Note 3.]

4. Christ's utterance concerning the grant of power by God and the guilt of its abuse made a deep impression on Pilate; the consciousness of having to answer for the death of Jesus was aroused in him, and consequently (ἐκ τούτου, XIX, 12) he determines to make another attempt to rescue Jesus from the hands of the bloodthirsty Jews (cfr. Jn. XVIII, 39–XIX, 5.). He again goes out and tells them that he is firmly resolved

to liberate Jesus. [Note 4.] The Jews at once perceive the critical situation and by desperate efforts seek to frustrate the Procurator's purpose. They cry out: "If thou release this man [this pretender, this rebel and enemy of the Emperor], thou art not Caesar's friend (οὐκ εἶ φίλος τοῦ Καίσαρος)." [1] This had the desired effect. For Pilate, conscious of his guilt, said to himself: If they denounce me to Tiberius, to whom *"maiestatis crimen"* is *"omnium accusationum complementum,"* [2] I may be found guilty of high treason. He ordered the Prisoner to be led out of the palace and sat down in the judgment-seat. This was situated in front of the *praetorium* on a projecting hill, rising in terraces and encased in marble; is was called in Greek λιθόστρωτον, in Aramaic Gabbatha. [Note 5.]

On account of the importance of the moment when Pilate ascended the judgment-seat to pronounce the death sentence on Jesus, the Evangelist adds the day and the hour. It was the Parasceve, the day of preparation, *i. e.*, Friday within the octave of Easter, the 15th Nisan, the first day of the Easter festival [Note 6], at the sixth hour, *i. e.*, about 6 o'clock in the morning (Jn. XIX, 14), 6:30 A. M. (the sixth hour from midnight) [Note 7.] Before the Procurator pronounced sentence, he said, pointing at Jesus: "Behold your king!" By this powerless, yet biting irony, Pilate sought to take revenge on the hated Judeans, who by their clever maneuvers had forced him to yield to their demands. He means to say: You talk and dream so much of a Jewish king and of a universal kingdom to be established by him. It is all a vain deception! You desire to see Jesus of Nazareth crucified by the Roman government; your desire shall be fulfilled,—but not until it pleases me. Exasperated by the stinging sarcasm, the hierarchs burst into the violent cry: "Away with him; away with him; crucify him!" However, Pilate even now does not at once accede to

[1] For this meaning of φίλος cfr. Xenophon, *Hell.*, VI, 5, 48; *Anab.*, III, 2, 5.
[2] Tacitus, *Ann.*, III, 28; cfr. Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 58.

their demand by pronouncing the death sentence, but excites the rage of these human monsters to the highest pitch by asking: "Shall I crucify your king?" By this he by no means wished to say that he believed Jesus to be the expected king of the Jews, but merely to ridicule the Judeans, as if to say: So you really insist that I crucify the king of the Jews and thus deprive you of your last hope? The hierarchs replied: "We have no king but Caesar." Your sarcasm, they wish to say to the Procurator, does not affect us; for we acknowledge no king, as you seem to think, but pay our respect and homage solely to the Emperor; from him alone do we expect welfare and security. By this outcry the hierarchs, as the official representatives of Israel, renounce their fondest hopes, the most sacred promises of Jehovah, the Messianic King and the entire theocratic regime. Pilate now pronounced sentence and delivered Jesus to the hierarchs as the intellectual authors of the crucifixion. [Note 8.]

1. The Synoptics tell us nothing of the second exhibition of Jesus by Pilate nor of the Procurator's final attempt to save Him. They evidently consider the trial of Our Lord as decided and closed when Pilate washed his hands and the prisoner was scourged. St. John offers us a highly significant supplementary report, for which we readily understand the reason. His purpose in writing the story of the Passion is to show that the Old Testament prophecies as well as Christ's own predictions have all been fulfilled. Among the latter was the prediction that Jesus would be lifted up on the cross by the hierarchs, and that through their instrumentality the Temple of His body was to be destroyed (Jn. II, 19; VIII, 28; XII, 32). "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up," thus He had spoken to the Judeans upon His first visit to Jerusalem. He had repeated this prophecy in a somewhat different form on the occasion of His visit on the Feast of the Tabernacles. St. John presents these prophecies to his readers and carefully records their fulfillment. The Judeans, he says, employed perfidy and lying, sophisms, malice and cunning to induce Pilate to condemn Jesus; however, it was only after a long struggle that they succeeded in overcoming the stubborn resistance of the Procurator by placing him before the alternative of declaring himself either for or against the Emperor Tiberius, whilst

they themselves were forced to deny their faith in the Messias. The place where this struggle occurred was the open plaza in front of the *praetorium;* the day was a Friday; the time of the day about 6 A. M., when Pilate delivered Jesus into their hands to be crucified. From the fact that the Evangelist later (XX, 1) names the dawn of the first day of the week, Sunday, as the time of the Resurrection, we can infer that the period from the condemnation to the crucifixion or the dissolution of the bodily temple of Jesus comprised three days, just as He had predicted.

It is remarkable that the Fourth Evangelist, in his account of Pilate's final attempt to save Jesus, does not mention the people of Jerusalem, who, according to the Synoptics, strenuously supported their rulers at the instigation of the latter. St. John (XIX, 6) designates the high priests and their servants as the ones who cried "Crucify him!" when Pilate presented Jesus to the people. Some exegetes conjecture that the people, at least for a few moments, were moved to pity by the *"Ecce homo";* others more cautiously declare that the behavior of the populace remains doubtful. The absence of definite information on this point in the Fourth Gospel can be appreciated correctly only when the purpose of St. John's entire account is taken into consideration. When introducing the prophecies of Jesus concerning His death and elevation on the Cross, the Evangelist had expressly mentioned the "Judeans" (Jn. II, 18 ff.), and these alone, as the ones to whom the Saviour addressed His prophecy and whom He designated as the authors of the crime. Therefore he was interested only in describing the behavior of the Judeans or hierarchs in the decisive hour on the morning of the 15th Nisan. He takes no notice of the people and gives no space to the scene before Herod Antipas, because the Judeans no doubt accused Jesus also before the tribunal of the Tetrarch (Lk. XXIII, 10), though they refrained from demanding His crucifixion, as this penalty was not in vogue among the Herodians. The Fourth Evangelist merely intends to record the fulfilment of Christ's prediction that He would be crucified by the hierarchs.

As to Pilate's attempt to save Our Lord, no one can seriously call in question the *possibility* of such a step. We have already shown that the account of the first three Evangelists is rather vague. SS. Matthew and Mark dispose of the condemnation of Jesus by Pilate in very few words: φραγελλώσας παρέδωκεν ἵνα σταυρωθῇ (Mt. XXVII, 26; Mk. XV, 15) and immediately proceed to describe how He was mocked by the soldiers and then led out to Golgotha. St. Luke, presumably in order to spare the patriotic sentiments of his Roman readers, mentions neither the scourging nor the maltreatment of Jesus by the soldiers. After the liberation of Barabbas he reports how Pilate handed Jesus over to the Jews to do

with Him as they pleased. The Fourth Evangelist supplements and corrects the Synoptic account by showing that the sentence was not pronounced by Pilate until, after the scourging and mocking of Jesus, the Procurator had once more entered into negotiations with the Sanhedrists in a vain effort to move their hearts to pity by the exhibition of the horribly mangled prisoner.

2. The interpretation of Pilate's words Jn. XIX, 6: λάβετε αὐτὸν ὑμεῖς καὶ σταυρώσατε· ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐχ εὑρίσκω ἐν αὐτῷ αἰτίαν, is not uniform. Some exegetes see in this statement merely an animated refusal to serve as a tool of the Judeans. In that case, however, it seems to us Pilate would have simply said: I refuse to do it, because I find no fault in him. This interpretation ignores the contrast between ὑμεῖς and ἐγώ. Others see in Pilate's words a contemptuous refusal of the demand of the Judeans: they demand that Jesus be crucified; but he alone has the right to decide questions involving life and death. Thus, it is said, the Procurator derides their impotence and dependence on the Roman government, which prevents them from shedding the blood of the hated Prisoner. This interpretation, too, must be rejected, mainly for two reasons. In the first place the sacred text (Jn. XIX, 4 ff.) furnishes no cause for assuming that Pilate was at that particular moment inclined to deride the hierarchs, and, secondly, because in view of the judicial state of affairs in Judea during the time of his administration,[3] he could not risk requesting ironically and sarcastically the accusers of Jesus to crucify him themselves, because they might have actually accepted the offer. Langen argues that if Pilate had wished to send Jesus for trial before the Jewish tribunal, in the hope of thus ridding himself of the irksome affair, he should have had to take this measure earlier. To this we may retort: That is precisely what Pilate did, according to St. John (XVIII, 31), but the hierarchs had rejected his proposal with the sophistical declaration that they could not execute Jesus because of the holyday. The constantly repeated objection that Pilate did not seriously intend to concede to the Judeans the right to execute the Prisoner on the cross, because, as he knew with certainty, Jewish jurisprudence neither recognized nor practiced the penalty of crucifixion, is of no weight, since from the very outset the *crucifixion* of Jesus was the object of discussion and contention between Pilate and the hierarchs, and thus the word σταυροῦν instinctively came to the mind of the Governor: *I* shall crucify him? No! My sense of justice rebels against such a thing; *you* may crucify him, *i. e.*, put him to death.

[3] Cfr. Josephus, *Ant.*, XX, 9, 1.

Attention is called to the fact that the hierarchs altered the indictment, when Pilate declared Jesus innocent. Having first represented Him as a seducer and a pretender to the crown, they now charged Him with blasphemy, thus shifting the charge from political to religious ground. This double game is declared to be an evidence of Jewish perfidy. As a matter of fact, however, there is no change in the indictment; the Judeans merely endeavor to induce Pilate to condemn Jesus, by expostulating with him as follows: If you do not do your duty by crucifying the Galilean, we shall deal with Him according to our law, which you recognize, and stone Him to death. That the Judeans even now made no use of this right to execute Jesus, need not appear strange to us, because if they had stoned Jesus, their ardent desire to see Him die an ignominious death on the cross would have remained ungratified. Their claim that the Jewish (Mosaic) law demanded the death of Jesus because He had declared Himself to be the Son of God, was intended to convince Pilate that even if he refused to administer justice according to the law of the Empire, Jesus would have to die anyhow, and that an acquittal was absolutely out of the question.

In passing, attention may be called to the confident attitude of the Judeans, who straightway declare that Jesus had incurred the death penalty according to the law of Moses, without proving to Pilate how He had violated the law. They simply assert: *ὑιὸν θεοῦ ἑαυτὸν ἐποίησεν* (Jn. XIX, 7). This audacious language shows that criminal jurisdiction had not been entirely withdrawn from them, but that all they needed was the permission of the Procurator to constitute their Supreme Council into a court of justice (*δικαστήριον*). The Galilean must be put to death in any case; however, we do not wish to stone him according to the Mosaic law, although we are permitted to do so, but insist that Pilate crucify Him as a political malefactor. This is the train of thought of the hierarchs on the early morning of the 15th Nisan (April 7), 783, and finally, at about 6.30 o'clock, they carried their point.

3. The words of Our Lord Himself (Jn. XIX, 11) offer greater difficulty: "Thou shouldest not have any power against me, unless *it* [the power over Jesus; note the *δεδομένον*, not *δεδομένη*] were given thee from above," *i. e.*, from God. The reading *εἶχες* instead of *εἶχες ἄν*, (not *ἔχεις*) is well established, and *ἐξουσία* does not denote the magisterial power which Pilate possessed in his capacity of procurator, but the power to dispose over Jesus, which was, so to speak, put into his hands accidentally by Divine Providence. Mark well the significant sentence that immediately follows: "Therefore, he that hath delivered me to thee, hath the greater sin." All interpreters are agreed that *ὁ παραδούς*

refers to Caiphas, the chief intellectual author of the death sentence (Jn. XI, 47 ff.). However, it will be well to include the other authoritative persons also, so that ὁ παραδούς really means the Judeans or hierarchs.[4] For they all were co-responsible for the measures taken against Jesus and had been designated by Him from the beginning as the λύοντες τὸν ναόν (Jn. II, 19); which λύειν or ὑψοῦν (Jn. VIII, 28) was inaugurated in a most effective manner by delivering Jesus into the hands of Pilate.

Van Bebber discovers in the words of Jesus (Jn. XIX, 11) this sense: God, the heavenly Father, has now given to thee, Pilate, power over me; this the hierarchs could and must know from the success of your cohort in taking me prisoner (Jn. XVIII, 12); therefore (διὰ τοῦτο), because they deliver me into your hands in spite of this knowledge, they have committed a greater sin than they would otherwise have committed. We cannot agree with this interpretation. Our Saviour plainly draws a comparison between the guilt of Pilate and that of the hierarchs, but He does not clear the Procurator of all *wrong-doing*, but describes his guilt as less than that of the hierarchs. Pilate sinned because he condemned Jesus contrary to his own conviction and out of fear of the Judeans: but he is less guilty than the Judeans, because he did not proceed against Jesus *motu proprio, i. e.*, out of hatred and malice, as they did, but as an instrument of Divine Providence, as one to whom the Father had given power over Jesus.

4. Ἐκ τούτου (Jn. XIX, 12), according to some, refers to time, and means *henceforth;* according to others it is causal. In Jn. VI, 66 one might be inclined to take it in a temporal sense; in the present case, however, the causal meaning recommends itself decidedly more = in consequence thereof, in consequence of the interview with Jesus, which left the impression that He was not of human origin, but a higher being, Pilate intended to set Him free. Ἐζήτει = it was an attempt, the completion of which was frustrated by the outcry of the hierarchs.

5. Λιθόστρωτον—Γαββαθᾶ. The place in which the tribunal stood was called in the language of the Hellenists λιθόστρωτον, *i. e.*, a plaza paved with stones. These were not, however, ordinary flagstones, but marble slabs. The word was introduced into the Latin language to designate a floor made of colored stones (*litostrota* = *pavimentum tessellatum*, mosaic or inlaid work). Some interpreters, in view of the statement of Suetonius that Caesar on his military expeditions carried with him an in-

[4] On the singular in this sense cfr. Jn. IV, 36: ὁ σπείρων for οἱ σπείροντες, and Jn. X, 2: ὁ εἰσερχόμενος.

laid floor,[5] have suggested a movable platform which was used whenever a trial was held. However, this cannot be the sense of *litostraton* here, because of the additional statement that the native Jerusalemites called the place Γαββαθᾶ. There is, therefore, question of a place well known and in use for a long time,—a place situated not on the Temple-mount, but in front of the Herodian palace, which served Pilate as headquarters. It stands to reason that Pilate had his tribunal in, or rather in front of, his residence, and not near the castle of Antonia. This view is confirmed by a close scrutiny of the Hebrew-Aramaic term Γαββαθᾶ. In Hebrew *gab* means primarily a back, hump, knoll, a flying buttress, or an arch or archway. In Ezech. XVI, 24 it signifies a brothel. Prostitutes frequented the semi-subterranean archways of fortresses and gates. In Aramaic the word *gabbatha,* as far as we have any evidence, is used only in the sense of "back." There was also the word *gabbaja* and its feminine form *gabbatha,* having the same meaning as the Hebrew *gab, i. e.,* arch or archway. It appears very probable that the Herodian palace rested with its front (the open plaza) on an arched substructure which jutted far out, rose in terraces, and was paved with smooth marble slabs to prevent climbing.[6] Remains of colossal subterranean archways were discovered when the foundation for the English Christ Church was laid. Jn. XIX, 13 accordingly means: after 6 A. M. Pilate solemnly ascended the judgment-seat, which was in front of the *praetorium,* on an elevated plaza built on an arched foundation, whilst the Judeans together with the populace stood in the open in front of the palace.

6. When explaining the highly important text Jn. XIX, 14: ἦν δὲ παρασκευὴ τοῦ πάσχα I paid the tribute of human imperfection and weakness, as the readers of my article in the *Quartalschrift,* 1896, pp. 529 ff., are aware. Together with other expounders I defended this interpretation: It was, however, the Parasceve or day of preparation for the passah, *i. e.,* for the 15th Nisan; accordingly St. John gives the 14th Nisan as the day of the condemnation and crucifixion of Jesus. In that article (p. 545) I correctly started from the word παρασκευή and said: the (Hellenistic) Jews called the sixth day of their week παρασκευή or day of preparation, because on that day the victuals for the Sabbath had to be prepared. If, I reasoned, παρασκευὴ τοῦ σαββάτου means day of preparation for the Sabbath, then παρασκευὴ τοῦ πάσχα must signify day of preparation for the passah. In doing so I completely overlooked: (a) that τὸ πάσχα in St. John's Gospel means the entire (eight-day) Easter festival beginning with the 14th Nisan, not merely one day; (b)

[5] *Vita Caes.,* 46.
[6] Van Bebber, *Zur Chronologie,* 176.

that the Israelites were indeed strictly prohibited from preparing the victuals or cooking on the *weekly* Sabbath, but not on a *festal* Sabbath like the first day of Easter of the 15th Nisan (Ex. XII, 16; Dt. XII, 16 according to the Septuagint), and that on this account the term παρασκευὴ τοῦ πάσχα cannot possibly mean day of preparation (of victuals) for the 15th Nisan. Παρασκευή (= προσάββατον, Mk. XV, 42; or ἡ πρὸ τοῦ σαββάτου, Josephus, *Ant.*, III, 10, 7) means: the day before the Sabbath, *i. e.*, Friday (cfr. Josephus, *Ant.*, XVI, 16, 6, 2; *Martyr. Polyc.*, 7; Clement Alex., *Strom.*, VII, 12, 75). The meaning of the phrase παρασκευὴ τοῦ πάσχα therefore is: The Friday which is a part of the eight-day passah, *i. e.*, the Friday of Easter week. Because Our Lord had eaten the passah on Thursday evening, the 14th Nisan, had been made a prisoner in the following night, and been brought to trial immediately and delivered to Pilate in the early morning, the 15th Nisan, we find in the chronological note of the fourth Evangelist (XIX, 14) the statement that Jesus was sentenced by Pilate on Friday, the 15th Nisan.

But we must not try to evade the question: Why does not St. John simply write: It was the 15th Nisan, or the second day of the octave of Easter (which began on the 14th Nisan), when Pilate, sitting on the judgment-seat, condemned Jesus? Why does he employ the phrase: ἦν παρασκευὴ τοῦ πάσχα? The answer is: He agreed on this point with the Synoptics, who name as the day of the condemnation, death, and burial of Jesus (Mt. XXVII, 57 ff.; Mk. XV, 42; Lk. XXIII, 54) the Friday within the passah week. Since St. John (XX, 1) mentions the "first day of the week" as the day of the Resurrection, his readers could easily figure out the interval between Christ's death and Resurrection and perceive the fulfilment of the prophecy concerning the "three days" (Jn. II, 19). As in XIII, 1 and again in XVIII, 39, so in XIX, 14, the Evangelist especially stresses τὸ πάσχα as meaning the octave of Easter. Thus St. John has set up three immovable chronological landmarks: before the chief festival, or on the eve of the chief festival day of the octave of Easter, Our Lord instituted the Eucharistic sacrifice; on the Friday of the (eight-day) Easter week (beginning with Thursday, the 14th Nisan), He was sentenced and crucified; on Sunday, the first day of the following week, He arose from the dead and thus brought about the fulfilment of His prophecy (II, 19).

7. The phrase ὥρα ἦν ὡς ἕκτη (Jn. XIX, 14) is found to the letter also in Jn. IV, 6. As I have said all that is necessary on this subject in my *Einleitung* (pp. 351 ff.) I shall restrict myself to a few remarks. St. John here (as also in Jn. I, 40; IV, 6 etc.) fixes the hour of the day

in his own way, and it is quite comprehensible that he should follow the manner of counting the hours in vogue in Asia Minor where he wrote his Gospel. The *terminus a quo* of the computation was midnight, as we learn from Pliny, governor of Asia Minor, who, in speaking of the extraordinary industry of his uncle,[7] says: *"Lucubrare Vulcanalibus incipiebat non auspicandi causa, sed studendi, statim a nocte multa: hieme vero hora septima vel, cum tardissime, octava, saepe sexta."* It would be ridiculous to interpret *hora septima, octava, saepe sexta,* by 1 o'clock, 2 o'clock, or 12 o'clock noon, because rising at this time of the day could not very well be looked upon as a sign of extraordinary diligence. It is evident that midnight is the starting-point of the computation, and hence the writer intends to say that the time of rising was 6, 7, or, at the very latest, (during the winter season) 8 o'clock A. M. This manner of computing time, customary in Asia Minor, was employed by St. John in his sermons, and he adopted it also into his Gospel. Precisely as we at the present day in the Occident, he counted from midnight to noon 12 hours, and from noon to midnight again 12 hours (Jn. IV, 6 he reckons from 12 o'clock noon, *i. e.,* 6 P. M.). This point is perfectly clear. The remark in Jn. XIX, 14 has all the more a claim to credence, because it agrees with the statement of St. Mark (XV, 25) that Jesus was crucified at about 9 A. M. (the third hour computed according to Jewish fashion from the early morning, *i. e.,* 6 A. M.). If we add to this the testimony of the three Synoptics concerning the darkness which set in when Jesus had hung on the cross for some time (Mt. XXVII, 45; Mk. XV, 33; Lk. XXIII, 44), *i. e.,* about 12 o'clock noon, a harmonious conception will result. We pass over in silence the studied efforts that have been made since the days of St. Augustine[8] to harmonize the statement of St. Mark (XV, 25) concerning the hour of the crucifixion of Jesus with the alleged statement of St. John concerning the time of His condemnation (XIX, 14). It is strange that a late book on the history of the Passion (by Sepp and Haneberg, 1902, p. 313) revamps the theory that the condemnation of Jesus by Pilate occurred between 11 and 12 o'clock noon, and seeks to harmonize John (XIX, 14) and Mark (XV, 25) by a brief reference to St. Augustine, who says that at about the third hour, *i. e.,* 9 A. M., *"Iudaei Iesum linguis occiderunt."* But the Bishop of Hippo was not satisfied with this attempt at harmonizing, for he subsequently adds: *"utinam etiam plures ab aliis inveniantur huius exitus quaestionis; quod donec fiat, utere mecum isto, si placet."* We shall best follow this suggestion and adhere strictly to the words of the Evangelists.

[7] *Epist.,* III, 5, 8.
[8] *De Consensu Evang.,* III, 42.

I hear the objection: It is incomprehensible that all the events which the four Evangelists relate of the early hours of the 15th Nisan (the bringing of Jesus before Pilate, the first hearing before the Procurator, the trial before Herod, the mocking, the second trial in front of the *praetorium,* etc.) should have occurred before 6 A. M. This consideration has baffled even such sober and orthodox scholars as Nebe, who, when expounding the words ὥρα ἦν ὡς ἕκτη (Jn. XIX, 14), moves along the lines followed by us and finds that this chronological statement fully agrees with Mk. XV, 25; but finally, perceiving the difficulty just indicated, resorts to the expedient of altering ὥρα ὡς ἕκτη to ὥρα ὡς τρίτη, and thus making John agree with Mark. In this procedure, however, he fared no better than St. Augustine, who was not satisfied with his own explanation because he had to acknowledge the overwhelming testimony of the manuscripts in favor of ἕκτη. Nevertheless, I prefer his procedure to that followed by the latest historians of the Passion, who assert that while the praetor as a rule did not go to court before the third hour (9 A. M.), Pilate probably heard the charges of the Sanhedrin against Jesus about 8 A. M., took up the case at 9 A. M., and pronounced the sentence between 11 and 12 o'clock.[9] One can scarcely believe one's eyes when such conclusions are offered in a commentary on the Passion coming from a Catholic pen. Are we permitted to give full sway to the imagination in interpreting the Bible?

According to St. John (XVIII, 28) the Judeans hale Jesus before Pilate at an "early" hour (πρωΐ), which term he explains in XIX, 1 by adding: σκοτίας ἔτι οὔσης, *i. e.,* it was about 5 A. M. Now, the Procurator surely did not sleep three hours longer, giving the Jews an opportunity to bring their charge against Jesus only about 8 A. M. In the light of the Gospels we must assume that the trial began at once, *i. e.,* before day-break. Aside from the custom of the Roman officials to begin judicial proceedings early in the morning,[10] we need only call attention to the fact that the 15th Nisan was unique in Palestine, because on this day the Roman government executed as well as pardoned criminals. For this reason the judicial proceedings began at an early hour. The important thing is not how we, who are accustomed to other conditions, view the matter now, but how the sacred text can be reasonably interpreted with due consideration for the customs of the time. A second error, already touched upon above, must also be guarded against. The trial before Pilate did not take place in front of Antonia castle, situated on the Temple-mount, but in front of Herod's palace in the upper town. The quarters of the Tetrarch Herod Antipas and the palace of Caiphas were

[9] Sepp and Haneberg, 315 ff.
[10] Macrobius, *Sat.,* I, 3.

also situated there, so that the Prisoner could be haled back and forth in a *very short time*. One and a half to two hours, therefore, sufficed for the events recorded in the Gospel.

8. "Behold your king" (Jn. XIX, 14) and: "Shall I crucify your king?" (Jn. XIX, 15). What does the first-quoted saying mean? Some exegetes hold that the Procurator intended to bring the Jews back to their senses by arguing: This man is a representative of your Messianic hope and, as I have meanwhile (cfr. Jn. XIX, 9 f.) convinced myself, an extraordinary, mysterious personality, a heavenly messenger. We must decline this interpretation. When Pilate ascended the judgment-seat in front of the *praetorium*, he was determined to pronounce the final sentence; he no longer intended to persuade the Judeans, but to express his resentment at his own defeat. In view of the Jewish threat he intends to accede to their desire, and, contrary to his sense of justice, contrary also to his firm conviction of the innocence of Jesus, is ready to condemn Him to death. But before doing so, he wishes to revenge himself on the Jews and have the satisfaction of the last word. Hence he ill-humoredly says to them: You are continually dreaming of a Jewish kingdom; well, here is your king; it will be a long time until your dreams come true! When they, irritated by his taunts, raise a wild uproar, he does not hasten to pronounce sentence, but, to let them once more feel his power, he asks: "Shall I crucify your king?" Thereupon the hierarchs declare that the renewed mockery does not affect them because they acknowledge the supremacy of the emperor,—which, as a matter of fact, most of them regarded as illegal, and consequently detested. To the very face of Jesus these same Judeans had at one time boasted that they had never been slaves to any man (Jn. VIII, 33); now they boast before Pilate of being loyal servants of the Roman emperor; they, the children of the kingdom (Mt. VIII, 12), solemnly declare that they will have nothing to do with this kingdom and its ruler, but desire to be subject solely to the Roman emperor.

This episode in the forum of the upper town in the early morning of the 15th Nisan, 783, must be well pondered if we wish to understand the catastrophe of the year 70, when not only the murder of the Son of the householder (cfr. Mt. XXI, 30 ff.), but also the rebellion against the authority of the emperor, so solemnly acknowledged on Good Friday, received its just punishment.

The recently discovered Slavic version of Josephus[11] is apocryphal

[11] Cfr. A. Berendts, *Die Zeugnisse vom Christentum im slavischen De Bello Iudaico des Josephus* (Texte und Untersuchungen, N. F., XIV, 9 f.); Frey, *Der slavische Josephusbericht*, Dorpat, 1908.

and need not be considered in discussing the history of the Passion.

Concerning the liberation of Barabbas, we note that Merkel, in the *Zeitschrift f. neutestamentliche Wissenschaft,* 1905, pp. 293 ff., attributes to Pilate the right of pardoning prisoners and cites a parallel from Roman juridical life, namely, the pardoning and liberation of criminals which sometimes took place *per acclamationem populi* in circus or theatre. We cannot adopt this interpretation. The Evangelists, especially St. Mark (XV, 8) and St. John (XVIII, 39), expressly mention a judicial custom, designate that custom as Jewish, and say it was inseparably connected with the passah festival. The phrase κατὰ ἑορτήν in Mt. XXVII, 15 and Mk. XV, 6 ("from feast to feast"), is more definitely determined by ἐν τῷ πάσχα in St. John. Moreover, the liberation of Barabbas, as described by the Evangelists, occupies a unique place as against those reported in the pagan world, inasmuch as in Jerusalem only one prisoner was set free on the passah, at the request of the Jewish people (cfr. Acts III, 14), and the Procurator was compelled to pardon him whom the populace designated (Lk. XXIII, 17: ἀνάγκην εἶχεν κτλ· is probably a gloss, but its accuracy cannot be doubted). The Florentine papyrus No. 61, cited by A. Deissmann,[12] cannot be regarded as a parallel, because in the case there reported the liberation of the prisoner, Phibion, is due entirely to the free decision of the judge.

Robert v. Mayr[13] and Dörr[14] are more fortunate in their interpretation of the trial of Jesus from the juridical point of view. Both writers take a favorable view of the Gospel accounts and regard the condemnation and execution of Jesus as a religio-political murder, committed by an abuse of law and justice.

Zahn[15] interprets the *Ecce homo* scene as if Pilate wished to say: "This sorry figure is supposed to be a pretender to the throne! Your accusation is ridiculous and incredible." Pilate derides the Sanhedrists, but treats Jesus with a sort of awe, and does not wish to make Him the object of mockery.

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[12] *Licht vom Osten,* 193 f.

[13] *Der Prozess Jesu* in the *Archiv f. Kriminalanthropologie u. Kriminalstatistik,* 1905, pp. 269–305.

[14] *Der Prozess Jesu in rechtsgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung* in the *Archiv f. Staatsrecht u. Strafprozess,* 1908, pp. 12–64.

[15] *Kommentar zu Joh.,* p. 629.

SECTION V

THE WAY OF THE CROSS—DEATH AND BURIAL OF JESUS

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

The Evangelists are brief in describing how Jesus was led forth to the place of execution, how He was executed, and the events connected with His death. As crucifixion was a penalty frequently inflicted in ancient times, the sacred writers presume the knowledge of the events that usually attended it. Hence it is impossible to obtain certainty on some points, and we must content ourselves with mere probability.

Each Evangelist has made a selection from the material at his disposal, which conforms to the peculiar purpose he had in writing his Gospel. In St. Matthew we clearly discern the endeavor to show up the cruelty of the crucifixion and to describe the miraculous events accompanying and following the death of Jesus. St. Mark follows St. Matthew in all essentials, often to the very letter. St. Luke shows great forbearance towards the Roman authorities. He omits the scourging and ill-treatment of Jesus by the Roman soldiers, in fact does not mention the soldiers at all, and his account creates the impression that the execution was solely an affair of the Jewish people. Another peculiarity of St. Luke's account is the meeting of Jesus with the weeping women and His pardoning of the penitent thief, which are in keeping with the author's predilection for touching scenes.

St. John passes over the incidents of Simon of Cyrene and the weeping women, probably because he had nothing to add to them. On the other hand he furnishes important new details

concerning the inscription on the cross, the parleying over this inscription between the Sanhedrists and Pilate, the distribution of the garments, the last will of Jesus addressed to John, and the piercing of the body with the lance. Moreover, the fourth Evangelist also in this section demonstrates the fulfilment of prophecies and gives prominence to the activity of the Jewish hierarchs for the purpose of showing that Our Lord predicted His death on the cross.

CHAPTER I

ON THE WAY TO GOLGOTHA

(Mt. XXVII, 31, 32; Mk. XV, 20, 21; Lk. XXIII, 26–32; Jn. XIX, 16, 17)

1. When the death sentence had been pronounced, about 6:30 A. M., there was an interval of two hours before Christ was led forth to the place of execution. The delay was caused by the necessary preparations, especially the preparing of the cross. [Note 1.]

The total number of malefactors destined for execution in the year 783 amounted to three: Barabbas and the two thieves. Since, according to custom, one of them had to be pardoned, only two crosses were prepared in the course of the 14th Nisan. For Jesus, who was unexpectedly added to the two thieves on the morning of the 15th Nisan, no cross was ready, and hence one had to be prepared after the infliction of the sentence. Therefore the cortège could not start from the *praetorium* before 8 A. M. [Note 2.]

According to Jewish law (cfr. Nm. XV, 35 f.; Lv. XXIV, 14) as well as Roman custom, the execution of criminals took place outside of cities, towns, and dwelling-places. For the execution of Jesus a place was selected very close to the city, called Golgotha, *i. e.*, place of the skull, not so much on account of its dome-shaped form, but because the Jews believed it to be the burial-place of Adam, or rather of his skull. In order to make crucifixion an object-lesson and to instill a wholesome fear, the Romans were wont to choose frequented highways or places in the vicinity of such highways.[1] A road led to the left

[1] Cfr. Dionysius of Halic., *Antiq.*, 7.

of Golgotha in a northerly direction. The day of execution was the 15th Nisan, hence a festal sabbath, on which the Jews were permitted to walk only a sabbath-day's journey, *i. e.,* 2000 ells or 6 stadia (furlongs), about ¾ of a mile. No doubt it was mainly to give to the members of the Jewish nation an opportunity to witness the bloody spectacle, that Golgotha, so near the city (at present within its walls), was selected (cfr. Jn. XIX, 20.). [Note 3.]

The cortège probably started from the *praetorium* of Pilate, *i. e.,* from the Herodian palace on Mount Sion, and proceeded across the forum, between the fortress of David and the residence of Herod, over narrow, paved streets,[2] through the Gennath gate[3] to Golgotha. [Note 4.] The cortège was led by the hierarchs (Jn. XIX, 16), who appear as the executors of the death-sentence (cfr. Acts II, 23; III, 15.) Before the procession started, the soldiers divested Jesus of the purple cloak, gave Him back His own clothes (Mt. XXVII, 32; Mk. XV, 20), and laid on His shoulders the cross, which had been meanwhile prepared. For, according to John, the Saviour went forth bearing the cross, not a cross-piece, but the whole cross (XIX, 17).

It is said to have been customary amongst the Romans that the culprit himself had to carry the cross on which he was to end his life to the place of execution. Plutarch[4] writes: "Every malefactor, who is to be punished in life and limb, must carry his own cross." Artemidor, a contemporary of Hadrian, remarks: "He who is to be crucified, first carries the cross." The Fathers of the Church do not fail to mention the fact that Jesus carried His cross.[5] For us the statement of the fourth Evangelist fully suffices, as throughout his gospel and here too he shows that he was an eyewitness. However, we should not do justice to his characteristic description (*βαστάζων ἑαυτῷ* is

[2] Josephus, *Bell. Iud.,* V, 14, 9; II, 19, 1.
[3] *Ibid.,* V, 4, 2.
[4] *De Sera Num. Vindicta,* 9.
[5] Tertull., *Adv. Iud.* X, 70; Chrysost., *Hom. in Ioa.,* 85.

the original reading; thus all the best editions), if we were satisfied with the simple statement that Jesus carried His cross from the palace of Pilate to Golgotha. For by the words *βαστάζων ἑαυτῷ* the Evangelist evidently means to indicate a contrast. John, like the Synoptics, reports that two others were led forth and crucified with Jesus, and of these he evidently intends to say that they did not themselves carry the crosses prepared for them, to the place of execution. The Romans, as we have already stated, were in the habit of accommodating themselves to the religious opinions of the Jews. The Jewish law, however, did not permit the carrying of a load on the Sabbath. The two robbers were native Jews (cfr. Lk. XXIII, 39 ff.). Now, although the Roman law decreed that the culprit must himself carry the cross to the place of execution, the observance of this ordinance was waived out of regard for the Jewish law and the crosses for the two robbers were carried by (pagan) porters from the *practorium* to Golgotha, either ahead of or in the cortège. That they nevertheless compelled Jesus to carry His cross, was probably done because there was no one else there to carry it. Since the condemnation of Jesus could not be foreseen on the previous day, only two men had been engaged; of the Roman soldiers, of course, no one would carry the cross. Aside from the disgrace connected with it, this would have been contrary to military discipline; and because to carry the cross was a profound humiliation, the hierarchs, in spite of the law, allowed the cross to be laid upon the shoulders of the hated Galilean, and Our Lord Himself embraced the instrument of torture, the heavy, four-armed cross, and carried it for the love of mankind. [Note 5.]

The Evangelists give us no particulars concerning the order of the procession to Golgotha. In conformity with Roman custom, a herald probably preceded the cortège, and proclaimed the name and origin of the condemned and their crimes. Then followed the representatives of the Sanhedrin, then Jesus with the cross, the two robbers, and the four Roman soldiers charged

with the execution. In addition a maniple of soldiers as an escort under the command of a tribune or centurion who was the *"exactor mortis."*[6] On the centurion cfr. Mt. XXVII, 54; Mk. XV, 39; Lk. XXIII, 47. A large crowd made up the rear, including some women from Jerusalem who were moved by pity and expressed their sympathy for Jesus (Lk. XXIII, 27 ff.).

When the procession passed through the city gate, it was met by a man named Simon, who was just returning from work in the field. The soldiers seized him and compelled him to carry the cross after Jesus (Mt. XXVII, 32; Mk. XV, 21; Lk. XXIII, 26). This Simon is commonly believed to have been a *Jew* from Cyrene in Africa, who had taken a walk into the fields and was returning to the city. But how could Roman soldiers seize a Jew and force him to violate the law of the Sabbath without protest on the part of the high priests? And how could Simon, if he really was a Jew, dare to go out into the field on the morning of the 15th Nisan to work there? For it can hardly be disputed that the most natural explanation of the ἀπ' ἀγροῦ (Lk. XXIII, 26) is: "from work in the field." One must, therefore, agree with Van Bebber, who contends that Simon (a Greek name, abbreviated from Simonides) was a *pagan* of low extraction, who had emigrated from Cyrene to Jerusalem and made a living there by manual labor. He was on his way home from work when the soldiers, recognizing him as a pagan from the provinces by his tools and working-clothes, compelled him "to perform a gratuitous labor" (ἀγγαρεύειν), *i. e.*, to carry the cross. The suggestion to impress him proceeded from the hierarchs, who no doubt had made out at the start of the cortège that if a pagan be encountered on the way, the cross should be loaded on him, in order to comply with the law. This explanation does justice to the sacred text, especially to the words ἐρχόμενον ἀπ' ἀγροῦ, as also to the Jewish views concerning the Sabbath rest on

[6] Tacitus, *Ann.*, III, 14; Seneca, *De Ira*, I, 16.

festival days, and, moreover, completely disproves the predominant idea of the motive of the Roman soldiers, or rather the hierarchs. Observing the growing weakness of Jesus and His repeated falls under the weight of the cross, and fearing that He might succumb before reaching Golgotha, the soldiers, by order of the hierarchs, seized the pagan and compelled him to assume the burden. According to the Gospels, Simon undertook the task reluctantly; however, resistance would have been useless, for being a provincial, *i. e.,* a non-Roman, he could be compelled by any Roman military officer to do a service of this kind. At first he chafed under the disgraceful burden; but after a while he carried the cross without complaint, and tradition has it that he, together with his family, was rewarded by receiving the grace of conversion. The gospel itself says that Simon was the father of Rufus and Alexander, who at the time when St. Mark wrote lived in the Christian community at Rome (Mk. XV, 21); and we may here apply without hesitation St. Paul's remark that Simon's wife lived in Rome as a highly esteemed Christian when he composed his letter to the Romans (Rom. XIV, 13). [Note 6.]

2. A few sympathetic persons accompanied Our Lord on His way to the place of execution. It is worthy of note that St. Luke alone records this fact (XXIII, 27). His touching sketch forms a suitable *pendant* to the picture of Jesus weeping over the city of Jerusalem (Lk. XIX, 41 ff). The words of Jesus: "daughters of Jerusalem" (cfr. "daughters of Sion," Is. III, 16) indicate that they were inhabitants and representatives of the Jewish metropolis. For this reason they must not be identified with the women who followed Our Lord from Galilee to Jerusalem, whom St. Luke introduces later (XXIII, 49). It is not even likely that these Galilean women were in the company of the "daughters of Jerusalem."

As to the motive that impelled the women to follow Jesus, it has been pointed out that noble Jewish women in Jerusalem took upon themselves the charitable duty of accompanying

condemned persons on their way to the place of execution and to offer them a narcotic drink to deaden their pain; hence, it is argued, the wailing of these women was merely an expression of natural compassion, for which reason they were reproved by Our Lord for their lamentations. This view has no support in the text of St. Luke. The fact that Jesus, who usually made no reply to unworthy persons, deigned to address these women so kindly, indicates that they were animated by a higher motive and regarded Him as a just man, as a great benefactor of the city and the nation, and seeing Him on the way to execution, they, so to speak, began the death-wail over Him. In their open expression of grief lay an accusation against the cruel and unjust judges of Jesus, and one cannot but admire the courage and self-denial manifested by these women. The Saviour is not unaware of their noble disposition, but exhorts them not to weep over Him, who of His own free will faces death and through it victory and triumph, but over themselves and their children, because a terrible judgment will come upon their city, days of unspeakable woe, when the denial of the greatest earthly blessing, *i. e.,* children, will be welcomed as a good fortune, because a childless woman will at least not be obliged to worry about children;[7] the despair in those days will be so great that a speedy death (the falling of mountains and hills upon men; cfr. Osee X, 8) will be hailed as a liberation and blessing. No one need wonder at this terrible judgment; because if such cruel treatment is inflicted on the just, sinless, innocent Son of man (green wood), what will happen to the inhabitants of the city, who, being sinful by nature, will now sacrilegiously, later seditiously (dry wood), attempt to throw off the yoke, and on this account will be destroyed by the sword and fire of the Romans. Our Lord does not say that this misfortune shall come also upon the compassionate women, who do not belong

[7] Cfr. Josephus, *Bell. Iud.,* VI, 3, 4.

to the seared wood, but addresses His words to them as representatives of the city. [Note 7.]

1. Crucifixion was in vogue among the Scythians, Assyrians, Medes, Persians, Syrians, Egyptians, Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Greeks (Macedonians), and Romans; but the latter inflicted this penalty only on slaves, mutineers, and great criminals, such as murderers and robbers.[8] In the provinces of the Empire the governors frequently inflicted crucifixion. The Jews did not, as a rule, crucify anyone; but one of the last of the Hasmoneans, Alexander Jannæus (B. C. 105–79), at one time ordered 500 prisoners of war to be crucified in the middle of the city.[9] The Romans frequently inflicted the penalty of crucifixion on Jews. Thus Quintilius Varus, when proconsul of Syria, after the death of Herod the Great restored peace in Judæa by ordering some 2000 rioters to be crucified.[10] In A. D. 70, when the end of the siege approached, all who fled from the city on account of the terrible famine, were scourged, horribly ill-treated, and finally crucified in full view of the city walls. The number of those crucified amounted to 500 each day for months.[11] It is not surprising, therefore, that the cross was regarded by the Jews with horror as a symbol of suffering and disgrace. A crucified man not seldom lived for two or three days.[12] We can, therefore, readily understand why the Judeans wished to see Jesus die on the cross; to die on the cross, as Chrysostom says,[13] involved more than death,—it meant ignominy and malediction (cfr. Gal. III, 10, 13). In their deep-rooted hatred the Judeans had intended for Christ an ignominious death on the tree of shame.

2. "Then [Pilate] delivered [Jesus] to them [the Judeans] to be crucified; and they took Jesus and led him forth; and bearing his own cross, he went forth," writes St. John (XIX, 16 f.), describing the situation after the death sentence had been pronounced. The view of the Evangelist that the Judeans or hierarchs were the real leaders of the cortège and the real executors of the death sentence, is well founded. They had privately and publicly resolved to put Jesus to death, and carried out their resolution by overcoming every obstacle and solemnly assuming

[8] Cfr. Cicero, *Verr.*, V, 6; Juvenal, VI, 4; Val. Max., II, 7, 12.
[9] Josephus, *Bell. Iud.*, I, 4, 6.
[10] *Op. cit.*, II, 5, 2.
[11] *Op. cit.*, V, 11, 1.
[12] Origen, *Comment. in Mt.*, 140.
[13] *Hom. ad. Cor.*, II, 11.

all the responsibility (Mt. XXVII, 25). According to the words of Our Lord Himself, who from the beginning had designated them as His future murderers (Jn. II, 19), they bear the full responsibility for His death (Jn. XIX, 11). True, the Roman soldiers took a direct part in leading Him forth and executing Him; but they were merely the tools of the Judeans.

Was Christ led forth and executed soon after Pilate's sentence? One might be tempted to dispute this in view of a certain Roman custom and a remark in the Talmud. The Babylonian Gemara[14] contains the following statement: *"Traditio est, vespera paschatis suspensum fuisse Iesum, praeiisse praeconem per quadraginta dies sic dicentem: prodit iste lapidandus, eo quod praestigias egit et persuasit et seduxit Israelem; quicumque novit pro eo defensionem, prodeat et proferat; at non invenerunt pro eo defensionem; suspenderunt ergo eum vespera paschatis."* According to this statement, a period of forty days elapsed between the condemnation and the execution of Jesus, and He was condemned six weeks before Easter. But no one will be inclined to give credence to this note in the Talmud, as it is directly contradicted by Maimonides:[15] "After the sentence is pronounced, they no longer detain him, but put him to death on the same day." The execution of a condemned criminal among the Jews usually took place soon after the sentence was pronounced, as may be seen from the proceedings against St. Stephen (Acts VII, 57 ff.). The circumstance that Pilate was engaged in the trial of Jesus cannot alter the view that He was executed soon after His condemnation. Roman officials pronounced sentence by saying: *"Ibis ad crucem,"* whereupon the lictor immediately received orders: *"I, lictor, expedi cruces."* In the absence of lictors, soldiers were detailed, as the Evangelists record in the case of Jesus. The Roman law, according to which a certain period of time must elapse between the sentence and its execution,[16] applied only to Romans and those who had acquired Roman citizenship, not to provincials who were not citizens. The Evangelists, who agree in naming Friday, the first festival day (15th Nisan) as the day of the condemnation *and* death of Jesus, are very definite in saying: Pilate pronounced the sentence of death on the morning of this day, about 6.30 A. M. (Jn. XIX, 14), and about 9 A. M. of the same day Jesus was crucified (Mk. XV, 25). If some legal barrier had obstructed immediate execution, the hierarchs would certainly have sought and found means to remove it, because for various reasons they wished to put the hated Galilean to death as soon as possible. The interval of a

[14] *Sanh.*, VI, 2.
[15] *Hilcoth Sanh.*, XII, 4.
[16] Cfr. Suet., *Tiber.*, 75; Tac., *Ann.*, III, 5; Dio Cass., LVII, 20.

little more than two hours, indicated by the Evangelists, appears to have been necessary to get the cross ready and make other requisite preparations.

3. *Golgotha.* The Evangelists positively declare that the place of the crucifixion bore the name "Place of Skulls" or "Skull" (Mt. XXVII, 33; Mk. XV, 22; Lk. XXIII, 33). This is a translation from the Hebrew, or rather Aramaic. The opinion that this place, so well known at that time, was the ordinary place for executions and called "Place of Skulls" from the skulls scattered about, has to be abandoned as untenable. Had the linguistic form of the gospel accounts been duly considered (especially Luke: "the place which is called the skull (*τὸν κρανίον*), no one would ever have thought of the above derivation. After rejecting this interpretation, there remains, of course, the need of a positive solution of the problem, which is admittedly beset with difficulties. To begin with, we may accept as certain that Golgotha in the days of Jesus was situated outside of the city of Jerusalem, though in its immediate vicinity. This is apparent from the statements of the Evangelists that Jesus was "led forth" to "the skull" (Mt. XXVII, 32 f.; Mk. XV, 20, 22; Jn. XIX, 17 and 20), as also from St. Paul's remark in Heb. XIII, 12 that Jesus "suffered without the gate"; and, finally, from the notes of the Evangelists concerning the sepulchre "hewed out of a rock" (Mt. XXVI, 60; Mk. XV, 46; Lk. XXIII, 54; Jn. XIX, 41, 42) in a garden near by. Jewish and Roman custom demanded that executions be performed outside of the city. The Jewish custom may be seen in Nm. XV, 35 f.; Lv. XXIV, 14, and 3 Kings XXI, 13; also Acts VII, 57. Plautus gives evidence of the Roman custom when he says: *"Credo tibi esse istoc exemplo pereundum extra portam, dispessis manibus patibulum quom habebis."*[17] Quintilian says: *"Quoties noxios crucifigimus, celeberrimae eliguntur viae, ubi plurimi intueri, plurimi commoveri hoc metu possunt."*[18] The rhetor certainly has in mind streets not inside, but outside of cities and towns. Since, according to the description given by the sacred writers, the place of the execution of Jesus was a large open space where "a great multitude of people" could congregate, it must have been situated in the northern, or rather the northwestern part of Jerusalem, because on the other sides, especially the eastern and southern, the city is surrounded by deep ravines. It is the northern part of the city in which Christian tradition places Golgotha, no doubt correctly, on the site of the present church of the Holy Sepulchre. That the Golgotha of tradition is to-day situated within the city,

[17] *Mil. Glor.*, II, 4, 7; cfr. *Pseudol.*, I, 3, 97 ff.
[18] *Declam.*, 275.

need not surprise us in view of the statement of Josephus[19] that about eleven years after the death of Jesus, Jerusalem was considerably enlarged to the north and northwest by the construction of the so-called third wall. By this operation Golgotha together with the Holy Sepulchre was incorporated with the city. It was now inside, "north of Mt. Sion," as Eusebius reports.[20] (Eusebius had spent much time in studying the topography of the holy places in Jerusalem [cfr. especially *Vita Constantini* III, 25–40], and therefore merits faith.) Of course, three centuries had elapsed since the crucifixion of Jesus when the grand church described by Eusebius was erected by Constantine; but the site of the Holy Sepulchre as well as of the place of the crucifixion had not yet faded from memory. Before the destruction of Jerusalem, Golgotha was known to every member of the Christian community in Palestine. After the catastrophe of A. D. 70, the faithful who had emigrated to Pella in the year 66, returned to Jerusalem.[21] From that time until the second catastrophe, the transformation of Jerusalem into a Roman colony (Aelia Capitolina) by Hadrian (135), the knowledge and veneration of Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre remained unchanged. A change came in consequence of the profanation of the holy places which occurred at that time,[22] at least in so far as the visiting of these places had been made impossible by filling up and building on the site. However, the recollection of them remained unimpaired among the Christians, perhaps precisely on account of the steps taken by the enemies of Christianity, as Eusebius[23] testifies: *τοῦτο τὸ ἄντρον ἄθεοί τινες καὶ δυσσεβεῖς ἀφανὲς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ποιήσασθαι διανενόηντο, ἄφρονι λογισμῷ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ταύτῃ πῃ κρύψαι λογισάμενοι.* When the Emperor Constantine in 325, issued an edict to clear the holy places,[24] it was not necessary to seek the sepulchre and Golgotha, for there was no doubt about the right place, and after removing the debris there was erected "a monument of everlasting memory,"[25] a grand structure enclosing both the sepulchre and Golgotha. From this time forward we have a stream of numerous and reliable data in the so-called itineraries of pilgrims.[26] These accounts of the location and condition of Golgotha may be briefly summed up as follows:

[19] *Bell. Iud.*, V, 4, 2.
[20] *Onomast.*, ed. Lagarde, p. 229.
[21] Epiphanius, *Περὶ μέτρων καὶ σταθμῶν*, c. XV, ed. Dind., Vol. IV, p. 19.
[22] Cfr. Eusebius, *l. c.*, and especially also St. Jerome, *Epist.*, 49 *ad Paulin.*, and Rufinus, *Hist. Eccl.*, I, 7.
[23] *Vita Const.*, III, 26.
[24] *Op. cit.*, III, 30.
[25] Eusebius, *De Laud. Const.*, 9.
[26] *Itin. Burdigalense*, A. D. 333; *Silviae Peregrinatio*, A. D. 380–390; *Itin. Antonini Placentini*, or *Anonymi Placentini;* Theodosius (530), *De*

The Golgotha or Calvary enclosed in the Constantinian basilica is situated on a hill or mount north of Sion. The Pilgrim of Bordeaux writes: "In going from Sion to the Nablus gate (the Damascus gate of to-day) the Golgotha hill may be seen to the left, where Our Lord was crucified." [27] The *Breviarius* (530) says: "In the center of the [present] city is the basilica of Constantine . . . , there is the Golgotha, and round about the mound is an enclosure made of silver." [28] Theodosius states that the distance between Golgotha and "the mother of all churches," the former house of St. Mark on Mt. Sion, is 200 steps, and calls Golgotha, "under the same roof" with the Sepulchre of Our Lord, a hill (*mons*) which is ascended on one side by means of steps.[29] The Pilgrim of Placentia also refers to Golgotha as a hill or mound and writes: "From the Holy Sepulchre to Golgotha are 50 steps; the ascent is by means of stairs, where Our Lord and Saviour also went up to be crucified." [30] Cyril of Jerusalem calls Golgotha an "outstanding point." [31] The authors of the itineraries, however, draw a distinction between Golgotha in a restricted sense and in a wider sense, *i. e.*, between the rock of the cross with the silver votive cross erected thereon, and the whole surrounding plaza. Silvia acquaints us more in detail with the following places: First of all the place of burial or Anastasis rotunda; "from there," she says, "one comes [in an easterly direction] to a spacious place (*atrium*) in front of the cross facing the cleft in the rock, then to the cross, the rock or place of the skull, surrounded by an enclosure,[32] then to the space behind the cross (*ante, ad, post crucem*) or the so-called *Martyrium*, where the cross of Jesus was discovered." [33] This distinction, however, could be made only after the erection of the Constantinian basilica. The Evangelists know nothing of it; they mean by Golgotha the entire large, open space on which the crucifixion of Jesus took place. The point is of great importance. Although the identity of the Golgotha of the Gospels with the Golgotha or Calvary of Eusebius, Cyril, and the itineraries is quite certain, nevertheless stress must be laid on the extensive alterations which were made in the holy places in the days of Eusebius, when the Constantinian basilica was being built. The rock of the Cross, Golgotha or Mount Calvary, can be iden-

Situ Terrae Sanctae, all reprinted in the *Corpus Script. Eccl. Lat.,* Vol. 39, ed. Geyer.

[27] Ed. Geyer, 12.
[28] Ed. Geyer, 33.
[29] Ed. Geyer, 140 f.
[30] *Ibid.,* 171 f.
[31] *Catech.,* XIII, 39; cfr. X, 19.
[32] *Breviarius,* 153.
[33] *Silv. Peregrin.,* 82, 83, 84, 85, 89, 90, 91, 98; similarly Theodosius, 141,

tified since 336. The architects of the Emperor Constantine wished to put both the sepulchre and the place of crucifixion "under one roof," in such a manner that each formed a monument (μνῆμα) isolated on all sides. To accomplish this, they lowered the level of the basilica and quarried away the rock around the holy sepulchre and the place of the crucifixion until it towered as a tall mass (*monticulus, rupes*) above the plane. The present-day pilgrim can convince himself of this trimming away of the rock as well as of its nature and of the fissure of which Cyril speaks. Now it proved necessary to create an artificial ascent to the surface of the rock or hill; steps were made on which to go up to it, as Theodosius (141) remarks. The Pilgrim of Placentia, however, is in error when he says that Jesus went up on this stairway to be crucified (172). At the time of the crucifixion no stairs were needed, for Golgotha was then no prominent hill with steep sides, but a comparatively small elevation. For carrying out the penalty of crucifixion, the Romans preferred elevated or prominent spots, though, when necessary, they were satisfied with raising the cross in such a position that it could easily be seen.[34] Most probably a road ran close by the place of crucifixion from the city in a northerly direction (Mt. XXVII, 39; Mk. XV, 29), and this road was lower than the place of crucifixion, so that the "spectacle" (Lk. XXIII, 48) was conspicuous to all who passed by. To assume that the place of the crucifixion was an elevation rising high above its environment is precluded by the Gospel accounts, which furnish no evidence of it. Moreover, St. Epiphanius, a native of Palestine thoroughly acquainted with local conditions in and about Jerusalem, says that Golgotha was not to be compared with Mt. Olivet or Mt. Gabaon.[35] The same writer enlightens us on the origin of the name "Place of the Skull": it was so called because the skull of Adam was found there. The pseudo-Tertullian treatise *Adv. Marc.* (II, 199 f.), written in hexameters, tells us that the first man, Adam, was buried on the spot where Christ was crucified. Origen records a tradition, *"quod corpus Adami primi hominis ibi sepultum est, ubi crucifixus est Christus."*[36] St. Athanasius calls this a Jewish tradition.[37] St. Jerome also mentions it.[38] This juxtaposition of Adam and Christ and whatever is connected with it has been declared to be "a product of Christian topological interest" (Nebe); but one is hardly justified in questioning the statements of the Fathers concerning the

[34] Cfr. Josephus, *Bell. Iud.*, V, 11, 1.
[35] *Haer.*, XLVI, ed. Dind., Vol. II, p. 415.
[36] *Comm. Ser.*, 126.
[37] *De Passione Dom.*, 12.
[38] *In Eph.*, V, 4.

Jewish character of the legend, whatever one may think of its contents. If it *is* a Jewish legend, it must have originated before the time of Christ, because the Jews would hardly have connected this legend with Golgotha after Christ had been crucified there.

To recapitulate: Golgotha means, "Place of the Skull of Adam"; at the time of the crucifixion of Christ, it was situated outside the city, towards the north, immediately to the left after passing through the Gennath Gate.[39] At the time of Jesus Golgotha was not a mountain or hill, but a small hillock, which received the shape of a *monticulus* only when the Constantinian basilica was erected on it.

The theory of certain English and American archeologists, that Golgotha originally lay outside the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, somewhat north of the Damascus Gate, in the neighborhood of the present Hospice of St. Paul, has no foundation in fact.[40]

4. Tradition has given to the road which Jesus travelled when carrying the cross, the name of *Via Dolorosa* and describes it in detail; however, there is evidently a mistake in this, because the traditional Via Crucis starts from the citadel of Antonia. Nobody denies that the citadel or tower of Antonia, the temple-fortress (formerly called Baris),[41] played an important part in Jewish history before the time of Christ, especially in the war between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus,[42] not to mention the numerous subsequent wars, up to A. D. 70. However, it is an established fact that Antonia was not the residence of Pontius Pilate when he sentenced Jesus, but that the Procurator resided in the "royal court" (ἡ αὐλή, *scil.*, βασιλική); Mk. XV, 16 makes this quite certain. It is equally certain that Jesus remained in the palace of Herod until the moment when He was led forth to be crucified, and this fact enables us to trace the way of the cross pretty accurately. It started from the *praetorium* on Mt. Sion and ran in a northeasterly direction through the streets of the upper city, through the northern gate (Gennath) towards Golgotha, which was not far distant. At the present day the road is buried under debris where it is not covered with buildings. That tradition has selected another way as the original *Via Dolorosa* need not surprise us. After the destruction of the *praetorium, i. e.*, of the Herodian palace on Mt. Sion during the Jewish wars,[43] the headquarters

[39] Josephus, *Bell. Iud.*, V, 4, 2.

[40] See Conder, *The City of Jerusalem*, 1909; Dunkel in the *Katholik*, Mayence, 1910, I, pp. 363–371.

[41] Josephus, *Bell. Iud.*, I, 3, 3.

[42] *Ibid.*, I, 5, 4; I, 6, 1.

[43] Josephus, *Bell. Iud.*, V, 3, 5; V, 4, 4; V, 17, 6; VI, 7, 1; VI, 8, 1; cfr. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech.*, 39.

of the Procurator were transferred to the citadel of Antonia, and hence the way of the cross was made to begin there. As every pilgrim knows, it leads from Antonia in a westerly direction down as far as the Austrian hospice, where it enters the street coming from Damascus and makes a sudden turn in a southerly direction. Immediately after the turn is the Fourth Station,—the meeting of the Blessed Virgin Mary with Jesus. After this the so-called way of the cross turns towards the west and makes a very steep ascent, but ceases to be a street in the proper sense, leading through narrow alleys to the church of the Holy Sepulchre, which encloses Golgotha. The legend of the Via Dolorosa with its stations cannot be traced beyond the age of the Crusades, when it rapidly came into favor, not, however, without objections being raised against it from time to time. Among its critics we may mention the Jesuit Villalpandus (1546–1605). No doubt the legend will hold its own for a long time to come. For historical reasons the locality of the judgment-seat cannot be looked for in the neighborhood of Antonia (Ecce homo arch), but must be sought in front of the royal court in the upper town. Theodosius[44] wrote in 540: From the holy Sion [*i. e.*, church], where the house of Mark stood, to the house of Caiphas or St. Peter's church, is about 50 paces, and about a 100 paces from there to the tribunal of Pilate,—a clear proof that at the beginning of the 6th century all these holy places, sanctified by the suffering of Christ, were sought for and found on Mt. Sion. Breviarius (about 530) found the house of Caiphas on Mt. Sion and the house of Pilate, *i. e.*, the basilica built on these places, close together.[45] The Pilgrim of Placentia in 540 found the sacred basilica on Mt. Sion, and in it the pillar at which Jesus was scourged.[46] Silvia Aquitana saw a procession on the *"feria quarta et sexta,"*[47] going from the place of the crucifixion and Resurrection up to Mt. Sion, where the place of the scourging and condemnation of Jesus was supposed to be in the 4th century.

5. The import of Jn. XIX, 17 has not been fully appreciated. One reason for this is that some codices had *βαστάζων τὸν σταυρόν*. Now all critics are agreed on the correctness and originality of the *ἑαυτῷ* after *βαστάζων* and all recent editors (Hetzenauer, Brandscheid, Nestle, B. Weiss, Vogels) have received it into the text. The merit of having cleared up the phrase *βαστάζων ἑαυτῷ* belongs to the ingenious Van Bebber. The Church Fathers emphatically insist that Jesus carried the

[44] *De Situ*, 44.
[45] Geyer, 155.
[46] Geyer, 174 f.
[47] Geyer, 79 ff.

cross on his way to Golgotha. Tertullian writes:[48] *"Christus in humero extulit crucem,"* and in another place:[49] *"Quid enim Deo Christo indignius, carnem gestare an crucem?"* St. Chrysostom says: οἱ δ' ἐπέθηκαν αὐτῷ τὸν σταυρὸν ὡς καταδίκῳ λοιπόν.[50] Recent critics have held that Jesus carried only the cross-piece (*patibulum*). However, the New Testament, both Greek and Latin, throughout employs the word "cross" (σταυρός, *crux*), σταυρὸν βαστάζειν, φέρειν, ἐκφέρειν, *crucem portare, gestare, baiulare,* whenever it speaks of the cross of Christ. In like manner the early Fathers and ecclesiastical writers, St. Justin, Tertullian, St. Chrysostom, St. Jerome. But σταυρός or *crux* does not mean the cross-piece, but the whole cross.

A great deal has been written about the *form of the cross,* but altogether without reason. It can scarcely be doubted that the cross of Christ was a Latin cross, a *crux immissa* (+), not a *crux decussata* (×) or a *crux commissa* (T). The following statement of St. Justin decides the question: "Nobody can maintain or prove that the horns of the unicorn (κέρατα μονοκέρωτος) can be found on any other thing or on any other form except on the image which represents the cross. For *straight erect stands the one beam,* from which the *uppermost* part projects as a horn, after the other beam has been *inserted,* and thus the ends appear from both sides like horns, which are joined to the one horn."[51] As St. Justin was a native of Sichem in Samaria, his testimony ought to suffice. Tertullian expresses himself no less clearly when he compares the cross to a mast with its yard attached.[52] St. Augustine[53] and St. Ambrose[54] saw in the cross a type of the four quarters of the globe, which shows that they pictured the cross as having four arms. One or the other Father or ecclesiastical writer, like Tertullian,[55] occasionally illustrated the cross by the T form; however, there is no material difference, because the T in the ancient Semitic alphabet had the shape of a regular cross.[56] Therefore the cross of Christ was certainly a *crux immissa* or four-armed cross, exactly as it is commonly represented to-day.

To illustrate the sense of the Johannine phrase βαστάζων ἑαυτῷ, Van Bebber has called attention to the story of Herodian (IV, 7) about the

[48] *Adv. Iud.,* 10.
[49] *De Carne Christi,* 5.
[50] *Hom. in Ioa.,* 85.
[51] *Dial. c. Tryph.,* 91; cfr. *Apol.,* I, 55.
[52] *Adv. Iud.,* 10; *Ad. Nat.,* I, 12.
[53] *Tract. in Isai.,* 118, 5.
[54] *Serm.,* 56.
[55] *Adv. Marc.,* III, 22.
[56] Cfr. Ez. IX, 4–6.

Emperor Antoninus Caracalla: τὰ ὅπλα βαστάζων ἑαυτῷ = he carried his weapons himself, personally, in contradistinction to other generals, who had their weapons carried by a servant. The Evangelist, in using these words in regard to Jesus, evidently had in mind the two robbers, whose crosses were either carried in the procession by others or had been brought to Golgotha beforehand. That the robbers did not carry their crosses and that Jesus carried His, are both explained by the Sabbatical character of the day of the crucifixion and the unexpectedness of the condemnation of Our Saviour.

6. St. John does not mention the fact that the cross was put upon the shoulders of Simon of Cyrene. It has often been assumed that the fourth Evangelist omitted this incident intentionally. This assumption was based on the false supposition that Jesus in a moment of weakness fainted and fell under the weight of the cross, and that Simon was then compelled to take it up. The idea of weakness, they say, had no place in the Johannine Christology. Jesus did not fall under the weight of the cross, but the Roman soldiers took the cross from His shoulders at the instigation of the hierarchs. John does not relate this episode for the simple reason that he found it satisfactorily treated by the Synoptics.

About Simon of Cyrene much has been written to no purpose. It was believed that he was a Jew because he came from Cyrene in Libya (Africa), where many Jews lived.[57] But there was a doubt whether he had come to Jerusalem on account of the feast, or had immigrated sometime before to Jerusalem; the latter supposition was held to be the more probable (cfr. Acts II, 5). A considerable number of Cyrenean Jews, who had emigrated to Jerusalem, maintained a synagogue of their own there (Acts VI, 9). That Simon was a native of Cyrene in Africa is an established fact, but all the rest is worthless speculation. Simon was a pagan, as his name Simonides (not Συμεών as in 2 Pet. I, 1) and the names of his two sons, Alexander and Rufus indicate. (Ῥοῦφος is also found among the Greeks; cfr. Suidas). Simon had emigrated and settled in Jerusalem. He happened to come from the field (ἀπ' ἀγροῦ; Mk. XV, 21; Lk. XXIII, 26) just when Jesus was led forth to be crucified. The Vulgate translates ἀπ' ἀγροῦ by *"de villa,"* which would mean: from the country (*rure*), or from his farm. Many exegetes find in the phrase of the Evangelists merely the statement that Simon made a trip to the city and did not therefore violate the festal laws; but since ἀπ' ἀγροῦ is used without the article, it would be wrong to conclude that Simon possessed a farm of his own near Jerusalem. Others, referring to the *Evang. Hierosolymit.* (which translates: *"de monte"*), interpret the phrase

[57] Cfr. Josephus, *Bell. Iud.*, XIV, 17, 2; XVI, 6, 1.

ἀπ' ἀγροῦ as meaning "from the mountain." But all these interpretations are untenable. Ἀπ' ἀγροῦ means: "from the field," "from work in the field." It is preposterous to attack this, the only sound interpretation, by saying that no farmer ceases to work at 9 A. M. in spring. To be sure, Simon did not do this; however, one must have queer notions of the circumstances of poor agricultural laborers if one does not see that they often begin their work at or even before daybreak, and return from the field as early as 8 or 9 o'clock, though this does not mean the end of the working-day. Simon certainly was a poor plebeian. The Venerable Ann Catherine Emmerick in her visions saw him as a pagan, who carried a bundle of brushwood under his arm as he came from his work in the field. Each year about the time of Easter he, like many other workmen, was wont to come with his family, to trim the hedges. Nobody is obliged to accept as historical all the details related by this seeress; but her remarks about Simon are surely interesting. She is probably right in describing Simon as a robust man, about 40 years of age. His two sons, Alexander and Rufus, lived as Christians in Rome about the time when Mark wrote his Gospel (A. D. 44), and his wife and son Rufus are mentioned by St. Paul as members of the Christian community in Rome (Rom. XVI, 13). Perhaps the family emigrated from Palestine to the metropolis of the world about the time when St. Peter arrived there; vexations on the part of the Jews may have been the cause.

"The soldiers simply seized the man and made him carry the cross of the Galilean." These words of Ven. Ann Catherine are an excellent commentary on the ἀγγαρεύουσιν (Mk. XV, 21) and the ἠγγάρευσαν (Mt. XXVII, 32) of the Evangelists. This peculiar word means, "to despatch a courier." *Angari* among the ancient Persians were the bearers of important despatches, who were authorized to press into service any animal or ship they met on their way from station to station. Therefore the verb means, "to levy for messenger service," "to compel to do service." The Roman legionaries dealt summarily with the provincials (cfr. Mt. V, 41 and Lk. III, 14), who were prudent if they submitted with good grace, as Arrian advised them: "Whenever a compulsory service is demanded, and the soldier drives thee, do not resist him and do not complain; else thou shalt receive blows and lose thy donkey besides." (*Diatrib. Epict.*, IV, 1.)

One thing more we must add. From the variant reading in the Codex Corbeiensis (Lk. XXIII, 35): "*et portans crucem ducebatur,*" it has been inferred that Jesus was not entirely relieved of His load by Simon, as the latter was only compelled to lend Him a helping hand and carry the beam (τὸ ξύλον) which He dragged behind. The entire cross was removed from the shoulders of Jesus and loaded on those of Simon, for the

reason mentioned above, namely, that an Israelite must not carry a load on the first festival day of Easter and thus transgress the law of the Sabbath. That is the way the matter is represented also in the Acts of Pilate: *ἄραντες ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸν σταυρὸν ἔδωκαν αὐτὸν πρός τινα συναντήσαντα αὐτοῖς ὀνόματι Σίμωνα, ὅστις εἶχε καὶ δύο υἱούς, Αλέξανδρον καὶ Ῥοῦφον· ἦν δὲ ἀπὸ Κυρήνης πόλεως.*[58] As Simon carried the cross alone from the city gate to Golgotha, a very short distance, the (three) falls of Jesus under the cross must be relegated to the domain of legend. The Gospels do not mention the Saviour's meeting with His mother; the fourth station (*Spasmus Virginis* chapel) is mentioned for the first time by Marinus Sanutus at the beginning of the 14th century.[59]

7. On Lk. XXIII, 27–31 Resch (III, 716 f.) says: "This section of the text is far from producing the impression of being a plagiarism," and points to the Semitic character and the originality of the text. This discourse of Jesus, he goes on to say, while completely immersed in the Old Testament Hebrew idiom (cfr. especially Os. X, 8), nevertheless manifests great originality. If the learned writer assigns this really precious pearl to his "pre-canonical source" and to the proto-gospel, this must be ascribed to his predilection for that supposed "original document." We prefer to see in this touching episode a result of St. Luke's research. It is interesting to observe the attitude of the rationalist critics toward the passage in question. Strauss and Keim doubted the historicity of Christ's address to the women, for the reason that He could not possibly have conducted a conversation after the cross had been taken from His shoulders. Nebe refutes this objection by saying: An extremely exhausted man cannot, of course, deliver a long discourse, but he is able to utter a few sentences. We have seen that the notion of the weakness and exhaustion of Jesus at this juncture is false and that He was relieved of the cross for quite another reason. One sees here, as so often, that doubts and misgivings concerning the credibility of the Gospels have their source mainly in defective insight. The women to whom Our Lord spoke were "daughters of Jerusalem" (Lk. XXIII, 28), and, therefore, must not be confounded with the Galilean women (XXIII, 49). The latter, with the mother of Jesus and St. John and the relatives of Jesus, probably followed the cortège at a distance, for the *Acta Pilati* (B 10, 2) mention the Blessed Virgin Mary, John, Mary Magdalen, Martha, and Salome. Jesus addresses only the women of Jerusalem. The motives of their conduct are misjudged by those exegetes who say: These women should have accused themselves and their husbands

[58] *Acta Pilati*, X, 1 B (ed. Tischendorff, 302.)
[59] *De Recup. Terrae Sanctae*, III, 4, 10.

before God and man for having rejected the King of Jehovah's promise; their tears do not resemble those of St. Peter, but rather those which are shed when a great criminal is executed; they are tears of weak sentimentality, of momentary and superficial emotion, which dry up as readily as they flow. Such sentimental tears Our Lord did not desire. We cannot adopt this view for the following reasons. Tears of weak sentimentality not seldom flow on occasions when those who shed them merit sympathy. But we must not presume such shallow sentimentality in the women of Jerusalem. Moreover, according to the Talmud [60] and Maimonides,[61] the Jews were not permitted to weep over those who were punished by the Sanhedrin, but their nearest friends were expected to salute both witnesses and judge as a sign that they bore no grudge against them for having pronounced a just sentence. In the case of Jesus, Pontius Pilate had pronounced the decisive sentence, but there can hardly have been any person in Jerusalem who was in doubt about the real authors of the death of Jesus, especially since the hierarchs marched at the head of the procession which took Him to Golgotha. Under these circumstances the daughters of Sion exhibited admirable courage by demonstrating their sympathy with Jesus and thereby, at least indirectly, accusing the hierarchs of prejudice and injustice. That the male portion of the population on the whole sided with the hierarchs ("the whole people cried," Mt. XXVII, 25) and approved the condemnation of Jesus agrees with their conduct during the public ministry of the Saviour, when the overwhelming majority invariably gave way to the pressure brought to bear on them by the "Judeans." But when men become like women, women often show fearlessness. These women could not forget the immeasurable benefits bestowed by the Galilean nor shake off the conviction that he was the true Messias. The severity of the predicted judgment must have been brought home to the women and to all who heard the prophecy when they heard Jesus say: Those who will live to see the terrible days, will say: "Blessed are the barren"; *i. e.*, they will not tire in praising the good fortune of the barren. Note the two following sentences: *αἱ κοιλίαι, αἳ οὐκ ἐγέννησαν* and *μαστοὶ οἳ οὐκ ἔθρεψαν* (Lk. XXIII, 29). Nothing was esteemed a greater blessing among the Jews than motherhood and children.[62] What mothers with their children had to undergo during the siege of Jerusalem by the Romans (A. D. 67/70), we can well imagine from the description given by Josephus. The words of Our Lord received a graphic illustration by the scene described in *Bell. Iud.*, VI, 3, 4, where a

[60] *Sanhedr.*, VI, 4.
[61] *Sanhedr.*, XIII, 6.
[62] Cfr. on *κοιλίαι* and *μαστοί* the salutation of Mary in Lk. XI, 27.

mother slaughters her child and partly eats it. In their despair the Jews finally burst into the lamentation (Lk. XXIII, 30: ἄρξονται λέγειν), "Ye mountains, fall upon us, ye hills, cover us" (Os. X, 8; cfr. Apoc. VI, 16), *i. e.*, we will rather die than be compelled to witness this terrible misery any longer.

The legend of *Veronica* deserves a brief notice here. The gist of it is well known: a woman sadly and tenderly approached Jesus on His way to Golgotha and offered Him her veil. He took it and wiped His face with it, all covered with blood and wounds, and the image thereof remained imprinted on the cloth. According to one version Veronica was identical with the woman who was cured of the issue of blood, as related in Mt. IX, 20 ff. and the parallel passages. It is said that when Jesus was tried before Pilate, this woman stood up and related her miraculous cure, but the Jews objected to her testimony.[63] Sepp identifies this Veronica with Berenice, the widow of Aristobulus, a son of Herod the Great, the mother of Agrippa I and of the (younger) Berenice (Acts XXV, 13); he thinks she lived on Mt. Sion at Easter, 783, and when she saw Jesus carry the cross, was moved to pity and, forcing her way through the crowd, offered Him her kerchief. Later she went to Rome and presented a report on the death of Jesus to the Emperor Tiberius.[64] We can neither accept this and similar accounts nor refute them. The Evangelists make no mention of such an episode, though, of course, it may have occurred.

[63] *Acta Pilati*, A 7, 239; B 7, 298 and 356; *Vindicta Salvat.*, XXII, 480.
[64] Sepp and Haneberg, *Leidensgeschichte*, 335.

CHAPTER II

THE CRUCIFIXION AND DEATH OF JESUS

(Mt. XXVII, 33–50; Mk. XV, 22–37; Lk. XXIII, 33–46; Jn. XIX, 18–30)

1. When the procession arrived on Golgotha, shortly before 9 o'clock, a narcotic drink was offered Our Lord, according to a prevailing custom, before He was nailed to the cross. It was mixed with gall (Mt. XXVII, 34), *i. e.*, with some bitter liquid, according to Mk. XV, 23, dissolved bitter myrrh, which produces a stupefying effect. The draught was mingled with wine for the purpose of depriving Him of consciousness and rendering Him insensible to pain. Although not related by the Evangelists, it is probable that the draught offered to Jesus on Golgotha had been prepared by sympathizing women; what is certain is that it was administered to Him by one of the soldiers. Jesus merely touched the draught to His lips in recognition, as it were, of the act of love, and then returned it because He wished to suffer and die fully conscious. [Note 1.]

2. The gospel account of the crucifixion is restricted literally to the words σταυρώσαντες (Mt., Mk.) and ἐσταύρωσαν (Lk., Jn.). The Evangelists presume that their readers know the details. The executioners began by stripping Our Lord of His clothes. It is doubtful whether, according to a well attested custom, He was nailed to the cross completely nude, or girded with a waist-cloth. Perhaps this question may be decided in the latter sense, in view of the abhorrence of the Jews for complete nudity and on account of the presence of women.

That complete stripping of the victims of crucifixion was in accordance with the Roman custom is not to be denied; but, on the other hand, we must not forget that, according to the testimony of the fourth Evangelist (XIX, 16), Jesus was crucified under the direction and supervision of the Sanhedrin, and quite likely due regard for the natural sentiment of shame, as in the case of stoning, was exercised by the hierarchs or at least permitted by them. [Note 2.] The cross was raised and fastened in the ground. [Note 3.] It was not very tall (cfr. Jn. XIX, 29), and provided with a block or peg which served as a πῆγμα (*cornu, sedile*). The soldiers lifted Jesus up, set Him on the block, and fastened His body with ropes; then they nailed Him to the cross by driving large, strong nails first through the hands and then through the feet. It is not certain whether the feet were placed side by side and fastened with two nails, or whether they were placed one upon the other and nailed with only one nail. That He was nailed with feet and hands to the cross is, however, certain.[1] [Note 4.] It was 9 A. M. when the cruel deed was consummated on Golgotha.

3. Over the head of Jesus, on that part of the cross which projected above the beam, was affixed a small white tablet (σανίς, πίναξ, λεύκωμα, *titulus*), on which was written with what crime He was charged (αἰτία τῆς θανατώσεως). According to St. John, Pilate had this tablet prepared before the cortège started for Golgotha. The inscription thereon was written in three languages, Hebrew (Aramaic), Greek, and Latin. Aramaic was the language of the common people in Jerusalem and in Palestine generally, Greek was the language of the educated classes and the numerous Hellenists, Latin that of the Roman conquerors. Thus all Jerusalem could read the legend: "Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews." Accordingly, the Jewish kingship of Jesus was expressed in the title as the cause of His condemnation. [Note 5.] The inscription was in full accord with the facts. Jesus was King of the Jews, and as the Messias-King of

[1] Cfr. Lk. XXIV, 39, 40.

Israel he had been condemned to the death of the cross. Pilate's primary purpose in writing the inscription was to mock the Sanhedrists and ridicule the Messianic hopes of the Jewish people, for the inscription could be interpreted in a sense exceedingly unfavorable to the Judeans, as if the people themselves had given Jesus this title and acknowledged Him as their king. The hierarchs at once perceived the governor's purpose and angrily returned to the *praetorium* to induce Pilate to change the wording. They petitioned him to correct the inscription as follows: "He said,—I am the King of the Jews." Pilate curtly refused: "What I have written, I have written" (*i. e.*, the inscription remains as it is, not one iota shall be changed). One readily comprehends the blunt refusal of the Procurator. He was angry and mortified at his former unmanly weakness.

The account of the Fourth Evangelist concerning the inscription on the cross is of singular importance also from another point of view. He writes: "This title therefore many of the Jews did read; because the place where Jesus was crucified was nigh to the city; and it was written in Hebrew, in Greek, and in Latin" (XIX, 20). Why did only "Jews" read the inscription and why for the reason that "the place was nigh"? A crucifixion was a spectacle which attracted very many people.[2] Therefore the surmise seems well founded that a motley crowd of pagans and Jews was present at the crucifixion of Jesus. Why does the Evangelist single out only the Jews as spectators or readers of the inscription by saying: ὅτι ἐγγὺς ἦν ὁ τόπος τῆς πόλεως? He wishes to say: Because Pilate had chosen a place near the city for the crucifixion of Jesus and the two robbers, the Jews as well as the numerous pagans sojourning in Jerusalem could go out and read the inscription on the cross. This is tantamount to saying: the crucifixion of Jesus took place on a day on which the Jews were not per-

[2] Lk. XXIII, 48; cfr. Lucian, *De Morte Peregr.*, 34; Tacitus, *Ann.*, I, 32.

mitted to walk any considerable distance. The reason why they could not walk far must be sought in the ordinances governing the Sabbath rest. According to the uniform testimony of the Evangelists, the day of the crucifixion of Jesus was the day before a week-sabbath, a Friday (*προσάββατον*; Mk. XV, 42; cfr. Jn. XIX, 14; Lk. XXIII, 54; Mt. XXVII, 62); but since the Jews on this day were permitted to travel only a short distance, a sabbath-day's journey, it must have been a festal sabbath. The passah-slaughtering day, the 14th Nisan, was not a day of this kind, but the first festal day of Easter, the 15th Nisan, was. Hence the statement of the Fourth Evangelist (XIX, 20) embodies a strong argument in favor of the thesis that the 15th Nisan is the day of Christ's death. According to the sense, St. John in this significant passage expresses the thought: In the same manner as Our Lord in the night from the passah-slaughtering day to the Easter sabbath (in the night from the 14th to the 15th Nisan) led his Apostles only as far as Mount Olivet, to be apprehended there according to the ordinance of Divine Providence, and therefore gave no occasion either to His disciples or to the hierarchs, who came out to take Him prisoner, to violate the law of the Sabbath, so in like manner He was raised upon the cross in a place which could be reached by the Jews on the first Sabbatical festival day of Easter. It is astonishing what a wealth of ideas John embodies in his brief account of the crucifixion, either formally expressed or merely intimated by the literary form he had chosen. As an example we may point to the singular force and pregnancy of the words (XIX, 21); *ἔλεγον . . . οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς τῶν Ἰουδαίων· μὴ γράφε· ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐκεῖνος εἶπεν· βασιλεύς εἰμι τῶν Ἰουδαίων.* We can almost hear the petitioners saying to Pilate: We are the legitimate high priests of the Jewish nation; He arrogates to himself the title "King of the Jews" (mark well the *τῶν Ἰουδαίων* with *οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς*, not only with *ὁ βασιλεύς*, and also the *ἐκεῖνος*).

St. John wishes to present to the mind of his readers the great struggle which was carried on during the twelve months, from Easter 782 to Easter 783, between Jesus of Nazareth and the leaders of Israel (cfr. X, 1 ff.), and which was brought to a close in the early hours of the 15th Nisan. Incomparable are the words of Pilate recorded in XIX, 22: "What I have written, I have written," *i. e.,* not one iota of the legend shall be changed! With this laconic answer he stopped all further parleying and the title remained as it was. The Providence of God is easily discernible here. By the inscription in three languages Pilate unwittingly expressed the truth: Jesus of Nazareth is the King of the Jews, the Messias. This word of the governor cannot, of course, dispose us to think more favorably of him: he who would not permit the inscription to be altered, could he not also, by a vigorous word, have declared the innocence of Jesus and thus preserved intact the "Temple of God"? [Note 6.]

4. The *division of the garments* is mentioned by St. Matthew directly after the account of the nailing of Jesus to the cross (XXVII, 35; cfr. Mk. XV, 24; Lk. XXIII, 34) and before the remark about placing the inscription at His head (XXVII, 37). According to St. Matthew it would seem that, after nailing Jesus to the cross and dividing his garments, the soldiers rested a while and then affixed the title, whilst St. John says the inscription was nailed up immediately after the crucifixion and before the garments were divided. We must follow St. John, as the first Evangelist has evidently been guilty of a slight inaccuracy; as is his habit, he has paid no attention to the chronological sequence of events. The correct sequence is, therefore: Jesus is nailed to the cross, the τίτλος is affixed, the garments are divided, a guard of soldiers is placed near the cross, Jesus is mocked by the Judeans.

In distributing the garments, the Roman soldiers followed an ancient custom according to which the garments of ex-

ecuted criminals became the property of those charged with their execution.[3] The garments of Jesus probably consisted of a *simla* or upper garment, the girdle, a seamless coat, sandals and a covering for the head, though concerning the two last mentioned articles it cannot be stated with certainty that they were included in the distribution. The soldiers divided the upper garment or cloak by tearing it into four parts, which could easily be done, as it consisted of a large square piece of cloth. The remaining clothes, with the exception of the seamless coat, were added to the pieces and then each soldier received his share. St. John says that the four soldiers had agreed to divide Christ's garments into four parts (XIX, 23); there is only this difference between his account and that of the Synoptics, that according to the Synoptics it appears that all the clothes of Jesus were distributed by lot, whilst according to John the lot was employed only in determining the disposition of the seamless coat. The difference appears rather pronounced between SS. Mark and John. St. Mark writes: "They divided his garments, casting lots upon them," *i. e.*, to determine which of the four parts each should have (XV, 24); St. John, on the other hand, says, according to the sense, that they took His garments and divided them among themselves, but for His coat they cast lots (XIX, 23 f.). This coat "was without a seam," not made with the needle, but "woven from the top throughout," *i. e.*, from the opening for the neck to the bottom was all in one piece; therefore they did not like to cut it up, but preferred to decide by lot who of them should have it. It is commonly attempted to adjust the difference by assuming that the fourth Evangelist lays stress on the fact that lots were cast for the coat, but does not deny that lots were cast also for the four portions; this was surely done, it is said, because a quarrel would otherwise have arisen among the soldiers in consequence of their inability to make four exactly equal portions of the spoils. This suggestion does not contribute any-

[3] Cfr. Ulpianus, *Digest.*, 48, 20, 6 ff.; St. Chrysostom, *In Ioa.*, XIX, 33.

thing towards a solution of the problem. The important point is that St. John wrote last of all the four Evangelists, and with due consideration of their work, and for this very reason reports with scrupulous accuracy; his account supplements and corrects that of the Synoptics; he speaks very positively of the distribution of the rest of the garments and of the casting of lots for the seamless coat, and at the same time quotes Ps. XXII, 19: "They have parted my garments among them, and upon my vesture they have cast lot." The Johannine narrative is as graphic as it is well motivated (in view of the prophecy quoted). [Note 7.]

5. Whilst hanging upon the cross and suffering excruciating torments, Jesus was exposed to insults and mockery. "They that passed by" heaped insults, blasphemies, and mockery upon Him (Mt. XXVII, 39). The scene of the crucifixion was just outside the northern city gate by the roadside, where all the world could see the spectacle. By οἱ παραπορευόμενοι St. Matthew does not mean travellers on the way to Jerusalem from a great distance, but pilgrims to the feast, who had pitched their tents outside the city wall and at this moment were either on their way to the city or returning from there. Probably they were inhabitants of the province of Judea, of the kind described in Jn. XI, 46. They had heard of the prophecy uttered by Jesus on the first Easter regarding the destruction and rebuilding of the Temple (Jn. II, 19), which had been used against Him in a garbled form by the false witnesses at the trial. Now, standing before the cross, they wagged their heads (cfr. Ps. XXII, 8), thereby expressing their joy that He had come to a bad end, and saying with gleeful mockery: Your present plight agrees very poorly with your saying that you would destroy the Temple and build it up again in three days; if you really possess such power, help yourself, save your life; as the pretended Son of God (the Christ) demonstrate your power, break the fetters, shake the nails out of your hands and feet, and come down from the cross.

With men of such a low type the Sanhedrists [4] made common cause. They now seized the opportunity of satiating their long-nourished hatred and took revenge for the defeat which they had suffered shortly before when petitioning Pilate to alter the inscription on the cross. Without deigning to address the suffering Jesus directly, they deride His miracles by pointing to His present deplorable state and ridiculing His Messianic dignity: "He saved others, why does he not save himself, if he is the Christ, the chosen one of God, the king of Israel [= the Messias]?" They quote the words of the Psalmist (XXII, 9): "He hoped in the Lord, let him now deliver him if he is delighted in him." They do not perceive that they are the godless men described by the inspired bard, who mock the Just One (the Messias) and persecute Him. The hierarchs by their behavior manifested a greater refinement of malice as compared with that of the common people, who "stood and looked on" (Lk. XXIII, 35). According to the context and the words of the account (εἱστήκει ὁ λαὸς θεωρῶν) this looking on cannot be interpreted as a mere inquisitive gaping, but as a looking on with interior satisfaction, with gusto and delight, so that they brought about the fulfilment of the words of the Psalmist: *"Ipsi vero consideraverunt et inspexerunt me"* (XXII, 19). This mob (λαός) no doubt consisted for the most part of Jerusalemites. Possibly many of them harbored more humane sentiments; but they had not the courage to give vent to their feelings "out of fear of the Judeans." [Note 8.]

6. Concerning the two robbers crucified with Christ, the Evangelists agree that they were real criminals (Mt. XXVII, 38; Mk. XV, 27: λῃσταί = robbers, brigands; Lk. XXIII, 39: κακοῦργοι = malefactors) and were crucified on Calvary simultaneously with, or immediately after Jesus, the one to His right, the other to His left, so that the cross of Christ stood

[4] Mt. XXVII, 41 names all three classes: high priests, scribes, and ancients; Mk. XV, 31, the high priests and scribes; Lk. XXIII, 35, the rulers.

in the middle. According to tradition [5] the robber on the right side was called Dysmas and the one on the left, Gestas. Undoubtedly this "grouping" had been deliberately planned by the enemies of Jesus; having succeeded by speedy action in effecting His crucifixion on the 15th Nisan, the great feast of Easter, which was the ordinary day for the execution of criminals, they induced the executioners to place the cross of Christ between the two others, in order that, by His position in the midst of two malefactors, the Galilean might, so to speak, appear to the whole world as the chief of malefactors. In this manner the hierarchs brought about the fulfilment of a prophecy of Isaias: "He [the Messias] was reputed with the wicked" (Is. LIII, 12).

There is a discrepancy between the accounts of the two first Evangelists and that of St. Luke. According to SS. Matthew and Mark, the two men who were crucified with Jesus reviled Him (Mt. XXVII, 44; Mk. XV, 32[b]; τὸ δ' αὐτό in Mt., = ὁμοίως in Mk.) just as did those who passed by and the high priests; according to St. Luke (XXIII, 39 ff.), only one of the robbers blasphemed the crucified Saviour and was sharply rebuked by his comrade, who on his part asked Jesus to remember him when He would come into His kingdom. Some explain this divergence by assuming that SS. Matthew and Mark use the so-called generic plural; St. Matthew especially manifests a great predilection for generalizations, and therefore the statements of the two Evangelists must be restricted to one of the robbers, *i. e.*, him on the left side. This attempted explanation must be rejected, for both writers in the beginning (Mt. XXVII, 38; Mk. XV, 27) mention two brigands who were crucified with Jesus, and therefore there can be no doubt that οἱ λῃσταί οἱ συνσταυρωθέτες, and οἱ συνεσταυρωμένοι all refer to the δύο λῃσταί mentioned shortly before. Therefore the statements of Matthew and Mark may well stand together with that of Luke: Under the influence of

[5] *Acta Pil.*, X, 6, 308.

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the drink which was given to both criminals, they at first reviled Jesus; but the one on the right side, having become sober, and seeing the extraordinary patience, nobility, and majesty of Jesus, and hearing His words full of love and compassion, ("Father, forgive them"), changed his mind completely under the salutary influence of grace emanating from the crucified Savior. St. Luke seems to indicate this by the peculiar manner in which he introduces the passage (XXIII, 39): "One of the robbers *who hung on the cross,* blasphemed him . . . but the other answering, rebuked [his companion]." The silence of SS. Matthew and Mark regarding the conversion of the penitent thief may seem strange; however, we must consider that the first Evangelist in his history of the Passion merely intends to describe the ignominy and vilification inflicted on the Messias-King by His people and their rulers, while St. Mark is concerned chiefly with the abandonment of the God-man. St. Luke, a disciple of St. Paul, endeavors to illustrate the infinite love, grace, and mercy of Our Lord and to impress the hearts and minds of his readers by touching scenes from the life of Jesus. Finding the story of the conversion of the thief among his historical materials, he embodied in his Gospel this really touching episode so fully in accordance with the purpose of his writing (cfr. Lk. VII, 36 ff., XV, 11 ff.; XIX, 1 ff.). The words which the penitent thief addressed to his companion in crime, manifest a deep insight into the gravity and magnitude of his own guilt, but also a sincere repentance and honest acknowledgment of his sins (Lk. XXIII, 41). The words of rebuke: "Neither dost thou fear God (*οὐδὲ φοβῇ*; XXIII, 40)," mean: Since you are under the same condemnation (*κρῖμα*), *i. e.,* suffer the same penalty as Jesus and I, you ought at least to fear God, who will soon be your judge, even though you do not perceive your own guilt and have no sorrow; at the very least you ought to abstain from reviling Jesus, who is wholly innocent. His petition to Our Lord expresses confidence, humility, sorrow, and a joyous faith in

Jesus as the Lord and King κατ' ἐξοχήν. Whilst his companion derides the Messianic claims of Jesus ("art not thou the Christ?"; [XXIII, 39], *i. e.*, the one who is endowed with miraculous power. No; you are a false Christ who wants to redeem his people and perishes miserably on the cross) the penitent thief acknowledges the kingship of Jesus in the form of a prayer. The meaning of his petition is: Please remember me when thou, endowed with royal power and majesty, shalt return (XXIII, 42: ὅταν ἔλθῃς ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου is the correct reading) either to establish the kingdom of Israel (cfr. Acts I, 6) or to judge mankind (second *parousia;* the latter interpretation is favored by the variant in Cod. D: ἐν τῇ ἡμέρα τῆς ἐλεύσεώς σου). Most exegetes assume that the penitent thief had at some time met Jesus and heard Him preach, or had heard utterances of His concerning the Kingdom of God or Heaven, the meaning of which was now disclosed to him by divine grace. Perhaps we can dispense with this conjecture. This man was certainly a Jew, and hence acquainted with the promise of the Messias, and from the mocking words of the hierarchs and the inscription on the cross knew that the point in question was whether or not Jesus was the Messias. Moreover, hearing Jesus pray to the "Father," and observing His wonderful patience, meekness, dignity, and resignation, he, enlightened by grace, recognized that Jesus was indeed the promised Messias, the King of the Kingdom of God, professed Him aloud as such and, having heard the prayer of the crucified Lord for His enemies, appealed to Him in his own behalf. Our Saviour grants him more than he asks: On this very day, the day of crucifixion, you shall be with me in Paradise, *i. e.*, in the abode of the just, those pious forefathers who had died in the Lord (cfr. Lk. XVI, 22, 28; 1 Pet. III, 19). [Note 9.]

7. *The seven words of Jesus on the cross.* The number seven is obtained by collating the accounts of the four Evangelists. All seven utterances are not found in any single one of

the Gospels. St. Matthew reports only one saying of Jesus (XXVII, 46); likewise St. Mark (XV, 34); St. Luke has three (XXIII, 34, 43, 46) and St. John (XIX, 26–28, 30) also three. Regarding the sequence of the various utterances some exegetes think that it is impossible to determine. However, the prayer of Jesus for His executioners (Lk. XXIII, 34: *πάτερ, ἄφες αὐτοῖς· οὐ γὰρ οἴδασιν τί ποιοῦσιν*) is most certainly the first. As the word *ποιοῦσιν* shows, it was spoken while He was being nailed to the cross. Jesus prays for the Sanhedrists as well as for the entire Jewish nation; the former are guilty of murder because of their selfishness, hatred and fanaticism, the latter because of their blindness and cowardice. The Saviour motivates His petition to the Father by declaring that His murderers know not what they do. In doing so, He does not mean to declare that their ignorance is altogether guiltless; for the prayer presupposes a guilt ("forgive them"); He merely wishes to say that they had not a full and clear knowledge of the crime committed against Him. The words of St. Peter regarding the ignorance of the Jews and their rulers shown in their treatment of Jesus (Acts III, 17) may be regarded as an authentic, because inspired interpretation of the word of Jesus about the *ἄγνοια* of His executioners. St. Peter argues as follows: Ignorance is one of the causes of the crime committed in condemning and crucifying Jesus; the people were misled by their rulers, and the latter had misunderstood Jesus in consequence of their prejudices, passions, and blindness. But God has made this sinful deed of the Jews subservient to the fulfilment of His will, as manifested by the mouth of all the prophets. The ignorance of the Jews, however, is by no means excusable; for with a fairly good will and an unprejudiced examination of the miracles, the life and teaching of Jesus, coupled with a proper study of the Old Testament prophecies, they would have been able to recognize in Jesus of Nazareth the promised Messias. Consequently their crime is culpable, and a thorough

change of heart, a turning away from sin and conversion to God are necessary for them to be saved. St. Paul expresses himself in a similar strain (Acts XIII, 27; cfr. 1 Cor. II, 8). The divine judgment which Jesus foretold to the women of Jerusalem, he says, did occur; but by the intercession of Jesus on the day of His crucifixion the punishment for the deicide nation did not follow *immediately,* according to the principles of strict justice, but it was delayed, and the Jews thus had time and opportunity for a change of heart and penance; nay, soon thereafter, in consequence of the extraordinary miracles, numerous Jews repented (Lk. XXIII, 48) and on the first Pentecost very many of the people contritely accepted the word and were baptized (Acts II, 41). [Note 10.]

As the *second* utterance of Jesus on the Cross we may regard the words addressed to the penitent thief (Lk. XXIII, 43). Our Saviour conquered the soul of this malefactor by His patience in suffering, His calmness and meekness, and His prayer for forgiveness. When He pronounced the word "Father" and thereby, in the midst of His unspeakable torments, professed His perfect faith, love, obedience, and devotion to God, the malefactor was touched and enlightened; he repented and confessed, and his confidence was repaid by the most consoling words which came from the lips of the Godman while expiating the sins of the world on the cross.

The *third* utterance of Jesus on the cross was addressed to His mother: "Woman, behold thy son," and to the beloved disciple, John: "Behold thy mother." This saying has been transmitted to us by that same disciple (Jn. XIX, 26, 27), who even in this passage writes mainly to supplement the Synoptics. True, the presence on Calvary of the pious women associated with Jesus is also recorded by the Synoptics (Mt. XXVII, 55, 56; Mk. XV, 40, 41; Lk. XXIII, 49). St. Luke says in a general way: "All his acquaintance, and the women that had followed him from Galilee, stood afar off." SS. Matthew and Mark mention three women by name: Mary Magdalen; Mary,

the mother of James and Joseph; and Salome, the mother of the Zebedees. The Fourth Evangelist does not name Salome, probably because she was his own mother, and he never mentions her in his Gospel. On the other hand he, like SS. Matthew and Mark, mentions Mary, the wife of Clopas, the "sister" of the Mother of Jesus, and Mary Magdalen. John's supplementary information therefore consists in this that he introduces the mother of Jesus as being present at the bloody drama on Golgotha and that he gives evidence of the presence of the mother of Jesus together with her companions and the beloved disciple near the cross, at least at the time when Our Lord made His last will. The latter statement must not be regarded as a refutation of the Synoptic account (Mk. XV, 40: *ἀπὸ μακρόθεν θεωροῦσαι*), but means that the four persons mentioned stood near the cross for a long time soon after the crucifixion, when the soldiers kept watch and the hierarchs, after mocking Jesus, had gone away. The reason why St. John mentions precisely these four and no other *γνωστοί* is clearly discernible. He evidently means to say: One might have expected that Our Lord would have given His mother in charge of either Mary, the wife of Clopas, who was so closely related to her and Him, or to Mary Magdalen, who was so deeply attached to Him, but He preferred John to these women, and thus here, as at the Last Supper, concedes to him the right to add to his name Ioannes (beloved of God) the expression, "the disciple whom Jesus loved." At the moment when Jesus made His last will, Mary and John occupied a position apart from the rest of the *γνωστοί*, so that His words (XIX, 26) could, by a movement of the head, be understood as referring only to them. Soon afterwards the soldiers no doubt interfered and pushed back the followers of Christ, for this if for no other reason, that they would not give to the crucified refreshments of any kind.

Some exegetes have discovered a deeper meaning in the words of Jesus to His mother and St. John. According to the

will of Our Lord, Mary became the spiritual mother of John, and John the spiritual son of Mary. Now, since all who receive Jesus (by faith and Baptism), are made children of God (Jn. I, 12 f.) just like St. John, they may also consider themselves as spiritual children of Mary. [Note 11.]

The *fourth* utterance of Jesus on the cross is the cry recorded in Jn. XIX, 28: "I thirst." This thirst was primarily a burning bodily thirst; but at the same time were fulfilled two other Messianic prophecies, namely Ps. XXII, 16: "My strength is dried up like a potsherd, and my tongue hath cleaved to my jaws," and Ps. LXIX, 22: "In my thirst they give me vinegar to drink." St. John significantly introduces this utterance by the remark: "Jesus, knowing that all things were now accomplished, that the scripture might be fulfilled, said: I thirst." All prophecies, His own and those of the Old Testament, referring to His life and Passion, Jesus knew to be fulfilled; the last, referring to the end of His life (Ps. XXII and LXIX), had also to be accomplished. One feels the profound interest which the fourth Evangelist bestows on this subject; his entire account of the Passion is dominated by this tendency and he gives special prominence to those facts which show that the prophecies concerning the death of Jesus were all fulfilled to the letter. The Synoptics do not report the cry, "I thirst," but they presuppose it by narrating how Christ was offered a drink. St. Luke anticipates somewhat when he connects the offering of the vinegar immediately with the mocking of Jesus by the Jewish rulers and places it before the mention of the inscription affixed to the cross (XXIII, 35–38). We need hardly remark that Our Saviour's thirst was quenched only once, namely, as John tells us, shortly before He died. The cry, "I thirst," immediately preceded the cry of abandonment, "Eloi, Eloi," and induced the soldiers to respond to His desire for a drink. [Note 12.]

The cry of distress just quoted, emitted with a loud voice, is the *fifth* utterance of Jesus on the cross. SS. Matthew

(XXVII, 46) and Mark (XV, 34) report it thus: "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" What was the nature of the suffering which drew this cry (Ps. XXII) from Our Lord? It certainly rose from the depth of His soul, and gave expression to the terrible feeling of abandonment which overwhelmed Him. The suggestion that Jesus on the cross recited the 22nd Psalm, but after pronouncing the initial words, was too weak to continue and recited the remainder in His heart, must be abandoned as unworthy of the Godman. The mysterious complaint of being forsaken by God, must not, however, be interpreted as if Our Lord wished to give vent to the severe grief which overwhelmed Him when His divine nature was forced to separate from His human nature; for, according to the Scriptures, no such separation took place. It was not a mere man who died on the cross, but the *Godman* Jesus Christ. His declaration: "I and the Father are one" (Jn. X, 30) retained its full force in the dark hours of His Passion. The union between Him and God was not broken, but the effects of it on His human nature, the sensation of the union with the Father, was suspended in Jesus. According to the mysterious will of the Father, Jesus was to be perfected by suffering (Heb. II, 10) and to this end had to experience the feeling of being utterly forsaken by God as the most painful sting, to make us understand how severely God judges and condemns sin. This cry of abandonment was not an expression of despair, for Jesus, in uttering it with a loud voice, calls God *His* God, and hence immolates Himself completely to the Father, with body and soul and spirit at the moment of His greatest suffering and distress, and soon thereafter with perfect resignation recommends His soul to Him. Since, furthermore, Our Lord expressed the feeling of forsakenness not in His own words, but in those of the Messianic Psalm XXII, He showed in a solemn manner that He was indeed attacked and tormented, yet not oppressed and overcome by this feeling, but in the midst of unspeakable tor-

ments was fully conscious that He was the King foretold by the prophets. [Note 13.]

The *sixth* utterance of Jesus on the cross, recorded by St. John (XIX, 30), is really but a single word: τετέλεσται, "It is consummated." By this exclamation Our Saviour, according to the common interpretation, meant to say: The end of my earthly career and of my ministry on earth has come; I have accomplished the work which my Father gave me to do; the cup which I was to drink, has been emptied, the sacrifice is immolated, satisfaction has been made for the sins of mankind, the dominion of the devil has been broken, the reconciliation of the Father with mankind has been sealed. However, we prefer to understand the word τετέλεσται as meaning, at least primarily, the fulfilment of the prophecies (Jn. XIX, 28). All prophecies, His own and those of the Scriptures, have been realized. Let us not forget that St. John describes the Judeans as men who have caused the condemnation and crucifixion of Jesus. This description agrees fully with the reality, but if the fourth Evangelist emphasizes this fact more strongly than the Synoptics, this is explained by the circumstances under which his Gospel, in fact all his writings, including the Apocalypse and the Epistles, were written. The Jews at that time, especially in Asia Minor, were the most dangerous opponents of Christianity; hence John's stressing of their guilt in the death of the Godman, hence also the careful demonstration that, especially in the Passion of Our Lord, all the prophecies have been duly fulfilled. [Note 14.]

The *seventh* and last utterance of Jesus on the cross: "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit" (Lk. XXIII, 46) is again taken from the Psalms (XXXI, 6). It was first spoken by David, when, surrounded by the great dangers prepared for him by Saul, he commended his soul to God in order to be saved. On the lips of Christ the word has found its complete fulfilment: He consigns His *human soul* (cfr. Jn. XIX, 30, where τὸ πνεῦμα is used in a sense different from VI, 63) into

the hands of His Father, to receive it back after three days and reunite it to His body.

After Jesus had uttered these last words, He bowed His head and gave up the ghost. SS. Matthew and Mark, who do not quote the last words, but merely record the cry itself, expressly emphasize that it was emitted with a *loud voice* (Mt. XXVII, 50; Mk. XV, 37). The meaning of this can only be: Those who die are weak, and especially crucified men yield up their ghost in a state of extreme exhaustion; but Jesus is the lord over death; His death is a sovereign act of His free will; He lays down His life in the plenitude of His liberty and independence, as He also assumes it again after three days. By an act of His divine omnipotence He breaks His heart in the ninth hour of the 15th Nisan and makes true His word, once pledged in Jerusalem, that he *Himself* by His own power would lay down His life (cfr. Jn. X, 17, 18). The death of Jesus, immediately after having emitted such a strong cry, astonished the centurion, who concluded that He was more than a mere man (Mk. XV, 39). [Note 15.]

8. The three Synoptics are unanimous in reporting that from 12 o'clock noon to 3 o'clock in the afternoon darkness reigned over the entire earth (Mt. XXV, 45; Mk. XV, 33; Lk. XXIII, 44 f.) St. John is silent on this point, evidently because he fully approved of the account of his predecessors. The reader of the Fourth Gospel, if he bears in mind the statement of the Synoptics regarding the eclipse at the sixth hour, will involuntarily recall the words or the reflection of the hierarchs on the morning of the 15th Nisan: We will not enter the *praetorium* of the Procurator, lest we contract a Levitical contamination, we want to be fit to enjoy the sacrifice and the festal banquet at the sixth hour of the day (12 o'clock noon). Man proposes, God disposes; precisely at noon darkness suddenly set in, and thus the joy of the Judeans was converted into terror and consternation. The (three) Evangelists do not describe the event as an ordinary phenomenon of nature, but

as a supernatural miracle. The miraculous character of the occurrence is very pronounced in the third Gospel, which associates the event with the rending of the veil of the Temple (Lk. XXIII, 45). Whether the Evangelists mean to say that the darkness extended over the whole of Palestine or over the entire earth, is difficult to decide. The terms used by them (πᾶσα ἡ γῆ or ὅλη ἡ γῆ) admit of the former interpretation, so much the more since SS. Matthew and Luke, when they wish to designate the whole earth, employ other expressions (*e. g.*, Matthew: ὁ κόσμος, XXVI, 13; Luke: πρόσωπον πάσης τῆς γῆς, XXI, 35). Nevertheless one would like to prefer the latter interpretation, if there were evidence of the darkness on the day of death of Jesus from other sources; which, however, is not the case. Tertullian confidently appeals to the testimony of the Roman archives.[6] The silence of secular writers concerning this phenomenon cannot in the least impair the account of the Gospels, even if it be interpreted as saying that darkness extended over the whole earth. For they generally speak of natural phenomena only when these have some connection with the historical event which the writers are narrating. The Arabic *Diatessaron*[7] says: *"Tenebrae occupaverunt universam terram."* The *Anaphora Pilati*[8]: σκότος ἐγένετο ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην τοῦ ἡλίου κρυβέντος τελείως. If we furthermore consider the significance which attaches to the wonderful event, we will not regard it as probable that it was limited to Palestine. What was the lesson which God wished to inculcate by the darkness which spread over the whole world during the three hours of the 15th Nisan? Jesus, the sun of the world, was setting in death, according to the flesh, and hence God willed that the natural light of the sun should also recede as a sign of mourning and of the sympathy of the whole creation, which is the work of the Logos-light (Jn. I, 1 ff.).

[6] *Apol.*, 21.
[7] Ed. Ciasca, 92.
[8] B. c. 7; ed. Tischendorf, pp. 466 f.

The enemies of Jesus, however, the Judeans, could see in the phenomenon only a threat of Heaven for the crime they had committed against Jesus, and they hardened their heart even against the language of nature and forcibly suppressed the voice of conscience. [Note 16.]

1. *Before* Jesus was nailed to the cross, wine mixed with myrrh was offered to Him to drink. The χολή mentioned by St. Matthew (XXVII, 34) is identical with the ἐσμυρνισμένον οἶνον of St. Mark (XV, 23). Myrrh (or frankincense) was added to the wine, not, as some believe, to render it bitter and unpleasant (in this case we would have to think of a sort of *posca,* or soldier's wine,[9] which was offered Our Lord to show that, as a malefactor, He was not worthy of a better drink) but the myrrh was added to improve and fortify the wine, *i. e.,* to give to it the narcotic quality peculiar to myrrh. Apuleius[10] tells of a priest of the Syrian goddess who *"sese multimodis commulcat ictibus, myrrhae contra plagarum dolores praesumptione praemunitus,"* and *"offirmatus myrrhae praesumptione nullis verberibus ac ne ipsi quidem succubuit igni."*[11] On account of the *propria atrocitas crucis*[12] the victim was put under a sort of intoxication so that the excruciating torments might be less keenly felt. The Jews were known as humane in executing the death penalty. The Old Testament seems to recommend this custom when it says: "Give strong drink to them that are unfortunate and wine to them that are grieved in mind; let them drink and forget their anguish, and remember their sorrow no more" (Prov. XXXI, 6 f.). The Talmud says that whenever anyone was sentenced to be stoned, strong wine was given him that he might not collapse. This service was rendered to all who were condemned to death by the Sanhedrin.[13]

Who furnished the myrrh-wine on the 15th Nisan, 783? The Judeans or the Roman soldiers? This is unlikely in view of their behavior. The wine was undoubtedly furnished by the *women* who accompanied Our Lord on His way to Golgotha. The Talmud expressly says that noble women of Jerusalem were wont to follow condemned criminals to the place of execution and to give them a drink. Hence we cannot be in doubt as to the motive of the women who followed Jesus and to whom He spoke

[9] Plautus, *Mil. Glor.,* III, 2, 23.
[10] *Metam.,* VIII, 185.
[11] *Ibid.,* X, 10, 232.
[12] Tertullian, *Adv. Iud.,* 10.
[13] *Aboda sara,* 12, 2; *Tanchuma,* 39, 3; *Bamidbar rabba,* 10.

on the way. They wished to render to the great Prophet this last service of charity demanded by Jewish custom.

2. Those condemned to the cross were completely stripped of their clothing before their limbs were nailed to the trunk. Artemidor testifies: *σταυρωθῆναι ἀγαθὸν τῷ πένητι, τοὺς δὲ πλουσίους βλάπτει. γυμνοὶ γὰρ σταυροῦνται.*[14] *Γυμνός* sometimes means absolute and sometimes only relative nudity (cfr. Jn. 21, 7 = clothed only with his undergarment; on the other hand, Mk. XIV, 52 = completely naked). It is not impossible, therefore, that, according to Roman custom, those to be executed were provided with a waist-cloth. Some exegetes point out that among the Greeks and Romans athletes were not permitted to take part in the games except with covered loins,[15] and that the actors in a play were obliged to wear a close-fitting garment beneath their costume;[16] but the conclusion drawn therefrom, that a violation of decency was also avoided at the crucifixion appears to me as going a little too far. It cannot be questioned that among the Romans many were crucified completely nude, and since the crucifixion of Jesus was imposed in the name of the Roman government, the supposition that Our Lord was nailed to the cross without a loin-cloth appears rather probable. Nevertheless I cannot adopt this supposition unreservedly. The coarse Roman soldiers certainly did not grant such a favor from a sense of delicacy or tenderness. They had heaped every kind of ignominy upon Jesus and no doubt were willing to inflict on Him the final shame of nailing Him to the cross naked. However, the execution of Jesus took place under the direction of the Jewish Sanhedrin, and in this matter the hierarchs certainly did *not* leave the decision to the Roman soldiers, but ordered a girding of Jesus with loin-cloth; for Jewish custom demanded this, as the Mishna shows.[17] The apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus says that Jesus was girt with a loin-cloth.[18] It is, therefore, fairly certain that Jesus wore a loin-cloth when He was crucified. The sympathetic women who followed Him on his way to Calvary, undoubtedly provided such a cloth, unless this had been previously attended to by the officials.

Did Our Lord divest Himself of His clothes, as some exegetes believe?[19] No doubt He longed for the cross and therefore was ready

[14] *Oneirocr.*, II, 61.
[15] Dio, VII, 72; Horace, *Epist.*, I, 11, 18.
[16] Juvenal, *Sat.*, VI, 70.
[17] *Sanhedr.*, VI, 3; When the one condemned to be stoned is still four yards from the place of stoning, he shall be divested of his clothes; however, he shall remain covered *a parte priori* (about the loins).
[18] A, c. 10: *περιέζωσαν αὐτὸν λέντιον.*
[19] Grimm, *Leidensgeschichte*, II, 191.

to divest Himself. Of St. Polycarp it is related that he took off his clothes before he was martyred.[20] It can hardly be assumed that Jesus was too exhausted and weakened to do this in view of Mt. XXVII, 50 and the parallel passages; however, as His clothes, especially his nether garments, stuck to His bleeding body, He evidently was not able to take them off Himself. The popular notion that the soldiers tore the garments from His body and thereby reopened all the wounds, is probably right.

3. In speaking of the nailing of Jesus to the cross all four Evangelists employ the word σταυροῦν (Mt. XXVII, 35; Mk. XV, 24[a]; Lk. XXIII, 33[a]; Jn. XIX, 18). This word became a technical term in early Christian literature and is found as such in St. Justin Martyr.[21] A synonym is προσηλοῦν, used, *c. g.*, by St. Irenaeus.[22] St. Luke (Acts II, 23) employs this verb when recording the sermon delivered by St. Peter on Pentecost. St. Ignatius[23] employs καθηλοῦν; Lucian[24] ἀνασκολοπίζειν (to impale). A peculiar word is καρφοῦν, used in the *Acta Pilati*,[25] the proper meaning of which is to shrink or shrivel. Some exegetes hold that Jesus was nailed to the cross *iacente cruce*. If this were true, then the culminating point of His suffering would have been the moment when the cross, with the body fastened to it, was let down, or rather thrust with full force into the hole dug for it. A decisive argument against this view is the idiomatic usage of both Greek and Roman writers. The latter speak of *crucem figere, ponere, statuere, constituere;* the former of σταυρὸν πηγνύναι, καταπηγνύναι, ἀνιστάναι, *i. e.*, to erect, set up the cross, and furthermore use such expressions as in *crucem agere, tollere,* ἀνασταυροῦν,[26] to lift a person up on the cross, and terms like *insilire, ascendere, excurrere in crucem,* ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸν σταυρόν, ἐπιβαίνειν τοῦ σταυροῦ. Josephus gives us a very clear idea of this procedure when he writes: ὁ μὲν (Βάσσος) προσέταξε καταπήγνυσθαι σταυρόν (*crucem defigi*), ὡς αὐτίκα κρεμῶν τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον. Accordingly the first step was the raising up and ramming down of the cross into the ground; then followed the "pushing or lifting up or conveying up" of the condemned men on the cross. Since the crosses, as a rule, were not tall, the use of a ladder and ropes was probably not necessary;

[20] Eusebius, *H. E.*, III, 15.
[21] *Apolog.*, I, 35 and 67.
[22] *Adv. Haer.*, I, 14, 6.
[23] *Ad Smyrn.*, I, 2.
[24] *De Morte Peregr.*, c. 11: τὸν μέγαν γοῦν ἐκεῖνον ἔτι σέβουσιν ἄνθρωπον τὸν ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ ἀνασκολοπίσθεντα.
[25] B. 10, 3, 305: ἐκάρφωσαν (αὐτὸν) ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ ὥρᾳ ἕκτῃ τῆς ἡμέρας.
[26] Josephus, *Ant.*, XX, 6, 2; XIII, 14, 2.

the executioners assisted the condemned in mounting to the supporting block.

4. The arms were stretched out, so that from the wrist on they rested on the cross-piece [27] and then followed the nailing (προσήλωσις). Lucian, in describing the nailing of Prometheus to a rock of the Caucasus mountains makes Hermes say: "Stretch out your right hand; and you, Hephastes, give a strong pull, drive in the nail, give the hammer a good swing; now stretch out the other hand, that it may also be nailed fast." [28] For a long time it was held that only the hands of Jesus were nailed to the cross, but the feet bound with ropes. A close examination of the Gospel account of His apparition on the morning of the Resurrection shows that on that occasion the Lord exhibited to the Apostles assembled in the Cenacle His hands and side (Jn. XX, 20), in order that they might see and touch the wounds made by the nails. But St. Luke (XXIV, 39 f.) adds that He showed them also His feet. This would have been to no purpose, had His feet not borne the imprint of the nails just like His hands. True, Thomas (Jn. XX, 25) speaks only of the imprint of the nails in Our Lord's hands and of the wound in His side, which he could see and touch. However, this is quite natural, because these three marks were necessarily very conspicuous on the body of the risen Lord, could readily be seen, and were objects easily touched. Moreover, we must bear in mind the Jewish view that three witnesses are required to prove a statement. "In the mouth of three witnesses every word shall stand" (Mt. XVIII, 16). One fails to see why the Roman soldiers should have made an exception to this rule in the case of Jesus. The Fathers of the Church positively assert that the feet as well as the hands of Jesus were nailed to the cross. St. Justin writes that the words of Ps. XXII, 18: "they have dug my hands and my feet," were an allusion to the nails which were driven through the hands and feet on the cross.[29] The same writer testifies that when they crucified Jesus they "pierced His hands and feet by driving nails through them." [30] Tertullian likewise refers to Ps. XXII, 18 and adds: "In this very thing consisted the peculiar cruelty of the crucifixion." [31] Later Fathers and ecclesiastical writers like Lactantius,[32] St. Ambrose,[33] and St. Athanasius

[27] Justin, *Apolog.*, I, 35: ἐξετάθη τὰς χεῖρας σταυρωθείς.
[28] *Dial. de Prometh.*, II; cfr. Plautus, *Mostell.*, II, 1, 12 f.: *"ut affigantur bis pedes, bis brachia."*
[29] *Apol.*, I, 35.
[30] *Dial. c. Tryph.*, 97.
[31] *Adv. Marc.*, III, 19; cfr. *Adv. Iud.*, 10.
[32] *Inst.*, IV, 18, 30.
[33] *De Obitu Theod.*

express themselves similarly. The nailing of both feet in such a manner that they were side by side and hence two nails had to be used, is more probable. The Fathers at least were of this opinion, since they place the nailing of the feet on a par with that of the hands.

5. That the inscription at the top of the cross was in three languages, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, is attested only by St. John (XIX, 20). It is true, Codex D in Lk. XXIII, 38 has ἦν δὲ καὶ ἐπιγραφὴ ἐπιγεγραμμένη ἐπ' αὐτῷ γράμμασιν Ἑλληνικοῖς, Ῥωμαϊκοῖς, Ἑβραϊκοις. ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων οὗτός ἐστιν. But this lection can hardly have originated with St. Luke; it is probably an addition made in view of Jn. XIX, 20. My opinion of Codex D of the Gospel of St. Luke by no means coincides with my opinion of Codex D of the Acts of the Apostles. The original lection in Luke simply was: ἦν δὲ καὶ ἐπιγραφὴ ἐπ' αὐτῷ· ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων οὗτος. In the *Acta Pilati* we meet with the statement: "Pilate rejected the objections of the Judeans, and caused His guilt [the cause of His death] to be written on a tablet in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew letters, as the Judeans had asserted: 'This man is the king of the Jews.'" [34] It is worthy of note that both in Codex D of St. Luke's Gospel as well as in the *Acta Pilati* the three languages are quoted in a different sequence than in the Gospel of St. John. That these three particular languages were used is quite natural in view of the conditions in Jerusalem at the time. Josephus states in two places [35] that between the first and second porch of the Temple plaza stood six pillars with Greek and Latin inscriptions, which proclaimed the laws of purification and prohibited all non-Jews from entering the inner sanctuary. By using both Latin and Greek due regard was shown for the large number of uncircumcised proselytes. Julius Capitolinus relates that the soldiers of the Emperor Gordian erected a sepulchre to him on the boundaries of Persia, with an inscription in Greek, Latin, Persian, Hebrew, and Egyptian.[36] On the inscription for the cross of Jesus, the Aramaic language was added, probably because of His Jewish extraction and to make clear to the Aramaic speaking "Hebrews" that He was "guilty." St. John offers another important supplement by using the technical term τίτλος (*titulus*). The phraseology used by SS. Matthew (XXVII, 37) and Mark (XV, 26) is quite intelligible. They wished to say: The accusation (αἰτία), the crime with which Jesus was charged, the cause of his condemnation, was written, *i. e.*, inscribed on a tablet. The custom of carrying such a tablet before condemned criminals on their way to execution is well attested.

[34] *Acta Pilati*, A 10, 1, 247.
[35] *Bell. Iud.*, V, 5, 2 and VI, 2, 4.
[36] *Gord.*, III, 34.

Suetonius relates that Caligula delivered a slave who had stolen a silver platter, to the executioner, who led him about with hands cut off, *"praecedente titulo, qui causam poenae indicaret."* [37] The same writer in his biography of Domitian,[38] states that this emperor caused a father of a family to be cast to the dogs on account of an alleged offence against the sovereign, *"hoc titulo: impie locutus parmularius."* Eusebius [39] says: The martyr Attalus was led around the arena bearing a tablet on which was written in the Latin language: "This is Attalus, the Christian." Of some interest is the account in Pseudopeter. His statement regarding the tenor of the inscription: *οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ*, as compared with the canonical *ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων* must, of course, be rejected. This alteration of the canonical account is due to the endeavor of the author to represent the Jews as acting on their own authority: they erect the cross and affix the title. If the hierarchs really did this, then *ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ* had to be substituted for *ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων* (cfr. Mk. XV, 32; Mt. XXVII, 42). As regards the time when the *τίτλος* was affixed, Pseudopeter agrees fully with St. John when he says: *ἔγραψεν δὲ καὶ τίτλον ὁ Πειλᾶτος καὶ ἐπέθηκεν ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ* (Jn. XIX, 19), thereby indicating that the title was affixed immediately after the crucifixion. The words must not, however, be understood in the sense that Pilate wrote the inscription himself, and affixed it to the cross with his own hand; the Evangelist merely wishes to say that the tenor of the inscription was fixed in the *praetorium* of the governor before it was fastened to the cross by the Roman soldiers, after the proposal of the hierarchs to change it had been rejected.

6. Pilate's motive in composing the inscription is quite clear: he wished to give vent to his ill-humor and anger against the Judeans, who by their obstinate resistance had wrested from him the crucifixion of Jesus against his better conviction and thus to take revenge on them. It is not likely that he had meanwhile reflected on the mysterious personality and attained to faith in the Messianic office of Jesus. True, some of the Fathers speak of a certain higher influence which is said to have made itself felt in the Procurator,[40] but this must be understood in the sense that Pilate acted as an instrument in the hands of Providence, as Cyril so correctly expresses it when he writes: *διὰ θείας τινὸς καὶ ἀῤῥήτου πάλιν οἰκονομίας.*[41] Without being aware of the fact, Pilate made

[37] *Caligula*, 32.
[38] *Domit.*, 10.
[39] *H. E.*, V, 1, 44.
[40] Cfr. St. Augustine, *Tract. in Ioa.*, 118, 5.
[41] *In Ioa.*, XIX, 20.

known to the whole world that the man crucified on Golgotha between two malefactors was Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews. In a similar manner Caiphas a short time before had unwittingly spoken the truth when he said: "It is expedient that one man should die for the benefit of the nation" (Jn. XI, 50 f.).

The choice of the three languages mentioned is explained by Pilate's endeavor to deride, in the presence of the large number of people at that time in Jerusalem, the Jewish nation and especially its rulers, on account of their dreams of a kingdom. In all the principal languages of the nations he wished to proclaim that the Messianic expectations of the Jews were nailed to the cross and thus forever frustrated. But the words which the Governor caused to be written in three languages for the purpose of mocking the Jewish nation, contained the plain truth, and the whole world could read the verdict: *In Jesus of Nazareth (His earthly home) there appeared the King of the Jews, the Messias and Saviour of the world, and was crucified.* Surely not a few were able to read in all three languages the sentence pronounced on the Godman; of the remainder, some were familiar with Hebrew (Aramaic), others with Greek or Latin. The Jews were wont to say: There are three languages—Hebrew for prayer, Latin for war, and Greek for eloquence and polite society.[42] These three languages, by being employed in the title on the cross, have received a kind of consecration, as they had already received before from the fact that Our Lord used them during His earthly career. It is, of course, not true, what was believed for a while, that men can pray only in these three languages.[43] However, their close connection with the work of redemption is undeniable, and for reasons which need not be discussed here, these three languages are and will always remain indispensable for the theologian.

7. The division of Christ's garments precedes the affixing of the inscription in the Synoptics and follows it in St. John. The latter's account must be made the basis of chronological calculation. Pseudopeter follows the Johannine order when, after mentioning the τίτλος, he adds the words: "Having spread out the garments, they divided them and cast lots for them (τὰ ἐνδύματα διεμερίσαντο καὶ λαχμὸν ἔβαλλον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς). The latter phrase was probably chosen in view of the Johannean λάχωμεν περὶ αὐτοῦ (Jn. XIX, 24). As to the material part, the author, after the example of the Synoptics, designates all the clothes of Jesus, including the seamless coat by ἐνδύματα (= ἱμάτια) and represents the soldiers

[42] *Midrash, Tillim,* 25, 4.

[43] This view is combated in a Frankfort Capitulary of Charlemagne of the year 794.

as casting lots for them as a whole. The meaning can only be that they distributed the garments by casting lots for them. For deciding the controversy we gain nothing from Pseudopeter, and just as little from St. Justin, who writes: [44] "Those who crucified him cast lots for his clothes and divided them among themselves." Ἱματισμός here may be a translation of the Hebrew term for χιτών. However, in two other passages St. Justin evidently uses the word in a collective sense = τὰ ἱμάτια. These passages are: *Dial. c. Tryph.*, 97 and 104, where he speaks of a distribution of the garments (τὰ ἱμάτια) by the soldiers by means of lots. Although St. Justin in the last mentioned passage employs the expression λαχμὸν βάλλοντες, which recalls the λάχωμεν in Jn. XIX, 24, he nevertheless for the rest follows the somewhat unclear presentation of the Synoptics. St. Cyril of Jerusalem, on the other hand, definitely speaks of a separate casting of lots for the coat: καὶ λαχμὸν περὶ τούτου (τοῦ χιτῶνος) γίνεται τοῖς στρατιώταις.[45] In the Fourth Gospel we must observe especially the words: μὴ σχίσωμεν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ λάχωμεν περὶ αὐτοῦ. The soldiers say: We will not divide the coat, but cast lots for it, thereby showing that they had done some tearing before, *i. e.*, of the cloak. There were four men (τετράδιον στρατιωτῶν; cfr. Acts XII, 4), and these four, after the crucifixion, scrambled for the cloak, ripped the seams, and made four pieces out of one. The sandals, the girdle, and the head-covering they certainly did not divide into pieces, but placed in portions with the four pieces of the cloak. When they came to the coat and saw that it was woven of a single piece of cloth, they unanimously protested against a division of it into four parts and agreed to decide by lot whose it should be. We need not be surprised that the Evangelist, who at other times soars like an eagle to sublime heights, goes so deeply into these "trivial details" (Nebe). His object is to show the fulfilment of a prophecy which appears to him essential and of the highest importance.

As to how the four portions were divided, St. John says nothing. Perhaps it was done by a successive choice according to the age or time of service of the soldiers, or perhaps they let luck decide, one of them turning his face away or being blindfolded and then asked at each portion by the other three: "Whose shall this be?" For the seamless coat they are supposed to have played dice. This view does not appear probable to me. In the first place it can hardly be assumed that the soldiers, when starting for the place of execution, provided themselves with dice. Then again, according to the *Lex Titia et Cornelia,* the Romans were not permitted to play at dice except during the Saturnalia,

[44] *Apol.*, I, 35.
[45] *Catech.*, XIII, 26.

and the Roman soldiers would hardly have dared to violate the law so openly in the presence of their officer. One would rather think of lots, which were put into a helmet or some other receptacle and shaken or drawn out. I am inclined to think that the finger-game (*micare digitis*), so popular among the Romans, was employed; one of the players stretched forth his fingers and the one who was quickest in stating the number of outstretched fingers won.

8. The first class of those who blaspheme Our Lord on the cross, namely, the passers-by, quote a saying of His, but in garbled form: "Thou that destroyest the temple and in three days dost rebuild it." The wording differs from that employed by Jesus in Jn. II, 19. From Mt. XXVI, 61 we see that the false witnesses garbled the utterance at the trial, and in this incorrect form "they that passed by" had become aware of it shortly before in the city. These mockers speak of Jesus not as the supposed king of Israel or Messias, but address him by ὁ καταλύων καὶ οἰκοδομῶν. The present participle with the article often serves as a substitute for a noun with the ending -της, in Latin -*tor;* the participle with the article may, therefore, here signify a constant behavior (cfr. ἡ ἀποκτείνουσα; Mt. XXIII, 37). However, this meaning is here excluded, as ὁ παταλύων takes the place of a vocative = Thou who boastedst, as it is said, or who didst claim to possess the power to destroy the Temple and rebuild it in three days, show thy power and free thyself from thy predicament. St. Justin repeatedly speaks of the derision of the crucified Saviour by members of the Sanhedrin.[46] He points to Ps. XXII, 8 f. and continues: "All this Christ received at the hands of the Jews; for when he was crucified, they puckered up their lips (ἐξέστρεφον τὰ χείλη) and wagged their heads, crying out: He who raised *the dead to life,* let him free himself!" Note the allusion to the raising of the dead. According to Ephrem, these deriders cried up to the cross: *"O vivificator Lazari, vivifica te ipsum!"* [47] And again: *"Hunc vivificavit et se ipsum non potest vivificare."* [48] Whether this is merely an addition and embellishment or a reliable extra-canonical tradition, it is difficult to decide. In the *Acta Pilati* [49] mention is made of the raising of the dead when speaking of the mockery. Note the Hebraism in Mt. XXVII, 42: παταβάτω νῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ, καὶ πιστεύσομεν ἐπ' αὐτόν. St. Mark (XV, 32) eliminates this by writing: καταβάτω νῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ, ἵνα ἴδωμεν καὶ πιστεύσωμεν. This is a small but weighty argument in favor of the

[46] *Dial.,* 101; *Apol.* I, 38.
[47] Ephraem Syr., ed. Moesinger, 202.
[48] *L. c.,* 249.
[49] B X, 5, 308.

priority of Matthew. As the *εἰ θέλει αὐτόν* (XXVII, 43 and Ps. XXII, 3: to take pleasure in, to be pleased with a person), is characteristic of St. Matthew, so the classic phrase *ἐκμυκτηρίζειν* (to turn up one's nose, to sneer, to mock, *suspendere aliquem naso adunco*) is of St. Luke (XXIII, 35). The third Evangelist says that Jesus was mocked and blasphemed not only by the Jews, but also by the Roman soldiers (XXIII, 36, 37), who made sport of His pretended royal dignity and gave Him vinegar to drink. Most exegetes hold that St. Luke here reports not an independent occurrence, but merely anticipates the drink of vinegar which according to the other Evangelists was given to Jesus shortly before His death. Nebe has attempted to show that St. Luke had in view a special occurrence not at all identical with the giving of the drink. We cannot agree with him. True, the soldiers mocked Our Lord already in the *praetorium,* and it is quite natural that the example set by the hierarchs moved the soldiers to insult Him again. But we must mark well the weighty phrase *ὄξος προσφέροντες αὐτῷ*. The giving of vinegar to Jesus shortly before His death is a highly significant occurrence which St. Luke could hardly omit. Now, since he does not report it immediately before the death of Jesus, we must presume that he anticipates it (XXIII, 36) in a different connection. Lk XXIII, 33 ff., makes it evident that the third Evangelist deviated more or less from the chronological order, especially in narrating the incident of the *τίτλος* after instead of before the mocking. Because a mocking was connected also with the giving of the vinegar (Mk. XV, 36), Luke joins the deed to the mocking of Jesus by the hierarchs and others.

Another point must be discussed here. Codex D in Lk. XXIII, 37 has the reading: *λέγοντες· χαῖρε, ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων, περιτιθέντες αὐτῷ καὶ ἀκάνθινον* (*Ave, rex Iudaeorum, imponentes illi et de spinis coronam*). One might be tempted to disregard this lection if it stood alone; but in matter of fact it is seconded by the Codex Syr. Curet.: *λέγονετς· χαῖρε, εἰ σὺ εἶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων, σῶσον σουτόν καὶ ἐπέθηκαν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ στέφανον ἐξ ἀκανθῶν*. Furthermore, the important old Latin Codex Colb. has: *"Ave, rex Iudaeorum, salva temetipsum."* Finally, the *Acta Pilati*[50] have: *ἐξέδυσαν αὐτὸν* (Jesus after His arrival on Golgotha) *τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ καὶ περιέζωσαν αὐτὸν λέντιον, καὶ στέφανον ἐξ ἀκανθῶν περιέθηκαν αὐτῷ περὶ τὴν κεφαλήν*. Resch believes that in the above-quoted texts the crowning of Jesus with thorns is transferred to Golgotha, though, according to the canonical Gospels it was done in the *praetorium.* I beg to differ. The crowning of Jesus was, of course, done on Sion in the palace of the Procurator; but it was repeated, so to speak, on

[50] A X, 1, 246.

Golgotha. The clothes could not have been removed from Jesus without taking off the crown of thorns, if He had worn it on the way to Golgotha. The assumption is that when He had been divested of His garments and covered with the loin-cloth, the soldiers replaced the crown of thorns on His head. However, in view of Lk. XXIII, 36 f., it is more probable that this was not done until after He had been nailed to the cross. Thus Jesus again wore the crown on the cross, and the soldiers mockingly saluted him as King of the Jews.

For correctly estimating the relations of the Synoptics to one another, the account of the mocking of Jesus, especially by the hierarchs, is of great importance. One feels that all three took a lively interest in this incident, but St. Matthew shows a manifest tendency to demonstrate the fulfilment of the Old Testament prophecies (Ps. XXII; cfr. Is. LIII, 2 ff.). Though he does not cite this Psalm literally, the words which he puts into the mouth of the hierarchs are, as a matter of fact, the very words of Scripture. The scene is exceedingly tragic: the Jews mock and scorn the anointed of the Lord; but He who dwells in Heaven laughs and mocks at them; He turns their mockery into derision as it were, and demonstrates to His Son, that He who is mocked and derided, really receives praise and honor. St. Mark omits the words suggestive of Ps. XXII and uses another term to designate the mockery of Jesus, namely, ὁ χριστὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ ἐκλεκτός (= thrice blessed of God).

9. When were the two thieves sentenced? The Evangelists say nothing on this point. The fact must, however, have occurred not earlier than the morning of the 15th Nisan, after the liberation of Barabbas. Their guilt evidently had been established before. Pilate would not have had time for this on the first festival day of Easter and, moreover, the Jews could not have been summoned on the Sabbath and Sabbatical days to give testimony. Accordingly the trial of the two men must have taken place before the passah, and all that remained to be done was the promulgation of the sentence. Pilate undoubtedly did this immediately after the liberation of Barabbas. *Per se* the people had the choice between the different delinquents, but Pilate had placed Barabbas in opposition to Jesus, because this man was a notorious malefactor. The right of the Jewish people to petition for pardon made it necessary to defer the announcement of the sentence to the morning of the 15th Nisan, because one who was formally condemned could be pardoned only by the emperor, not by a simple judge. The command to execute the two criminals together emanated from Pilate. St. Luke, it is true, uses the general expression: ἤγοντο δὲ καὶ ἕτεροι δύο κακοῦργοι σὺν αὐτῷ

ἀναιρεθῆναι. He could say ἕτεροι δύο κακοῦργοι without hesitation and without fear of being misunderstood. Anyone at all familiar with the Greek idiom would understand the phrase correctly in the sense of: "two others, namely, malefactors," or: "two others, and they were malefactors." [51] Some exegetes have discovered a special motive for the simultaneous leading forth and execution of Jesus and the two thieves. They say that Pilate did not intend to disgrace Jesus, but to insult the high priests and the entire Jewish nation. The two thieves should represent the subjects of the Jewish king, *i. e.*, the Jews, and so be a spectacle to the people. However, we cannot see how Pilate could have acted otherwise than he did. The Judeans, by turning Jesus over to Pilate, desired to have Him condemned to the Roman penalty of crucifixion for high treason, Jesus was to suffer this penalty on the ordinary day of crucifixion, the 15th Nisan, and Pilate decided that their wish should be complied with (Lk. XXIII, 23, 25). From this it naturally follows that Jesus was led forth and put to death together with the other criminals on the 15th Nisan, and no special design or motive against Jesus or the Jews can be assumed.

By crucifying Jesus between two malefactors, a prophecy (Is. LIII, 12) was fulfilled, as Mark (XV, 28) observes, but the authenticity of this passage is questionable, since codices Aleph, B, A, and D do not contain it. It is strange that Mark, not Matthew, should have recorded the fulfilment of this prophecy. The placing of Jesus between the two thieves was a piece of consummate malice, which can hardly be attributed to the Procurator, who was not present and surely had not given the soldiers or their leader any detailed instructions. Nebe's assertion that the Roman soldiers must be regarded as the authors of the incident does not appeal to us at all. While it is true that the soldiers in the *praetorium* mocked Jesus with a purple cloak, a crown of thorns and a scepter; we have no reason to assume that it was they who offered the greatest affront to the King of the Jews on Golgotha by crucifying Him between two malefactors and thus branding Him as a captain of brigands, as the leader of a band of villains. The hierarchs alone were capable of such deep-dyed malice, and it was they who in their profound hatred of Jesus prepared for Him the "place of honor" among criminals. They were the leaders of the cortège to Golgotha and issued the necessary orders to the executioners. Since these orders did not conflict with the general instructions of the Procurator, the soldiers readily obeyed the hierarchs.

[51] Cfr. Lk. X, 1: ἑτέρους ἑβδομήκοντα and the frequent combinations with ἄλλος, *e. g.*, οἱ ἄλλοι ξένοι, the others, namely, the strangers.

The *names of the two thieves* are transmitted to us by the *Acta Pilati;*[52] however, we meet in the apocryphal literature also with other names, such as Titus and Dumachus. The impenitent thief addresses to Our Lord the question: "Art not thou the Christ?" (*οὐχὶ σὺ ὁ χριστός* is the original reading, Lk. XXIII, 39) and mockingly adds: "Well; if thou art, help thyself and us." He acts as if his companion on the right side of Jesus had commissioned him to speak in his name. This man, who hardened his heart against the terrors of death and judgment, has also, alas, become a type. In every age there have been some who on their way to execution and with their last breath have mocked and derided God and died with a curse upon their lips. With extraordinary care and a masterly hand St. Luke has painted the picture of the penitent thief. Dysmas uses pure and pleasing language (note the *ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ κρίματι εἶ* [XXIII, 40], and especially, *ἄξια γὰρ ὧν ἐπράξαμεν ἀπολαμβάνομεν· οὗτος δὲ οὐδὲν ἄτοπον ἔπραξεν* [XXIII, 41].) A striking characteristic is the genuinely Lucan term *ἄτοπον* (Acts XXV, 5 and XXVIII, 6), as well as *πράσσειν, i. e.,* to commit, perpetrate, *scil.,* evil deeds (cfr. Lk. XXII, 23; XXIII, 15). Jesus had done no wrong, no crime, not even an unbecoming deed can be charged against Him. The expression is evidently St. Luke's, but here, as so often, his skill in rendering Aramaic expressions into Greek challenges our admiration. For it can hardly be doubted that the two thieves were Jews and spoke Aramaic; they had been arrested on Jewish territory and (on account of the Easter sabbath) were not permitted to carry their crosses to Golgotha (a conclusion drawn from Jn. XIX, 17). Therefore the repeatedly advanced theory that the penitent thief was a pagan must be rejected as untenable. Pseudopeter (v. 13 and 14) puts into the mouth of Dysmas the words: *ἡμεῖς διὰ τὰ κακά, ἃ ἐποιήσαμεν, οὕτω πεπόνθαμεν, οὗτος δὲ σωτὴρ γενόμενος τῶν ἀνθρώπων τί ἠδίκησεν ὑμᾶς.* This sounds like the language of a convert from paganism, however, the arbitrary reconstruction of the entire scene by the author of this apocryphal work is quite apparent. *Παράδεισος*, originally an Armenian word meaning a park, had received currency in Hebrew and consequently was readily understood by the two thieves. Pseudopeter immediately continues: "And they [the Judeans] were angry at him and commanded that his bones be not broken, in order that he might die in torments" (v. 19). Others represent the penitent thief as a hot-headed nationalist and religious fanatic, who rebelled against the Romans and was taken prisoner by them. This theory is contrary to the spirit of the Gospels, which introduce the two men as real brigands and

[52] B X, 6, 308.

malefactors, and cannot be reconciled with the account of Luke, who here, as so often in his gospel, essays to describe the victory of grace and the mercy of God toward the sinner. The conversion of the penitent thief in the last moments of his life is a miracle of grace, comparable to the splitting of the rock of Calvary, and it is derogatory to divine grace and to the honor of God to attempt to save the honor of the robber by proving his comparative innocence.

10. Christ's first utterance on the cross (Lk. XXII, 34[a]: ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἔλεγεν· Πάτερ, ἄφες αὐτοῖς. οὐ γὰρ οἴδασιν, τί ποιοῦσιν) is undoubtedly genuine, even though it is missing in Codices D, B, and Syr. Sinait., and also in a few minuscules and translations, and in three good Itala manuscripts. The passage is sufficiently attested by the Greek Sinaiticus, the Alexandrinus, the Cod. Colb., Palat., Vindob., and numerous others, as also by Tatian, Hegesippus[53] and St. Irenaeus. Nestle received the word into his edition of the Gospels, and Harnack has also, though very cautiously, asserted its genuineness. Harnack declares the authenticity of the passage to be not altogether beyond doubt, but very probable, and strongly disapproves of eliminating it from the text of Luke. However, this scholar's statements, in so far as they do not refer to the external attestation of the verse, cannot lay claim to universal approval. He has succeeded in refuting the assumption that the prayer of Our Lord was introduced into the text about the first half of the second century. He says: If the words are a later addition, it is surprising that not a single manuscript has the verse, either in the text of Matthew or that of Mark, who in this passage fully agrees with Luke. If it was so necessary at this place to read into the text a prayer of Our Lord for His enemies, one does not understand why this necessity manifests itself only in one text. This argument is truly convincing. We also agree with Harnack when he says that the reference to Acts VII, 60 (κύριε, μὴ στήσῃς αὐτοῖς ταύτην τὴν ἁμαρτίαν) as the starting-point of the alleged addition proves nothing. Here we must evidently say: Stephen, when praying for his enemies, imitated the example of Our Lord on the cross; the deacon's prayer was not the model for the saying of Jesus now contained in the text of St. Luke; moreover, the wording of both does not agree. Harnack maintains that the principal difference consists in this, that by the αὐτοῖς in the prayer of Stephen are meant the Jews who stoned the deacon, and in the prayer of Jesus in Luke the Roman soldier; but we must reject this interpretation. To refer the αὐτοῖς to the soldiers, it is true, appears quite

[53] In Eusebius, *H. E.*, II, 23, 16.

plausible, because they performed the crucifixion at the moment when Jesus uttered the prayer. However, the one-sided reference to them must appear dubious, because Luke does not expressly mention the soldiers as the σταυροῦντες, but only later (XXIII, 36) represents them as taking part in the mockery. But, it will be retorted, Luke's account is somewhat inexact; according to the other Evangelists Jesus was nailed to the cross by the soldiers. True; but in doing so, the soldiers merely carried out their orders. On the morning of the 15th Nisan it was the duty of the Roman soldiers to crucify Jesus as well as the two robbers without contradiction or delay. In the *praetorium* these rough soldiers had subjected Our Lord to insults and derision and thereby incurred grave guilt. However, a reference to this sinful deed is not warranted by the statement in Lk. XV, 34 (τί ποιοῦσιν). That they committed a further sin when they nailed Jesus to the cross, is nowhere stated by the Evangelists; the subsequent scoffing cannot be included in ποιοῦσιν. The soldiers are therefore not the only persons for whom Jesus prayed to His Father.

Did He perhaps pray for Pilate? It has been asserted that Pilate intervened decisively in the fate of Jesus by condemning Him to die on the cross. To be sure; but he knew what he was doing. Though he did not realize the divinity of Jesus, he was convinced of His righteousness and innocence, and in spite of this, out of weakness and human respect, he yielded to the impetuous demands of the Jews. Pilate undoubtedly contracted a guilt by his behavior, but according to the Evangelists, especially St. John (XIX, 11), it was not he who was the author of Christ's crucifixion. This responsibility rests on the Sanhedrists, who, led and influenced by Caiphas and the Jewish people, especially the inhabitants of Jerusalem, were the real murderers of Jesus—the hierarchs and Sanhedrists in consequence of their egotism and religious bigotry, the people through their blindness and undue deference to their rulers. But neither the Sanhedrists nor the Jewish people realized what they were doing when they crucified Jesus; they did not believe or know that He was the Messias and the Son of God; had they recognized Him as such, they would never have crucified the "Lord of glory" (Acts II, 23; III 13–17; XII, 27; 1 Cor. II, 8). In their ignorance they imagined they were doing God a service; but because their unbelief and ignorance were culpable, the crucified Saviour pleaded with the Father in their behalf for leniency and forgiveness, *i. e.*, for time and an opportunity for a change of heart and penance. God granted this petition by a period of grace of forty years, which He vouchsafed to give to the city of Jerusalem. During the time that elapsed between the death of Jesus and the destruction of the city, many Jews, among

them citizens of Jerusalem, even priests (Acts II, 7) and Pharisees (cfr. Acts XI, 1 ff.; XV, 5), embraced Christianity. It must be admitted that Christ's prayer for His executioners, namely, the Jewish officials and people, requires a great deal of discernment on the part of the reader, and were it not that we possess in the quoted passages of Scripture an authentic commentary on this prayer, it would scarcely be possible to grasp its significance and purpose. Precisely because this prayer presents difficulties, we comprehend the umbrage taken at it by many exegetes and their demand that it be eliminated from the text. St. Stephen's prayer for his enemies, who were also the Sanhedrists and the people of Jerusalem, is in no wise objectionable, as if it had been the original of Christ's prayer found in many manuscripts of St. Luke's Gospel. Stephen, filled with the Holy Spirit, and seeing the fate prepared for him by the Jews, was naturally reminded of the proceedings of the Jews against Jesus and moved to imitate His example by invoking the divine forgiveness, as later on (A. D. 62) James, the brother of Our Lord,[54] also did. In the *Didascalia* there is a reference to the prayer of Jesus: *"Pater, nec quid fecerunt nec quid dicunt sciunt; si possibile est, remittes illis.*[55] Corssen has found fault with this text because, he says, Our Lord addressed His petition to God solely for the Roman soldiers, not for the Jews, as the author of the *Didascalia* seems to imagine. This censure is unwarranted.

11. Whosoever is not predisposed to discover a discrepancy between the Synoptics and St. John, will interpret Jn. XIX, 25 as we do. The silence of SS. Matthew and Mark regarding the mother of Jesus may seem strange and likewise the summary narrative of St. Luke (XXIII, 49), because this really touching scene would admirably suit the character of the third Gospel. However, this silence of the Synoptics is traceable through the entire history of the Passion and glorification of Christ. We are not informed how the mother of Jesus came from Galilee to Judea; we can infer indirectly that, with the Galilean women, she followed her Son on His last journey to Jerusalem (cfr. Lk. XXIII, 49). The three first Evangelists tell us nothing about her whereabouts in the evening and during the night of the 14th to the 15th Nisan, nothing of her participation in the burial of Jesus on the evening of the 15th, or of a visit to the sepulchre on the morning of the 17th; nothing of her whereabouts and attitude on the day of the Resurrection and in the subsequent period. One solitary remark in Acts I, 14 throws a faint light into this obscurity. The fourth Evangelist felt it

[54] Hegesippus in Eusebius *H. E.*, II, 23, 16.
[55] *Didasc. Apost. Fragm. Veron. Lat.*, 46, 2; ed. Hauler, 65.

his duty to touch upon the last will and testament of his beloved Master and to demonstrate the privilege of calling himself ὁ μαθητὴς ὃν ἠγάπα ὁ Ἰησοῦς (XIX, 26), and thus one of the most precious pearls of sacred history has been transmitted to us. Three Marys stood near (or under) the cross, says Jerome;[56] Mary, the mother of Jesus; Mary, the wife of Clopas; and Mary, the penitent of Magdala. Mary, the mother of Jesus, and Mary, the wife of Clopas, were not sisters by blood—the common name argues against such a relation—but the latter was a sister-in-law of Joseph. She had four sons: Simon, Joseph, Jacob, and Judas (Mt. XXVII, 56; XIII, 55; Mk. XV, 40), who were, therefore, not brothers, but cousins of Jesus. Perhaps Joseph, after the death of his brother Clopas, adopted his children, who were consequently called "brothers of Jesus." Under these circumstances we can understand why Mary, the mother of Jesus, was given in charge of St. John, because the "brothers of Jesus," as sons of Mary Clopae, had to provide for the latter.

According to St. Mark other women besides those mentioned by name were present on Golgotha. They had served Jesus before and now accompanied Him on His last journey to Judea (XV, 40; cfr. Mt. XXVII, 55). According to St. Luke (XXIII, 49) there were also some men, "acquaintances, who stood afar off." Are the Apostles included in this group? Some exegetes say no, because the absence of the μαθηταί had been expressly foretold by Our Lord Himself (Mt. XXVI, 31; Mk. XIV, 27). But οἱ γνωστοί are probably identical with οἱ μαθηταί. The disciples of Jesus, taking the term in its restricted as well as in its wider sense, were present on Calvary. The prophecy about the flight and dispersion of the disciples was fulfilled in the night from the 14th to the 15th Nisan, when Jesus was apprehended on Mt. Olivet. By and by they assembled again, and when Jesus was expiring on the cross, they were among the spectators. True, St. Justin[57] writes: "When Jesus had been crucified, His acquaintances (οἱ γνώριμοι αὐτοῦ πάντες = μαθηταί) apostatized from and repudiated Him." Resch regards this statement as a complete parallel to Lk. XXIII, 49 and takes the Lucan μακρόθεν ἑστηκέναι as an equivalent of ἀποστῆναι = φεύγειν. Moreover, he sees in the account of the apocryphal Gospel of Peter an objective supplement to the canonical Gospels. Pseudopeter says: "I [Peter], however, mourned with my companions, and with a bewildered mind we hid ourselves" (v. 26); "we fasted and sat mourning and weeping day and night" (v. 27). He evidently refers to a later period, to the time after the death and burial of Jesus, whereas St. Luke (XXIII, 49)

[56] *Epist.*, 127.
[57] *Apolog.*, I, 50.

refers to the time of the events on Calvary and the death of Jesus. St. Justin's account is inexact; instead of μετὰ τὸ σταυρωθῆναι αὐτόν he should have said: μετὰ τὸ κρατηθῆναι: at that time they fled and denied Jesus (cfr. Mk. XIV, 50; Jn. XVIII, 17, 25, 27).

The sentiments of the Apostles and of the other disciples after the death of Jesus are described in detail in the Gospels. Shaken like wheat in a sieve (Lk. XXII, 31 f.), they were tossed to and fro between faith and unbelief (cfr. Jn. XX, 27); but their love for Jesus suffered no impairment, as is proved by the tears which they shed (Mk. XVI, 10; cfr. Mt. IX, 15; Lk. XXIV, 17), whilst everybody around them triumphed (Jn. XVI, 20). The discouraged disciples after the expiration of Jesus sadly departed from Golgotha and hid themselves for fear of the Judeans. According to the apocryphal Gospel of Peter they were hunted by the enemies of Jesus ὡς κακοῦργοι καὶ ὡς τὸν ναὸν θέλοντες ἐμπρῆσαι (v. 26). The "acquaintances" of Jesus mentioned by St. Luke, who stood afar off and looked on, must have been His disciples, in particular the Apostles. The reason they stood afar off, in part at least, was fear, and it is worthy of note that only four women and the beloved disciple had courage enough to approach closely to the cross. Mary, the most blessed among women (Lk. I, 29), boldly and resolutely takes her stand near the cross, so that the prophecy of Simeon may be fulfilled: "Thy own soul a sword shall pierce" (Lk. II, 35). Outwardly she showed a calm composure and did not give expression to the anguish in her soul by loud lamentations and conspicuous demonstrations of grief. It is precisely in this silent endurance that she shows her strength of soul and moves us to compassion. May the time soon come when, together with us, all men will recite the "Stabat Mater" with understanding and appreciation, and thus honor the "Mother of Sorrows," who, standing near the tree of life, atoned for the entire race! Since to her apply the words: "All ye who pass by, attend and see if there be a sorrow like unto mine," we will fly to her and willingly bear the disgrace of being called "Mariolaters," "worshippers of Mary." In the person of St. John, Jesus placed us under the protection of Mary, and appointed her our mother; by justification we were made sons of God and, therefore, brethren of Christ (through grace).

12. Resch takes the view that the thirst of the crucified Lord was quenched but once, with vinegar. As a matter of fact all four Evangelists report that He was given vinegar to drink, and St. John, who was the last to write, places the incident shortly before His death. But Matthew (XXVII, 34) and Mark (XV, 23) also speak of a quenching with myrrh-wine immediately before Jesus was nailed to the cross. We have

here two entirely different incidents. Myrrh-wine was, as a rule, given to those about to be crucified to put them into a temporary stupor. The second incident is described by St. John as follows: "Now there was a vessel set there full of vinegar, and they, putting a sponge full of vinegar about hyssop, put it to his mouth" (XIX, 29). What kind of a drink was this? Many exegetes take ὄξος to be a kind of vinegar mixed with water, or a sour wine, the ordinary beverage of the Roman soldiers, sometimes also of the generals and commanders, like Scipio, Metellus, Trajan, Hadrian. The common people also made use of it. According to this interpretation it would seem that the squad who had charge of the crucifixion of Jesus, carried with them a flask of vinegar, and that one of them, touched with compassion, gave Jesus a drink when He said He was thirsty. But how are we to account for the sponge and the reed, or hyssop, if the vessel was a flask filled with soldiers' wine? The soldiers certainly did not use a sponge when drinking, no more than do the soldiers of modern times when they drink wine or coffee from a field-flask. Therefore there is question here of a vessel filled with vinegar, taken to the place of execution for a different purpose; the soldiers had taken the vessel along, not for their own sake, but for the sake of those who were to be crucified. The vessel with vinegar, the sponge and the hyssop belonged together and were ordinary appurtenances of a crucifixion. But why was it customary to give a drink to those about to be crucified? In order to allay their thirst, increased by the pain and loss of blood, answer many exegetes. But there is no reason to assume that anyone was anxious to alleviate the torments of those condemned to die on the cross. We rather surmise the very opposite when we consider the purpose in imposing this form of death. The giving of myrrh-wine before nailing the victim to the cross was the only indication of pity; as for the rest, those crucified were, from the moment they were nailed to the cross, abandoned to their fate, so that they not seldom lived through the night and the following day, awaiting death in torments.[58] Accordingly it is not probable that the vinegar was given to hasten death. No! since fainting spells often occurred in those crucified, the intention was to restore consciousness and prolong their agony by giving them vinegar.[59] For this purpose undoubtedly a vessel filled with vinegar and a sponge and a reed were taken along when Jesus was crucified. The circumstance that the vessel intended for Jesus was still full shortly before His death (Jn. XIX, 29), leads us to infer that He did not have a fainting spell. When the soldiers

[58] Origen, *Com. Ser.*, 140.
[59] Cfr. Aristophanes, *Ranae*, 484–493; Arrian., *Epict.*, I, 11.

heard Him cry: "I thirst," they gave Him of this vinegar to quench His thirst; however, this was done solely in response to His call and in consequence of a misunderstanding of the words: "Eli, Eli." We have no right to alter the text of John XIX, 29 by changing καὶ ὑσσώπῳ περιθέντες into ὑσσῷ (ὁ ὑσσός = javelin, dart) or ξύστῳ (*hastula longior*), The hyssop-stalk, it is true, is no longer than about 1 or 1½ ft.; however, such a stalk sufficed to serve as a reed, because the crosses were much lower than is commonly believed.

Who was it that answered Christ's request for a drink? On this point there are many and various opinions. I shall confine myself to describing the facts as they appear to me after a careful examination. Jesus first cried: "I thirst" and immediately afterwards He spoke with a loud voice: "Eloi, Eloi." The soldiers of Pilate were mostly Syrians,[60] Caesareans and Sebastians,[61] who understood the Jewish language, and, who, while stationed in Jerusalem, had often heard people speak of Elias and his mission to introduce the Messias into his kingdom. Therefore, when they heard the cry "Eloi, Eloi," some of them said: "This man calleth Elias" (Mt. XXVII, 47; Mk. XV, 35). Immediately one of the soldiers took a sponge and filled it with vinegar for the purpose of giving Jesus a drink. But the other soldiers said: "Let be, let us see whether Elias will come to deliver him" (Mt. XXVII, 49). Then the first soldier said: Let me alone, hinder me not in carrying out my design (cfr. Jn. XII, 7: ἄφετε, which must here necessarily be taken according to the context); let us see whether Elias will come to release him (Mk. XV, 36). The soldier apparently meant: I want to prolong His life by giving him a drink and thereby give Elias a chance to appear and take him down from the cross. This is a coarse piece of ribaldry, worthy of a rude soldier. He carried out his purpose, and the others gave up their opposition. St. John omits this conversation and condenses the whole incident into the words: "They filled a sponge full of vinegar and put it to his mouth." It is strange that anyone should advance the assertion that those who gave Jesus to drink were Jews, as if the vessel with vinegar and the reed had been at the disposal of the Jews, in spite of the fact that St. Luke expressly designates the Roman soldiers as the men who gave the vinegar to Our Lord. Some think that οἱ ἐκεῖ ἑστῶτες (Mt. XXVII, 47) and οἱ λοιποί (Mt. XXVII, 49) must be interpreted as referring to the Jews because the Roman soldiers did not stand under the cross, but sat on the ground (Mt. XXVII, 36). This is absurd. The soldiers surely arose when the darkness set in. They did not

[60] Cfr. Josephus, *Ant.*, XX, 8, 7.
[61] Josephus, *Bell. Iud.*, II, 13, 7.

perform an act of charity toward Jesus, but treated Him as a malefactor by giving Him vinegar whilst He hung on the gibbet. Hence their taunts are quite comprehensible. According to St. Luke (XXIII, 37), they also said: If thou be the king of the Jews, save thyself: thou wilt then have no need of calling on Elias for help; as king of the Jews, save thyself. The anticipation of the incident in St. Luke need not surprise us; for we not seldom meet with such in His Gospel (cfr. especially IV, 16 ff.); it was caused by the Evangelist's desire to assemble all the mockeries first and later the touching scenes.

13. The cry of Jesus concerning His dereliction varies in the codices. In Mt. XXVII, 46 the correct reading probably is: Ἠλεί, ἠλεί, λεμὰ σοβαχθανεί; in Mk. XV, 34: ἐλωΐ, ἐλωΐ, λαμὰ σαβαχθανεί. In interpreting this phrase, St. Mark puts the nominative case instead of the vocative: ὁ θεός μου, ὁ θεός μου, whilst St. Matthew has the vocative: θεέ μου, and instead of ἵνα τί St. Mark writes, εἰς τί. It may be considered as established that Jesus cried ἠλεί, my God, as we read in the *textus receptus* of St. Matthew. For this word alone could furnish occasion for the jest: "He calls Elias." The word λεμά in St. Matthew, and still more in St. Mark, is Hebrew, or rather formed after the Hebrew; the σαβαχθανεί has more the appearance of Aramaic. On account of the reading ζαφθανεί (Codex D) one would be inclined to take the Hebrew wording as the original and the mixed text in the canonical gospel as a later version, fashioned after Ps. XXII, 1. Since the σαβαχθανεί in Matthew and Mark must be regarded as the original reading, we cannot doubt that Jesus uttered the cry of abandonment in the Aramaic tongue, and the words ἠλί, ἠλί in the Hebrew form conform to Ps. XXII, 1, as Epiphanius[62] has remarked. Codex D, instead of the canonical ἐγκατέλιπές με, has the very peculiar ὠνείδισάς με: Codex Colbertinus: *exprobasti me"*; Codex Vindobonensis: *"me in opprobrium dedisti"*; Codex Bobbiensis: *"maledixisti."* Harnack has attempted to prove that ὠνείδισας was the original reading in Mark, who, he says, took umbrage at the strong expression ἐγκατέλιπες and modified it into ὠνείδισας. Matthew, who copied Mark, restored the correct text of the Septuagint, ἐγκατέλιπες, and this word was received into the text of Mark in the Orient, but in the Occident uncorrected copies of the second Gospel were preserved, and only Codex D and its companions have rescued for us the original lection. I cannot say that Harnack's solution is a happy one. Ὠνείδισας surely cannot be regarded as a weakening of ἐγκατέλιπες; on the contrary, it is rather a strengthening, unless indeed one prefers

[62] *Haer.*, 69, 68, ed. Dind., III, 221.

to cling to the proper meaning of the Greek verb ὀνειδίζειν, *i. e.*, to reproach, to vilify. Harnack felt this and therefore added the explanation that since ὠνείδισας refers back to the immediately preceding ὠνείδιζον (XV, 32), the reader cannot but perceive that the reproach on the part of God must be understood as a non-interference in the reproaches of the Jews, as is expressed also by the translation *"me in opprobrium dedisti"* in the Codex Vindobonensis. This argument is unconvincing. St. Mark (XV, 32) says that the hierarchs and "they that were crucified with him," reviled Jesus. When Our Lord Himself a little later says: ὁ θεός μου, εἰς τί με ὠνείδισας; this must consistently be translated: My God, why hast thou reproached or reviled me? Such a sentiment St. Mark could not possibly put in the mouth of Jesus. There is still another reason which militates against Harnack's theory. The early Fathers frequently quote the utterance of Jesus here under consideration.[63] St. Justin may have used Matthew instead of Mark, and we must not forget that in those days New Testament passages were quoted rather freely. However, it is almost certain that Justin used the Gospel of Mark; for he quotes the words of Jesus in the form: σταυρωθεὶς γὰρ εἶπεν· ὁ θεός, ὁ θεός (not θεέ μου, θεέ μου Mt.), ἵνα τὶ ἐγκατέλιπές με? Irenaeus cites the words of Our Lord as follows: καὶ ἐν τῷ μὲν εἰπεῖν· ὁ θεός μου, εἰς τί ἐγκατέλιπές με (I, 8, 2). Likewise Tertullian: *"Sed et si in isto evangelio non est revelatum: Deus meus, ad quid me dereliquisti"*;[64] and again: *"Habes ipsum exclamantem in passione: deus meus, deus meus, ut quid me dereliquisti."*[65] Tertullian no doubt availed himself of Mark, not only because of the nominative *"deus meus,"* but also because of the *"ad quid"* in the first passage (εἰς τί). Pseudopeter took liberties with the text when reproducing the words of Jesus: ἡ δύναμίς μου, ἡ δύναμις κατέλειψας με; he has, however, καταλείπειν. Accordingly the ὠνείδισας was unknown in the second Christian century. It may freely be admitted that this rendering was the result of an endeavor to weaken the word ἐγκατέλιπες. This shows that the ὠνείδισας in Mk. XV, 34 is not original. The cry was not uttered by Jesus in the name of sinful, God-forsaken humanity, as some exegetes have supposed. For while the guilt of sin must here be taken into consideration, because it was precisely sin that caused Jesus, the innocent and sinless, indescribable anguish and oppression, and it was the Godman who suffered and cried to the Father; His divinity, or His Heavenly Father, delivered the human nature of Christ completely to the torments of body and soul without a mitigating influence, in order that He might experience the most abject humiliation.

[63] Cfr. Justin M., *Dial. c. Tryph.*, 98 and 99.
[64] *Adv. Prax.*, 25.
[65] *Ibid.*, 30.

14. The word τετέλεσται (Jn. XIX, 30) has not yet received a satisfactory explanation. Most commentators translate it by: "It is consummated." The subject of the verb is not expressed, and hence, it is said, must be gathered from the context. It is strange that there are so many different opinions on this point. *What* is consummated? Some exegetes answer: The Passion of Christ; His sacrifice for the entire human race, in short, the work of Redemption. Others justly assert that at the moment when Jesus spoke the τετέλεσται, He had indeed drunk the last drop from the cup of sorrows, but the work of Redemption had not yet been fully completed. It is true that the ἔργον of Christ by no means terminates with His death, as can be plainly seen when we recall what He said concerning the purpose of His return to the Father (sending of the Holy Ghost, founding of the Church, continuation of His work by the Apostles; Jn. XIV, 1 ff.) and when we consider the highpriestly activity of Jesus in the holy of holies (= in Heaven) at the right hand of the Father (Hebr. IX, 1 ff.). In this comprehensive sense the glorified Son of man will not cry out τετέλεσται until the Kingdom of God on earth shall be merged into the kingdom of glory at the end of the world. The meaning of τετέλεσται (Jn. XIX, 30) must, therefore, be restricted to narrower limits, though we cannot agree with those who apply it solely to the reconciliatory office of Jesus, so that the sense would be: The lamb of God is now slain for the sins of the world; sin is blotted out, God's anger is appeased, death and hell are conquered, and the Kingdom of Heaven is open. This interpretation is not suggested by the context, as is the ancient one, for which St. Augustine prepared the way, namely, the prophecies are fulfilled. *"Quid,"* says this sagacious Doctor of the Church,[66] *"nisi quod prophetia tanto ante praedixerat."* Augustine had in mind only the fulfilment of the prophecies of the Old Testament, and therefore took τετέλεσται in too narrow a sense, for at the moment of Christ's death all His own prophetic words regarding His death were also fulfilled. As early as the first Easter, and from thence on, He had repeatedly designated the Jewish hierarchs and rulers as the ones who would destroy the temple of His body by raising Him aloft on the cross (Jn. II, 18; VIII, 28). These prophetic sayings of Jesus were now fulfilled, as likewise all prophecies of the Old Testament concerning the deliverance of the Son of man into the hands of the heathen, His brutal treatment and death. What determines us to take this view of the word τετέλεσται?

a) St. John says (XIX, 28): εἰδὼς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὅτι ἤδη πάντα τετέλεσται, ἵνα τελειωθῇ ἡ γραφὴ, λέγει· διψῶ. He wishes to say that Jesus knew that

[66] *Tract. in Ioan., 6.*

now all things, all details are accomplished, and therefore in order that the Scripture be brought to a finish, *i. e.*, that the prophecy be fulfilled, He said: "I thirst." It is universally conceded that John refers to Ps. LXVIII, 22: "In my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink." The underlying thought can only be this: Nothing remained but that one more prophecy concerning the Passion of Christ be fulfilled, and in order that this also be realized and thus all the prophecies regarding His death-agony be brought to a finish, Jesus said: "I thirst." In this connection πάντα τετέλεσται can only mean the fulfilment of the prophecies of the Old Testament. The word πάντα reminds us of Ps. XXII, particularly verse 18: "They have dug my hands and my feet; they have numbered all my bones." It has been repeatedly pointed out that St. John in his history of the Passion pays the closest attention to the fulfilment of the Old Testament prophecies because he had in mind the most dangerous opponents of Christianity, namely, the Jews. These and the renegade Christian converts who had fallen back into Judaism saw in the death of Jesus the strongest proof that He was not the promised Redeemer (cfr. 1 Cor. I, 23). Now, if τετέλεσται has the indicated meaning in Jn. XIX, 28, then it must have the same meaning in Jn. XIX, 30.

b) When starting on His final journey to Jerusalem, Jesus said to His disciples: "Behold, we go up to Jerusalem, and *all things shall be accomplished* which were written by the prophets concerning the Son of man" (Lk. XVIII, 31; cfr. Mk. XIV, 49). This passage points the way to a correct understanding of Jn. XIX, 28 and 30. According to St. Luke, Our Lord declares at the beginning of His journey to the passah: The time has arrived when the prophecies of the holy men of the old covenant shall be realized; these messengers of God, enlightened by the Holy Ghost, have traced out in advance the way which I shall walk until my departure. Let it not be objected that the phrase τετέλεσται πάντα is found only in the Synoptics, but not in St. John. In the discourses of Jesus recorded by the fourth Evangelist, the declaration that He is the prophet foretold by Moses (Dt. XVIII, 15; cfr. Jn. I, 21 and V, 46), plays an important rôle, and John represents Jesus in the Cenacle as expressly referring to a prophecy and its necessary fulfilment in and through Him (XIII, 18).

c) The circumstance that St. Chrysostom and St. Augustine understood τετέλεσται of the fulfilment of the prophecies, is not decisive, though it is a point in favor of this interpretation and shows that even the early Christian writers could not get away from the idea that τετέλεσται does not mean chiefly the fulfilment of the ἔργον Χριστοῦ.

d) Τετέλεσται is not the last word that came from the lips of the

dying Saviour; His last words are those recorded by Luke XXIII, 46. Before death had actually set in, Our Lord could not say that the work of reconciliation had been accomplished; death alone brought the final consummation; however, He *could* say a few minutes before His death that all the prophecies relating to his Passion had been fulfilled.

15. SS. Matthew and Mark do not record the last words of Jesus, but mention the fact that He "cried with a loud voice" (Mt. XXVII, 50; Mk. XV, 37). How shall we account for this "loud voice" at the moment of His expiration? The Evangelists do not give us any explanation, though St. Mark (XV, 39) makes an observation which fully suffices to enlighten us. The Roman centurion, seeing that crying out in this manner, Christ had given up the ghost, wondered and exclaimed: Indeed this man was the Son of God. The words κράξας and οὕτως are not original, but they correspond to the sense. The thought in the mind of the centurion is: Because Jesus cried with such a loud voice and immediately thereafter expired, His was not an ordinary death, and consequently He was not an ordinary man, but the Son of God. In view of this fact we ought to give up the prevalent idea that Jesus died in consequence of exhaustion. Many exegetes quite inconsistently declare it probable that Jesus expired after hanging only six hours on the cross. (Most of them falsely assume that He was crucified at 12 o'clock noon.) They argue: The blood rushed to the head of the crucified Saviour and caused a terrible ache; the wounds in His hands and feet soon became inflamed; the constant and severe oppression of the heart caused enlargement of the arteries, increasing torpidity of the veins, muscles and nerves, and a burning fever; furthermore, we must not forget the great loss of blood resulting from the ill-treatment to which He had been subjected. The writers who put forward these considerations at the same time assert that, according to reliable testimonies,[67] those who were crucified usually lived on the cross twelve hours, nay, even during the entire following day and evening, or if they had a strong constitution, until the third day, and then died of hunger. It may be admitted that the scourging of Jesus was performed in an exceptionally cruel manner; ordinarily the scourging preceded crucifixion, yet crucified persons often lived for two or three days. Christ was in the vigor of His manhood when He was nailed to the cross, as is universally admitted. The theory that He died in consequence of exhaustion, therefore, proves to be untenable from various points of view. The Fathers understood the Gospel account of the death of Jesus differently, seeing in the loud cry im-

[67] Especially that of Origen, *Com. Ser.*, 140.

mediately preceding His expiration an indication of His unbroken vitality and an evidence that He departed this life of His own free will. St. Chrysostom comments on κράξας as follows: διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ φωνῇ ἐκραύγασεν, ἵνα δειχθῇ, ὅτι κατ' ἐξουσίαν τὸ πρᾶγμα γίνεται.[68] Lactantius says: *"Suspensus igitur et affixus exclamavit ad Deum voce magna et ultro spiritum posuit."*[69] In thus viewing the death of Jesus as happening not in the ordinary course of nature, but according to the free will and decision of Himself, they certainly had in mind Jn. X, 18: οὐδεὶς αἴρει αὐτὴν (τὴν ψυχὴν μου) ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ τίθημι αὐτὴν, ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ· ἐξουσίαν ἔχω θεῖναι αὐτὴν καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχω πάλιν λαβεῖν αὐτήν· ταύτην τὴν ἐντολὴν ἔλαβον παρὰ τοῦ πατρός μου. By terminating His life voluntarily and by His own power before the week-Sabbath had begun, the Redeemer, by the same divine power with which He afterward resuscitated Himself from the grave, frustrated the plans of His enemies regarding the *crurifragium* and made it possible for His friends and followers to bury the corpse without violating the law of the Sabbath rest. Tertullian writes: He [Jesus] of his own free will gives up the ghost with a cry, thus anticipating the executioner in his work.[70] In His last cry Our Lord employs the words of Ps. XXXI, 6 f., with a slight alteration. The address πάτερ is not taken from this Psalm; there the one oppressed by extreme affliction (David) says to God: "Into thy hands I commend my spirit!" The Septuagint has παραθήσομαι (future tense), which was copied into many codices of Lk. XXIII, 46. However, the present tense (παρατίθεμαι) must be restored as the original lection. At the moment when He utters the cry, Our Lord commends His spirit to the Father. St. Luke has τὸ πνεῦμά μου; likewise John, who does not record the last cry, but says of the death of Jesus: κλίνας τὴν κεφαλὴν παρέδωκεν τὸ πνεῦμα (XIX, 30). Some commentaries say that millions of Christians have departed this life with the words of the dying Saviour on their lips: "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit," and to the end of the world millions will give up the ghost with the same prayer. A clear and definite explanation of the meaning of τὸ πνεῦμα would give more satisfaction. What does Jesus mean by τὸ πνεῦμα? From the usage of St. John (*e.g.*, IV, 24; VI, 63; cfr. Rom. I, 4) one might infer that τὸ πνεῦμα means the divine nature of Christ. However, this interpretation is impossible for various reasons. Our Lord cannot entrust His divine nature to His Father for safekeeping, to take it back on the day of the Resurrection, as is suggested by παρατίθεμαι. Nor can τὸ πνεῦμα be understood of the theandric spirit (Nebe), but it must refer to the

[68] *Hom. in Matth.*, 88.
[69] *Inst.*, IV, 19, 2.
[70] *Apol.*, 21.

human soul of Jesus. Let it not be objected that πνεῦμα does not occur in this sense in the fourth Gospel, for it does, *c. g.*, XIII, 21, where τὸ πνεῦμα has the same meaning as ἡ ψυχή in XII, 27.

16. The accounts of the Synoptics leave no doubt regarding the miraculous character of the darkness that ensued after the death of the Redeemer. In Luke XXIII, 44 the original lection is σκότος ἐγένετο . . . τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκλιπόντος. This precludes the view that the sunlight was suppressed by a darkened atmosphere, such as the rising of fumes. Darkness settled upon the earth because the sun had ceased to shine. Accordingly we have here a real and miraculously induced obscuration of the sun. An ordinary eclipse could not occur at the time because of the full moon. Moreover, this eclipse is characterized as an extraordinary phenomenon by its duration (fully three hours). Observe also that the Evangelists unanimously give as the time of its beginning the sixth hour, *i. e.*, 12 o'clock noon. This positively excludes the noon hour as the time of the crucifixion; for the Evangelists plainly state that the darkness began some time after the crucifixion. The matter is definitely decided by Mk. XV, 25, where it is stated that Christ was nailed to the cross about 9 A. M.; hence He had hung on the cross about three hours when the darkness set in.

According to the *Acta Pilati,* the Judeans were the first to deny the supernatural character of the obscuration of the sun. Pilate calls the attention of the Sanhedrists to the extraordinary phenomena accompanying the death of Jesus, the rending of the veil in the Temple and the eclipse of the sun; but they answer him: ἔκλειψις ἡλίου γέγονεν κατὰ τὸ εἰωθός, and καθὼς ἐγένετο καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις καιροῖς.[71] The Procurator replies: Yesterday, on the 14th day of the month, you slaughtered the passah, and you say that an eclipse of the sun has occurred? This passage is remarkable also on account of the date, the 14th Nisan = passah-slaughtering day.

It is commonly said by exegetists that the eclipse on the 15th Nisan was calculated to express the truth that the Jews, by putting to death the "light of the world," had delivered themselves up to the spiritual darkness of error and sin.[72] This lesson does not appear to us so important as the significant dispensation of divine Providence by which, at the hour of the paschal banquet, darkness set in and deprived the murderers of Jesus of the joy in eating the customary sacrificial banquet. The Fathers of the Church already called attention to this and the ful-

[71] *Acta Pil.*, A XI, 249; B XI, 310.
[72] *Ibid.*, A XI, 249.

filment of the prophecies. After the example of St. Cyprian[73] Lactantius says:[74] *"Sol repente subductus est et ab hora sexta usque in nonam tenebrae fuerunt. Qua de re Amos propheta testatur (VIII, 9): et erit in illo die, dicit Dominus, occidet sol meridie et obtenebrabitur dies lucis; et convertam dies festos vestros in luctum et cantica vestra in lamentationem. Item Jeremias (XV, 9) etc."* Pseudopeter also mentions the darkness: "There was a darkness, and darkness came upon all Judea" (v. 15); "many walked about with lanterns thinking it was night" (v. 18); "the sun again gave light at the ninth hour" (v. 22).[75] According to the *Apostolic Constitutions* the death sentence was pronounced at 9 o'clock in the morning, the crucifixion took place at 12 o'clock noon, immediately thereafter the darkness set in, and towards evening the sun shone again.[76] Regarding the extent of the darkness, the extra-biblical sources do not agree. Whilst Origen expressly restricts the phenomenon to Palestine,[77] the Arabic Diatessaron[78] says: *"Tenebrae occupaverunt universam terram,"* and according to the *Anaphora Pilati: σκότος ἐγένετο ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην τοῦ ἡλίου κρυβέντος τελείως . . . ἐν παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ ἦψαν λύχνους ἀπὸ ἕκτης ἕως ὀψίας.*[79] Origen[80] appeals to the testimony of Phlegon, a contemporary of Emperor Hadrian, to whom also Eusebius in his *Chronicle*[81] refers. According to these authors Phlegon reports: "In the second year of the 202nd Olympiad occurred an eclipse of the sun, the greatest ever known to men; about the ninth hour of the day it grew dark, so that the stars of the heavens could be seen, and in Bithynia a great earthquake occurred by which a considerable portion of Nicaea was destroyed." However, this statement does not help us, for in the first place we are not reliably informed as to the year of this event, and then Phlegon speaks of an astronomical eclipse of the sun,[82] whereas the Evangelists refer to a phenomenon brought about by direct divine intervention.

[73] *Testim.*, II, 23, 91, ed. Hartel.
[74] *Inst.*, IV, 19, 3.
[75] Cfr. Cyril Hieros., *Catech.*, XIII, 24: *μετὰ τὴν ἐνάτην ἔλαμψεν ὁ ἥλιος.*
[76] *Const. Apost.*, V, 14, 144.
[77] *"Tenebrae tantummodo super omnem terram Iudaeam sunt factae."* (*Com. Ser.*, 134.)
[78] Ed. Ciasca, 92.
[79] *Anaph. Pil.*, B, c. 7, 446 f. Cfr. also *Didascal.*, V, 13, 313.
[80] *C. Cels.*, II, 33, 39.
[81] Ed. Schöne, II, 148.
[82] According to Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, II, 417, it was that of Nov. 24, 782.

CHAPTER III

EVENTS AFTER THE DEATH OF JESUS

(Mt. XXVII, 51–54; Mk. XV, 38, 39; Lk. XXIII, 45, 47, 48; Jn. XIX, 31–37)

During His public ministry Jesus had spoken of the wonderful signs which would accompany His death (cfr. Jn. VIII, 28 f.). The Synoptics report these signs fully, St. Matthew most elaborately of all. Whilst SS. Mark and Luke confine themselves to brief remarks about the rending of the Temple-veil and the testimony of the centurion, St. Matthew, in addition, reports an earthquake, the splitting of the rocks and the opening of the graves of the Old Testament saints. The purpose of the first Evangelist is to demonstrate to the Judeo-Christians of Palestine that Jesus, who was so ignominiously and cruelly executed by His people and their rulers, is the Lord of Heaven and earth and in very truth the Messias and Son of God. The memorable event of the opening of the side of Jesus and the issuing of blood and water therefrom, St. John alone records.

1. The rending of the Temple-veil is described by the three Synoptics as a miraculous event closely connected with the death of Jesus. St. Matthew (XXVII, 51) and St. Mark (XV, 38) report it directly after the expiration of Jesus, while St. Luke (XXIII, 45) records it immediately before; however, the latter's account permits us to assume that the event occurred at the moment of Our Lord's death, as suggested by SS. Matthew and Mark. The first Evangelist mentions the earthquake in the same connection, but suggests no relation between the

two events; nor, for that matter, does he exclude such a relation. Since there were in the Herodian Temple two large tapestry-veils, an inner veil in front of the holy of holies, separating the latter from the sanctuary, and an outer veil at the beautiful double-winged entrance gate, the question arises: Which of the two do the Evangelists mean? This question is commonly answered by saying that the inner veil is meant (cfr. Ex. XXVI, 31–35); however, this opinion is most likely wrong. The breaking of the lintel of the Temple, mentioned in the apocryphal Gospel of the Hebrews, is attested by Jewish and Christian tradition, which tradition designates the lintel of the entrance gate leading from the vestibule into the sanctuary as the one that broke in two in the year of our Lord's death. Now, as the tearing of the veil recorded by the Evangelists certainly had some connection with the breaking of the lintel, it is best to associate their statements with the outer veil [Note 1]. The two events, caused by the almighty power of God simultaneously with the earthquake, proclaimed to the unbelieving Jews the anger of God and the approaching judgment, in particular the destruction of the Temple. The prophecy of Our Lord concerning the fate of the grand structure (Mt. XXIV, 2) began to be realized at the moment of His death, which was literally the beginning of the end, that came in the year 70. In connection with the opening of the graves, St. Matthew mentions the resurrection of the bodies of those "that had slept" and their appearance in the city after Christ's Resurrection (Mt. XXVII, 52 f.). Some exegetes believe that the bodies of the dead were brought to life immediately at the death of Jesus, and came forth from their tombs, not before, but right after His glorious Resurrection. However, it is more probable to assume that the opening of the tombs was closely associated with the death of Jesus and the earthquake, and that the Resurrection or the reuniting of the dead bodies with their souls and the apparition of the resuscitated saints took place *after* the Resurrection of Jesus. St. Matthew joins

the remark about the opening of the graves to the one concerning the earthquake, and the remark concerning the tombs causes him to mention immediately also the resuscitation of the saints and the just of the Old Testament, although their apparition did not occur before the day of Our Lord's Resurrection. Concerning the purpose of this resuscitation and the details of the apparitions, St. Matthew does not express himself; he merely indicates that these events were intimately connected with the death of Jesus, His descent into, and His return from, Limbo. The object of this resuscitation of the bodies of those "that had slept" was not to bring them back for a lengthy stay on earth, but rather that they should give testimony to the effect of the death of the Saviour on the nether world. After fulfilling this task, they returned to their tombs, where they will remain until the day of the *parousia*. The *souls* of these saints accompanied the risen Lord to the place prepared for them in Heaven. For this reason the account of St. Matthew in no wise contradicts the teaching of St. Paul (1 Cor. XV, 20 ff.; Col. I, 18). On the day of the *parousia* the bodies of the just shall rise in a glorified state; the saints on the day of the Resurrection of Our Lord appeared, not in phantom bodies nor glorified bodies, but in their real bodies, the same which they had inhabited during their life on earth, because it was only in that form that they could be recognized by the Jerusalemites. [Note 2.]

2. All three Synoptics record the testimony of the pagan centurion. According to St. Mark (XV, 39) it was chiefly the loud cry emitted by Our Lord immediately before His demise which made such an impression on this man, though the other great events, especially the calmness and patience of Jesus, also affected him. According to St. Matthew (XXVII, 54), "they that were with him watching Jesus," *i. e.*, the rest of the soldiers, were mightily stirred. It is noteworthy that, aside from the penitent thief, pagans were the first to experience the power of the cross (cfr. Jn. XII, 32; Mt. III, 11 f.).

The centurion, who recognized the events on Golgotha as supernatural and felt the operation of heavenly forces in the drama, gave due honor to God by solemnly testifying: "Indeed, this was a just man" (Lk. XXIII, 47), *i. e.*, Jesus was the Son of God, a supernatural, heavenly being (Mt. XXVII, 54; Mk. XV, 39). And in the multitude present, some who had been blinded by prejudice, now repented under the impression of the miraculous events on Calvary; for the striking of the breast (Lk. XXIII, 48) can only indicate remorse of conscience (Lk. XVIII, 13).

3. The Romans usually left the bodies of crucified criminals hanging on the gibbet until the flesh had decayed or was devoured by buzzards. The Jewish law (Dt. XXI, 22 f.) did not permit the bodies of criminals to remain on the cross over night, but ordered them to be taken down before sunset. This ordinance originally applied only to those who were executed either by the sword or by stoning, whose bodies were subsequently hanged on the gibbet for the purpose of aggravating the effect of the death sentence. However, the Jews in Palestine followed the same method towards those whom the Romans hanged, or rather nailed alive to the cross.[1] Now, since the day of the crucifixion of Jesus Christ was a Friday, and the three crucified men were expected to die during the following Sabbath (according to Jewish computation), and hence a collision of dates was to be feared, the Sanhedrists petitioned Pilate to order the *crurifragium* to be performed at once on the three bodies, so that they could be taken down and buried before the beginning of the week-Sabbath. St. John, who records the death of Our Lord (XIX, 30) by anticipation, expresses this in the following words: that the bodies might not remain on the cross on the (following) Sabbath-day, in case death would set in late in the evening of the 15th Nisan or during the night from the 15th to the 16th, or on the following morning. By the insertion "because it was Friday," the following day was

[1] Josephus, *Bell. Iud.*, IV, 5, 2.

characterized as a week-Sabbath. The words, "great was the day of that Sabbath" (Jn. XIX, 31) are intended to set forth the strict obligation of rest on this week-Sabbath in contradistinction to the current festal Sabbath (15th Nisan), on which it was permitted to perform all that was necessary for a burial, including the taking down of the bodies. Since it was Pilate who granted the petition, the soldiers performed the *crurifragium* by his order (Jn. XIX, 32), but not on Jesus, because they saw that He was already dead. To convince himself that it was not a case of syncope or apparent death, one of the soldiers opened the right side of Jesus with a spear (Jn. XIX, 33 f.). The Evangelist emphasizes the fact that he was an eye-witness and that his testimony is true (Jn. XIX, 35). Regarding the omission of the *crurifragium,* he calls attention to the fulfilment of a Messianic prophecy in Ps. XXXIV, 21: "The Lord keepeth all his bones, not one of them shall be broken" (Jn. XIX, 36; cfr. Is. LIII, 4 f.; not Ex. XII, 46 and Nm. IX, 12). Regarding the second point, he mentions the words of Zach. XII, 10: "They shall look upon him whom they have pierced" (Jn. XIX, 37). In the flow of blood and water St. John sees a miraculous event: Our Lord, by an act of His almighty power, had rent His heart asunder and thus, in dying, shed all His blood for the sins of the world and thereby fulfilled His statement (Jn. X, 18) that no man was able to take His life away from Him, but that He would die of His own free will and by His own power. [Note 3.]

1. All three Synoptics employ the word καταπέτασμα. For deciding the question which of the two veils they mean, the reference to Hebr. IX, 3 is of no avail. In this passage the existence of an outer and an inner veil is, at least indirectly, attested, but this fact proves only that the author of the letter employs the word καταπέτασμα to designate both curtains, as do also the two Jewish writers Josephus[2] and Philo. The latter, it is true, in one place makes the remark[3] that the term

[2] *Ant.,* VIII, 3, 3; *Bell. Iud.,* V, 5, 4.
[3] *Vit. Mos.,* III, 2, 148 and 150.

καταπέτασμα applies only to the inner veil, whilst the outer must be called κάλυμμα; however, since he himself is far from being consistent in carrying through this distinction (in his *De Victim.*, 246 and 270, *e. g.*, he calls the outer veil καταπέτασμα) no value can be attached to his remark and it is settled that the καταπέτασμα of the Evangelists may be understood of both the outer and the inner veil. How shall we solve this enigma? Hitherto I did not believe myself justified in appealing to the Gospel of the Hebrews, but viewed the statement about the breaking of the lintel of the Temple as the result of a predilection for legendary lore, which had magnified the rending of the Temple-veil, related by the Evangelists, into a breaking of the lintel. But Van Bebber has called my attention to the passage in Josephus,[4] remarking that some of the events recorded there by the Jewish historian must have occurred in the year of Our Lord's death. Josephus says: At the time of an Easter festival, at the ninth hour of the night, a flood of light enveloped the altar and the edifice with a brightness of such intensity that it seemed to be broad daylight; this lasted about half an hour and was declared by those versed in the Scriptures as a bad omen. On the same occasion a *cow*, while being led to sacrifice, gave birth to a *lamb* [*sic!*] in the Temple. He adds that the eastern gate of the inner Temple-building, which was made entirely of brass and was of such enormous weight that twenty men could close it only with difficulty, was seen to open by itself about the sixth hour of the night. The watchmen hastened to report this phenomenon to the captain, who at once proceeded to the gate and was able to close it only with much difficulty. Thus the account of Josephus. I hesitated to connect this event, and especially *the opening of the eastern gate*, with the Easter feast of the Passion-passah, because the statement appeared to me too general. True, Josephus places these events in the period before the revolt and before the beginning of the first military operations against Rome. Now, however, Zahn[5] furnishes new material. He refers to Eusebius,[6] who places in the year of Our Lord's death not indeed the peculiar opening of the Temple-gate, but another event—the loud cry in the Temple: "Let us go hence!" recorded by Josephus in the same connection.[7] Moreover, since the Jerusalemic Talmud also mentions the opening of the Temple-gate during the night, adding that this happened forty years before the destruction of the sanctuary (= A. D. 30), no doubt can be entertained that there is here mention of the same extraordinary event. We must evidently reconstruct the sequence of

[4] *Bell Iud.*, VI, 5, 3.
[5] *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 1902, 729 ff.
[6] *Chron.*, ed. Schoene, II, 148.
[7] *Bell. Iud.*, VI, 5, 3.

events as follows: At the moment of Christ's death the lintel of the large entrance gate cracked, without, however, caving in; the fissure widened the following night and the wings of the door were forced asunder. The breaking of the lintel of the eastern gate of the Temple evidently led to the rending of the veil recorded by the Evangelists; it may therefore pass as certain that the outer veil is meant.

2. The earthquake recorded by St. Matthew (XXVII, 51) was undoubtedly limited to Jerusalem, also the great quake on the morning of the Resurrection (XXVIII, 2). The Gospel of Peter says the earth trembled when the body of Jesus touched it (v. 21). The earthquake announced the presence of God for the judgment of the wicked and the consolation of the faithful, for the latter were *not* filled with fear and trembling. The bursting of the rocks, which stood in direct relation to the earthquake, is attested by St. Cyril: "This holy, prominent Golgotha, visible to this day, which shows even to-day how at that time the rocks were split because of Christ." [8] The same is recorded by the martyr Lucian in Rufinus.[9] The fissure in the rock, still visible in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, remains indelibly impressed on the memory of all who visit Golgotha. The mighty earthquake caused the graves to open, which is accounted for by the construction of sepulchres in Jerusalem and Palestine generally, where large stones are used to close the tombs. According to St. Matthew, not only the tombs of saints and just men of the Old Testament opened, but "the graves" generally (XXVII, 52), whereas the resurrection was restricted to the saints. This passage gives rise to a difficulty. The wording of the text permits the view that the awakening of the bodies of the just occurred simultaneously with the earthquake, the rending of the rocks, and the opening of the graves, hence at the death of Jesus, for the Evangelist directly joins together the statements regarding all these events; only the coming forth of the bodies from the graves and their appearance in the city he places expressly *after* the Resurrection of Jesus. *Per se* therefore, no one can be blamed for holding that many of the dead saints of the Old Testament were awakened in the hour of Christ's death and, after a three days' stay in the sepulchral chamber, came forth and appeared in the city on the morning of His Resurrection. Nevertheless, in view of 1 Cor. XV, 20 and Col. I, 18, we are more inclined to associate the resuscitation of the just and their apparition with the Resurrection of

[8] *Catech.*, XIII, 39.
[9] *H. E.*, IX, 6.

Jesus, and this is evidently what St. Matthew wishes to convey. In my opinion we have almost complete certainty on this point.

Much greater appears another difficulty, which I find is commonly not touched upon, much less solved, by exegetes. Early Christian documents express the view that Our Lord, after a three days' sojourn in the nether world, returned from thence and at once led forth the souls of the just. St. Irenaeus expresses himself very peculiarly on this head: "He sojourned three days in the place where the dead were, as the prophet says of Him: the Lord of the saints remembered his dead, who slept in the land of burial, and he went down to them (cfr. 1 Pet. III, 18 f.), to lead them forth and save them." [10] St. Ignatius seems to have shared this opinion, for he writes: [11] The prophets were also disciples of Jesus in spirit, and therefore He, for whom they had waited in righteousness, during His sojourn [on earth] raised them from the dead at his return: *παρὼν* (*adveniens*) *ἤγειρεν αὐτοὺς ἐκ νεκρῶν*.[12] Aphraates [13] says: "Then Death cried out in confusion, because he saw that the darkness began to be destroyed for him, and that [some] of the just, who slept, rose again to ascend together with him." In the *Doctrina Addai* [14] we read: "He raised the dead to life by His death, and descended alone and ascended with many to His blessed Father." Again: [15] "And when He had gone down into the grave, He arose and came forth from the grave with many." The Codex Bobbiensis notes *ad Marc.*, XVI, 4: *"Et descenderunt de coelis angeli, et surgentes in claritate vivi dei simul ascenderunt cum eo."* Here we have the positive assertion that, simultaneously with Jesus, other dead persons arose and entered with the risen Saviour into the glory of the living God,—a view which also forms the basis of a passage in Eusebius' *Dem. Ev.*, IV, 12, 4: *πολλὰ σώματα τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἁγίων ἀνίσταντο, συνελαύνοντα αὐτῷ* (with the risen Lord) *εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς οὐρανόπολιν, i. e.,* into the holy and true heavenly Jerusalem. In justification of this view it may be said that it brings Mt. XXVII, 52 f. into relation with the *"descensus Christi ad inferos":* Christ, after His death, descended into Limbo, and on the morning of the Resurrection returned from there with many (patriarchs, prophets, and just men of the Old Testament). This follows especially from the *Excerpt. Theodoti: "ὁ σωτὴρ ὤφθη κατιὼν τοῖς ἀγγέλοις· ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ Ἀβραάμ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς δικαίοις τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἀναπαύσει οὖσιν ἐν τοῖς δεξιοῖς ὤφθη. . . .*

[10] *Adv. Haer.*, V, 31, 1.
[11] *Ad Magn.*, 9.
[12] Other examples of this view in Zahn, *Forschungen*, I, 216.
[13] Ed. Wright, 422, 4.
[14] Ed. Phillips, 8 of the Syrian text.
[15] *Ibidem*, 9.

ὅθεν ἀναστὰς ὁ κύριος εὐηγγελίσατο τοὺς δικαίους τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀναπαύσει. In the *Anaphora Pilati*[16] the raising of the patriarchs is also mentioned, although the event is placed in the hour of Christ's death.

Now the question is whether this view, *viz.:* that the just of the Old Testament accompanied Our Lord on His return from Limbo, finds support in Mt. XXVII, 52 f., and this question, it seems to me, cannot be answered in the negative. St. Matthew, it is true, speaks only of the apparition of many just of the Old Testament in Jerusalem on the day of the Resurrection of Christ, and it has already been remarked that these bodies returned to the tombs to await the resuscitation and glorification "of the last great day"; for this is the teaching of the Scriptures: that the Lord at the end of time (second *parousia* or judgment) will return with His angels and the just, who will then receive their glorified bodies. However, it remains a fact that on the day of Christ's Resurrection the souls of many just were united with their resuscitated bodies. Accordingly, these souls must have ascended from the nether world together with the returning Lord on the morning of the Resurrection. For the present I will not follow out the line of thought here indicated, but restrict myself to one statement, namely, that the opinion that Jesus returned to the Father not on the day of His Resurrection, but on the day of His Ascension, and took with Him into Heaven the souls of the just of the Old Testament forty days after His Resurrection, finds no support in Eph. IV, 8, which is so frequently appealed to; for the words ἀναβὰς εἰς ὕψος ἠχμαλώτευσεν αἰχμαλωσίαν must not be applied to the saints of the Old Testament, but to the enemies overcome by Our Lord (Satan, sin, death).

3. St. John alone records the *crurifragium* performed on the two robbers, the piercing of Christ's side with the lance, and the issue of blood and water. The words: ἄλλος δὲ λαβὼν λόγχην ἔνυξεν τὴν πλευράν, καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ὕδωρ καὶ αἷμα, found in Cod. Sin. and B in Mt. XXVII, 49, have been plainly borrowed from St. John. We find traces of this text also in the apocryphal Pilate-literature; cfr. *Acta Pil.*, A XVI, 7, 283 = *Gesta Pil.*, XVI, 4, 387: *"Lancea latus eius perforavit Longinus miles,"* and *Acta Pil.*, B XI, 2, 311: εἷς στρατιώτης ἐλόγχευσεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ πλευρᾷ καὶ εὐθὺς ἐξῆλθεν αἷμα καὶ ὕδωρ. The last quoted passage testifies to the fact that the lance was thrust into the right side. In Origen (*Contra Celsum*, II, 36) we read: εἶτά φησιν ὁ Κέλσος· τί φησιν καὶ ἀνασκολοπιζομένου ποῖος ἰχώρ; ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν παίζει· ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν σπουδαίων εὐαγγελίων, κἂν μὴ Κέλσος βούληται, παραστήσομεν, ὅτι . . . ἤδη δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀποθανόντος

[16] A 8, 440.

εἷς τῶν στρατιωτῶν λόγχῃ τὴν πλευρὰν αὐτοῦ ἔνυξεν. By the thrust the thorax was opened, and immediately blood and water issued from the wound in considerable quantity. From the way St. John records this fact, especially from the solemn declaration of its truth, we may infer that his eyes were fixed on this blood and water. He evidently discriminates between blood and water, in other words, he indicates that a disintegration of the blood into serum and placentum had already set in in the body. According to the statement of physicians [17] the flow of blood and water is a natural phenomenon whenever the heart and its surroundings have been lacerated.

Not a few exegetes think that Our Saviour's heart broke in consequence of the indescribable physical tortures He had suffered; but this view is opposed to the confident assertion of physicians that the heart has never been observed to break except in the case of persons of advanced age and under morbid organic conditions. Such a morbid condition cannot be assumed in Our Lord, and thus the explanation referred to is not admissible. We have already indicated the correct solution. The heart of Jesus had been ruptured, not, however, in consequence of excessive mental agony, but by an act of His almighty power. As a consequence the blood flowed into and filled the θώραξ. There is disintegrated, and when the thorax was subsequently opened with the lance, blood and water gushed forth. The Evangelist views this gushing forth of blood as a miraculous event because he saw in it evidence that the heart of Jesus had been ruptured. It attracted his particular attention because a Messianic prophecy was being fulfilled.

The view proposed above has another advantage. It is claimed that the soldier must have pierced the left side of Jesus and by his powerful thrust perforated the heart, because he stood in front of the cross and wielded the lance with his right hand. But if this were so, why did the Evangelist in this case not write τὴν καρδίαν, instead of τὴν πλευράν? No, the soldier thrust his lance into the *right* side of Jesus, which was turned towards him, as the *Acta Pilati* affirm. It was not his intention to make sure of death by stabbing the heart, but merely to ascertain whether Jesus had not after all some life left in Him, or whether He was really and truly dead. In the former case it would have been the soldier's duty to perform the *crurifragium* on Him.

In regard to the petition of the Sanhedrin for the performance of the σκελοκοπία, its purpose is stated plainly enough by the Evangelist: they wished to hasten the death of the three crucified men and to make it possible to take down their bodies before sunset. We must be careful not

[17] *E. g.*, B. Stroud, *The Physical Cause*, etc., 73 ff.

to fix wrongly the time when this petition was made. St. John, who ordinarily observes the chronological order of events, made an exception here by joining the note regarding the deputation to Pilate to the narrative of the death of Jesus, whilst the sending of the deputation, of course, took place at least a quarter or half an hour before that event, hence immediately after the termination of the darkness. By the researches of Van Bebber light has been shed upon the meaning of Jn. XIX, 31–33, hitherto regarded as a veritable *crux interpretum.* Lactantius[18] says: *"Subfixus itaque quia spiritum deposuerat, necessarium carnifices non putaverunt ossa eius suffringere, sicut mos eorum ferebat, sed tantummodo latus eius perforaverunt."* According to this passage, the breaking of the bones of crucified persons was customary in Judea during the period of the Roman occupation. However, this is but a conjecture of the "Christian Cicero," and an incorrect one at that. St. John expressly says that the hierarchs petitioned Pilate to permit the σκελοκοπία, because it was Friday, in order that the bodies might not remain hanging on the crosses on the following Sabbath. From this it plainly follows that the crucified were left to suffer on the gibbet until the death struggle was over on the second or third day. Solely because the 15th Nisan, 783, was a Friday, and it was feared that the three crucified men would die in the course of the following week-Sabbath, did the Judeans insist on the *crurifragium,* which was customary in Judea only when the crucifixion took place on a Friday. As regards the leaving of the bodies on the gibbet, the Judeans obeyed Dt. XXI, 22 f.: "When a man hath committed a crime for which he is punished with death, and being condemned to die, is hanged on a gibbet: his body shall not remain upon the tree, but shall be buried the same day; for he is accursed of God that hangeth on a tree, and thou shalt not defile thy land, which the Lord thy God shall give thee in possession." Philo elucidates this law as follows: μὴ ἐπιδυέτω ὁ ἥλιος ἀνεσκολοπισμένοις, ἀλλὰ ἐπικρυπτέσθωσαν γῇ πρὸ δύσεως καθαιρεθέντες.[19] Josephus says: "Whenever anyone dares to blaspheme God, he shall be stoned, hanged for one day, and then ignominiously buried."[20] Especially instructive is this passage: "The Idumeans in their malice went so far as to leave the bodies of the murdered high priests lie unburied wherever they had been cast, although the Jews otherwise exhibit unusual care in burying their dead, so much so that even those who are crucified as malefactors must be taken down before sunset and buried:

[18] *Inst.,* IV, 26, 32.
[19] *De Spec. Leg.,* II, 324, 97, ed. Richter.
[20] *Ant.,* IV, 8, 6; cfr. 24.

τοὺς ἐκ καταδίκης ἀνασταυρουμένους πρὸ δύντος ἡλίου καθελεῖν.[21] The Jewish historian can mean by οἱ ἐκ καταδίκης ἀνασταυρούμενοι only such malefactors as were crucified by the Romans in Judea, because crucifixion was not a Jewish, but a specifically Roman mode of punishment. In Palestine such malefactors were taken down from the cross before sunset on the day of their death and buried. The Jewish lawgivers applied the above-mentioned ordinance of the Mosaic law also to those Jews who were crucified alive by the Roman authorities. The representatives of Roman power in turn made a concession to the Jewish views and permitted the taking down of crucified malefactors before the close of the day of their death. In the case of Jesus and the two robbers the Sanhedrists expected that, if matters were allowed to take their natural turn, death would come to the condemned in the course of the week-Sabbath. As in that case the Sanhedrists would have been involved in a collision of duties, in as much as they were obliged on the one hand to take down the bodies before sunset and afterwards bury them, and on the other hand such an action was prohibited by law, they sent a deputation to Pilate and asked him to hasten the death of the three crucified men by the σκελοκοπία.

The breaking of the legs was a process as cruel as it was painful; but for the enemies of Jesus this was but one more reason to demand it for the hated Galilean. Their purpose was to inflict it precisely upon Jesus, yet He was the very one who was spared, for the sake of the Messianic prophecy that the Lord preserves the just man from having his bones broken (Ps. XXXIV, 21). Their petition was the reason why, by an exception, the lance was resorted to in the case of Jesus according to another Messianic prophecy (Zach. XII, 10), and that the immediate gushing forth of blood and water made it manifest that Jesus by an act of His omnipotence and love had rent His heart asunder.

There is still another point upon which we must touch. St. John writes (XIX, 32 f.): ἦλθον οὖν οἱ στρατιῶται . . . ὡς εἶδον. . . . Many exegetes are of the opinion that there is question here of the four soldiers entrusted with the crucifixion, who until then had sat quietly near the cross as guards, but now, upon receipt of the message from Pilate, arose to carry out his orders. The ἦλθον, they say, is used to describe merely the approach of the soldiers. This interpretation cannot claim our approval. It is not to be assumed that Pilate, after granting the petition, gave to the Jewish deputation orders to inform the four soldiers on Golgotha that they were to carry it out; more probably he dismissed the deputation and then issued orders to a special squad to perform the

[21] *Bell. Iud.*, IV, 5, 2; cfr. *Ant.*, IV, 8, 24; V, 1, 14.

σκελοκοπία. The Evangelist suggests this not only by the ἦλθον οἱ στρατιῶται, but even more definitely by the ὡς εἶδον αὐτὸν ἤδη τεθνηκότα. The four soldiers, together with the centurion, had seen Our Lord bow His head and die; hence the ὡς εἶδον can refer only to the newly arrived soldiers, who made a thorough inspection and found that Jesus was dead.

As regards the fulfilment of the Scripture (Jn. XIX, 36), exegetes usually point to Ex. XII, 46 (Num. IX, 12): ὀστοῦν οὐ συντρίψετε (συντρίφουσιν) ἀπ' αὐτοῦ (*sc.* τοῦ πάσχα), concluding therefrom that the fourth Evangelist wishes to designate the dying Saviour as the true anti-typical Passah-Lamb. In my opinion the Old Testament passage referred to by St. John is Ps. XXXIV, 21: φυλάσσει πάντα (ὁ κύριος) τὰ ὀστᾶ αὐτῶν (*sc.* τῶν δικαίων), ἓν ἐξ αὐτῶν οὐ συντριβησεται. I base this opinion on a careful study of the text and especially of the line of thought followed by the Evangelist. Ps. XXXIV, 21 refers to the miraculous deliverance of the just from the threatening danger of having their bones painfully crushed by their impious enemies. Jesus, the δίκαιος κατ' ἐξοχήν (cfr. Jn. XVI, 10; 1 Jn. III, 7) was in danger of having His bones cruelly crushed by the inimical hierarchs, but He escaped this danger in a miraculous manner by giving His life into the hands of His Father, who accepted it and took care that not a single bone was crushed in His body, either before or after death.

CHAPTER IV

THE BURIAL OF JESUS

(Mt. XXVII, 57–61; Mk. XV, 42–47; Lk. XXIII, 50–56; Jn. XIX, 38–42)

All four Evangelists unanimously report that Joseph of Arimathea called on Pilate and asked for the body of Jesus to bury it. This man was a native of the small town of Arimathea (or Ramathaim) in the tribe of Benjamin, northwest of Jerusalem, the birthplace of Samuel (1 Kgs. I, 1). He had long resided in Jerusalem and had bought and fitted up a burial place there. He was a councillor, *i. e.,* member of the Sanhedrin, but at the same time a secret disciple and follower of Jesus. Undoubtedly he had been received into the company of the *μαθηταί* by Baptism, without, however, constantly following Our Lord. According to St. Luke (XXIII, 51) he did not consent to the proceedings against Jesus, but had absented himself from the sessions which were held to decide His fate, because he did not possess the courage to sacrifice all for the sake of the Master, whom he regarded not only as a prophet, but as the Messias, and whom he expected to found and proclaim the Messianic Kingdom, just as did the more intimate disciples (cfr. Acts I, 8). Though he had previously been faint-hearted, fearing to be rebuked by the Sanhedrin and threatened with excommunication, he now took courage and boldly went to see Pilate and asked him for the body, professing himself openly as a disciple of Jesus before his peers and all the people.

What inspired Joseph with such courage at the moment when the enemies of Jesus were triumphing and His cause was ap-

parently hopeless? If the extraordinary phenomena at the death of Jesus, the darkness, the earthquake, His crying out with a loud voice immediately before His death, made a deep impression even on the callous soldiers (Mt. XXVII, 54; Mk. XV, 39), we can understand why in a disciple, who knew the teaching of Jesus and was in spiritual communion with Him, fear should depart at the sight of these wonderful events, in which Joseph saw a proof of the Master's Messianic mission and divine sonship. Courage and boldness the undertaking of Joseph certainly required, because by it he aroused the bitter wrath of the Sanhedrists, who desired to see the remains of Jesus, after the σκελοκοπία, officially buried in a malefactor's grave. No contradiction exists between the accounts of the Synoptics, in particular that of St. Mark (XV, 43–45), concerning the petition of Joseph and the behavior of Pilate, and St. John's story concerning the measures taken by the Sanhedrists (Jn. XIX, 31 ff.). We may imagine the course of events to have been as follows: After the consternation caused by the eclipse had somewhat subsided, at a time when Jesus was still alive on the cross, or at least was supposed to be still living, a deputation of the Sanhedrin appeared before the Procurator with a petition to allow the σκελοκοπία to be performed on the three crucified men. Pilate granted the petition and sent his soldiers to perform the *crurifragium*. After that (μετὰ ταῦτα, Jn. XIX, 38), perhaps half an hour later, Joseph, who had meanwhile been informed of the death of Jesus, appeared in the palace of the Procurator with the request to be permitted to take down the body. At this moment Pilate as yet had no knowledge of the actual death of Jesus; hence his doubt (Mk. XV, 44). Evidently we must also see in this the operation of Divine Providence, for it led to the death of Jesus being recorded in an official report. Pilate was able to grant the petition of Joseph, for, as judge, he had the right to dispose of the body, and it was customary, if relatives or friends asked for the bodies of executed criminals, to accede to their request.

He was also willing to grant the request on account of his strong aversion for the hierarchs, whose transparent plan to put Jesus, together with the two malefactors, into an infamous grave after breaking His bones, he perceived and frustrated. The supposition that Joseph, being a wealthy man (Mt. XXVII, 57), bribed the covetous Procurator, must be rejected in view of what St. Mark (XV, 45) says: Pilate "gave the body to Joseph." [Note 1.]

Joseph set to work without delay. He bought linen and went out to Golgotha and took the body down from the cross. In this he was doubtless assisted by other friends of Jesus. Whilst at work he was, according to St. John (XIX, 39), joined by Nicodemus, another well-known member of the Sanhedrin, a Pharisee and an honored teacher in Israel, a secret disciple of Jesus (Jn. III, 1 ff.; VII, 50 ff.). In referring to the nocturnal visit of Nicodemus on the occasion of the first journey of Jesus to the feast of Easter, 782, St. John does not intend to insinuate that the Jewish rabbi did not again meet with Our Lord, but rather wishes to call attention to the contrast between then and now. At that time he timidly chose a dark night for his visit; now, in the hour of Christ's death, he openly and fearlessly professes himself a follower and comes to the place of the crucifixion, not with empty hands, but with rich gifts, a large quantity of costly spices, a mixture of myrrh and aloes, which was needed to bury the body with becoming honors. From the remark in Mk. XVI, 1 we have a right to conclude that the body of Jesus was not embalmed. Jn. XII, 7, also prevents us from assuming such a process, at least in so far as embalming involved an anointing of the corpse. According to Jn. XIX, 40, the spices were applied in such a manner that the strips of linen (*ὀθόνια*, XIX, 40; XX, 7; cfr. XI, 44) in which the body of Jesus and its several members were wrapped, were abundantly sprinkled with them. [Note 2.] What remained over of the large supply of spices was scattered round about the body in the sepulchre.

The sepulchre itself was hewn in a nearby rock which belonged to Joseph of Arimathea (Mt. XXVII, 60). It was necessary to choose a ready-made tomb close to the place of crucifixion on account of the approaching week-Sabbath, on which the burial of the dead and everything connected with it was forbidden (Mk. XV, 42; Jn. XIX, 42). This tomb was closed with a large rock, having the shape of a millstone, which served as a door to the sepulchre. After this stone had been placed in front of the opening, the friends of Jesus withdrew. [Note 3.] The women who had followed Our Lord from Galilee to Jerusalem and accompanied the body when it was laid to rest in the sepulchre, also returned to the city while it was still daylight; for they were in a hurry to buy the spices necessary for embalming the body (Lk. XXIII, 56) before the Sabbath. Only Mary Magdalen and Mary, the mother of Joseph and wife of Clopas, remained seated for a while near the sepulchre, in order to inspect the surroundings closely, so as to be able to find it at once upon their return after the Sabbath. The presence of the mother of Jesus, when His body was taken down from the cross and laid to rest, is not expressly mentioned by the Evangelists, but may be assumed as certain from what St. John (XIX, 25) says of her presence near the cross and from the general remark of St. Luke (XXIII, 55) about the participation of the Galilean women in the burial. The two women who remained at the sepulchre probably did not leave until about 6 o'clock or later, because they were permitted to go the short distance into the city, a Sabbath's day-journey, even after the beginning of the week-Sabbath. The interment, hastened on account of the proximity of the Sabbath, was probably finished about 5 P. M., as may be gathered from the remark in Lk. XXIII, 56, that the women who returned to the city from the funeral had time to prepare spices and ointments; they were not able to finish the work, as may be concluded from Mk. XVI, 1; however, the Sabbath had at any rate not yet begun before their arrival in the city. [Note 4.]

1. The birthplace of Joseph was Arimathea. In my opinion it is not possible to identify it with Kama or Ramath or Ramatha (Judg. IV, 5; cfr. Josephus, *Ant.*, VIII, 12, 3), to-day called Er-Ram, situated about 40 stadia or furlongs north of Jerusalem, but it may have been the Ramathan mentioned in 1 Mach. XI, 34 and situated in the mountains of Ephrem (1 Kgs. XI, 1). This town, like Lydda or Ludd, belonged to Samaria until 145 B. C. and only from that date on was Jewish territory. From the quoted passage (1 Mach. XI, 34) we learn that it was situated near Ludd. Josephus calls the town, which was the birthplace of Samuel, Ramatha or Armatha[1] Riess has it in the right place in his Bible atlas, and the question-mark he has affixed to the name may without hesitation be deleted. St. Luke (XXIII, 51) adds to Arimathea the explanation: *πόλεως τῶν Ἰουδαίων* = a town situated in the province of Judea. Joseph of Arimathea is introduced as a man of some importance. According to St. Matthew (XXVII, 57), he was well-to-do, and therefore could afford to furnish the means for an expensive funeral. According to Mk. XV, 43, he was *εὐσχήμων*, which the Vulgate translates by *"nobilis,"* a word that undoubtedly renders the sense far more truly than Nestle's synonym of *πλούσιος*. Most likely *εὐσχήμων* refers to good breeding and is synonymous with the *δίκαιος* employed by St. Luke (XXIII, 50). Regarding the meaning of *βουλευτής* there is no longer any serious controversy. Joseph is introduced, not as a member of the city council (*e. g.*, of his home town), or of the municipal or sacerdotal council, but as a member of the Great Council or Sanhedrin. The translation of the Vulgate, *"decurio,"* is certainly meant in this sense. St. Luke adds to *βουλευτής* the words: *οὐκ ἦν συγκατατεθειμένος τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῇ πράξει αὐτῶν* (XXIII, 51). The last words remind us of the proceedings and machinations of the Jewish authorities against Jesus, as described by St. John (cfr. VII, 51). The words *οὐκ ἦν . . . πράξει* are genuinely Lucan; *πράσσειν* is a favorite expression of St. Luke's, and *πράξις* occurs in Acts XIX, 18. These words have been interpreted in the sense that Joseph attended the decisive sessions of the Sanhedrin in the trial of Jesus and gave expression to his dissent. The wording of St. Luke's text seems to suggest this interpretation, but the *ὢν μαθητὴς τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, κεκρυμμένος δὲ διὰ τὸν φόβον τῶν Ἰουδαίων* of St. John (XIX, 38) militates against it. Joseph, like Nicodemus, had probably been baptized after the feast of Easter, 782, but had not changed his external manner of living and hence did not belong to the company of Our Lord and His disciples. He absented himself from the sessions of the Sanhedrin in order to avoid a conflict with his colleagues. St. Mark (XIV, 64) ex-

[1] *Ant.*, V, 10, 2; VI, 4, 1; VI, 13, 5.

pressly states that all members of the Sanhedrin present voted for the death of Jesus. In the Codex Syr. Curet. this part of the text appears as follows: "and a man by the name of Joseph was a councillor, a just and good man from Ramtha, a town in Judea, and he expected the kingdom of heaven. This man did not conform his mind to the accusers, *i. e.*, he had nothing to do with the accusation raised against Jesus." [2] There is no mention here of Joseph appearing as a defender of Jesus. Pseudopeter also records the noble deed of Joseph, but his description, which deviates considerably from the canonical Gospels, bears the earmarks of apocryphal invention. According to him Joseph, whilst the trial was still on, perceiving that the Jews intended to crucify Jesus, went to Pilate and begged him for the body for burial (*ἠτήσατο πρὸς ταφήν*). Pilate sent messengers to Herod to demand the body, and Herod said: Brother Pilate, even if nobody had asked for him, we would bury him, because the Sabbath is dawning; for it is written in the law that the sun must not set upon one who has been put to death.[3] According to this account Herod, not Pilate, had the right to dispose of the body of Jesus, as it was Herod who had pronounced the death sentence. No reliance can be placed on this statement. Only one phrase deserves attention: *Ἰωσήφ, ὁ φίλος Παιλάτου καὶ τοῦ κυρίου* (v. 3). Resch regards this as probable and surmises, among other things, that on the evening, or rather in the night of the 14th to 15th Nisan, Joseph had brought the news of Christ's arrest to the palace of the Governor, which was for Pilate's wife the occasion of her oppressive dream. Perhaps also the reference to Dt. XXI, 23 in the apocryphal Gospel of Peter is of some importance. The *Acta Pilati* [4] offer nothing to the point.

Joseph probably started from Golgotha to walk to the palace on Mount Sion; for Mt. XXVII, 57 and Mk. XV, 43 speak first of his coming and then of his going to Pilate. The large sheet of linen, which was later cut into long strips (*ὀθόνια*) to wrap the members of the body, was evidently purchased in one of the city stores. Joseph returned with it to Golgotha and, assisted by other friends and acquaintances of Jesus, took down the body from the cross. In wrapping and burying it, he was assisted also by Nicodemus. The absence of all mention of the latter in the Synoptics is not any stranger than his introduction by St. John. The former in their account of the burial mention only the principal actor, who by his "bold" proceeding had made it possible; Nicodemus, as a secondary person, they do not mention. St. John had bestowed special attention on the person of Nicodemus in the early part of his gospel

[2] Cfr. Resch, *Ausserkanonische Parallelt.*, III, 750 f.
[3] *Evang. Petri*, 3–5; cfr. my *Einleitung*, 2nd ed., 809 f.
[4] A XI, 3, 249.

(chap. III), and reverts to him in recording the events on the feast of the Tabernacles by remarking: ὁ ἐλθὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν νυκτός (VII, 50),— words which he repeats when mentioning Nicodemus a third time (XIX, 39). This is a genuinely Johannine proceeding; cfr. XI, 2 with XII, 1 ff. and VI, 64 f. with XII, 9 ff., and XIII, 10 ff. The fourth Evangelist evidently regards Nicodemus as a type of a large number of Israelites, who felt attracted to Jesus from the very start, and had a presentiment of the extraordinary character of His person and work, but were unable to escape the pressure brought to bear on Jerusalem by the hierarchs, and from small beginnings gradually worked themselves up to greater heights of faith and courage, and finally openly and fearlessly professed their belief in Him. St. John, in citing Nicodemus as an example, evidently had in view the latter's social standing, which he regarded as of great importance. The case of Nicodemus enabled the fourth Evangelist to demonstrate that even partisans of the Pharisaic school, scholars or theologians, could not escape the influence of Jesus and with some degree of good will were able to find the road to faith and discipleship, and hence the behavior of others was entirely without excuse.

2. In the cathedral of Turin, Italy, in 1898, was exhibited for public veneration what is claimed to be the winding-sheet of Our Lord. The impression of the body in it is said to be an exact image of the body of Christ. The chief defender of the authenticity of this shroud was Paul Vignon (*Le Linceul du Christ,* Paris, 1902, tr. into English under the title, *The Shroud of Christ,* and published by Sands & Co. of Edinburgh and London). For a while many, even outside of Turin, were inclined to accept his persuasive arguments. However, the case cannot stand in view of the sacred text. According to St. John the body of Christ was not wrapped in a large winding-sheet, but the disciples bandaged it with linen cloths according to Jewish custom (cfr. Jn. XI, 44), *i. e.,* they divided the large sheet of linen bought by Joseph into strips, and wound them round the hands and feet; the head they covered with an extra piece, the "napkin" (σουδάριον). These strips, and in particular the napkin which covered the head of Jesus, are again plainly mentioned in Jn. XX, 7. Hence we must apply the axiom that no matter how ancient and reliable a tradition may appear, if it contradicts a text of Scripture, it must be discarded. In this case the tradition is no older than the 14th century and its origin is pretty well known. The winding-sheet now preserved in Turin, with the alleged double impression of the body of Christ, first appeared in 1353 at Lirey (not far from Troyes). Henry of Poitiers, Bishop of Troyes, took measures against the veneration of the alleged "relic," and the result of an in-

vestigation begun in consequence thereof was that the alleged shroud of Christ was a forgery and the double figure of Our Lord on it is an ordinary painting.[5] Therefore it is not worth while to pay any attention to the claims made for the winding-sheet of Turin.

3. The sepulchre belonging to Joseph of Arimathea was situated close to the place of the crucifixion (Jn. XIX, 41 f.). According to the Evangelists (Mt. XXVII, 60; Mk. XV, 46; Lk. XXIII, 53), it was not a grave dug in the ground, but a tomb above ground, hewn out of the rock, consisting of three parts,—an ante-room, a burial chamber, and a place for the corpse, also hewn from the rock within this chamber. When the building erected on this holy place by the enemies of Christianity was taken down by order of Constantine in 326, and the accumulated débris removed, the sepulchral cave was unexpectedly found intact.[6] Through the erection of the Constantinian basilica (326–336) the tomb lost its original form. The rock surrounding it was quarried away and the antechamber removed, so that the tomb, like Golgotha, formed a monument detached on all sides and standing in the midst of a rotunda built around it.[7] The burial chamber, ornamented with choice pillars and rich decorations, had an entrance from the east.[8] There was standing-room in it for nine persons.[9] The large stone which at one time had served as a door to the sepulchre (Mk. XVI, 3, 4), was still there.[10]

The sepulchre, over which the round, dome-shaped church had been built, was over against the fissure in the rock of Golgotha, 80 paces distant, according to the Pilgrim of Piacenza,[11] only 15 paces, according to Theodosius,[12] a difference which is explained chiefly by the different terminals of the measurements. The Pilgrim of Piacenza measures from the tomb to the point where the cross stood on Golgotha (including the elevation of the latter), Theodosius only to the open space in front of Golgotha, *i. e.*, to the enclosure surrounding the place of execution. The distance from the tomb to the place where the cross stood is still about 22 yards. Interesting and instructive is the description given by Silvia of religious celebrations held in the rotunda of the Constantinian Anastasis and at the Grotto of the Resurrection.[13]

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[5] Cfr. U. Chevalier, *Étude Critique sur l'Origine du St-Suaire de Lisey-Chambéry-Turin*, 1900.
[6] Eusebius, *Vita Const.*, III, 28.
[7] Cfr. Cyril, *Catech.*, XIV, 9.
[8] Eusebius, *Vita Const.*, III, 31.
[9] Adamnanus, I, 2, 227 f.
[10] Pilgrim of Piacenza, 18, 171; St. Cyril, *Catech.*, X, 19.
[11] 19, 171.
[12] VII, 141.
[13] *Peregrinatio Silviae*, c. 24 ff., p. 71 ff.

4. The interment of the corpse must have been completed about 5 P. M. This we gather from various intimations in the Gospel accounts. To begin with, the Sanhedrists appeared in the Governor's palace some time before Joseph called there. The enemies of Jesus were anxious to execute their final act of revenge, *i. e.,* to have the crucified men put to death by the σκελοκοπία before the close of the 15th Nisan. The *crurifragium* was intended above all for Jesus; but (cfr. Mt. XXVI, 5) God completely frustrated their plan and disposed things so that it was precisely Jesus on whom this cruel act was *not* performed. In regard to the chronological sequence in Jn. XIX, 38, the phrase μετὰ ταῦτα gives us the point of departure. It was only after Pilate, at the solicitation of the Sanhedrists, had despatched the soldiers to Golgotha, that Joseph appeared in the palace of the governor and reported that Jesus was already dead. The report was officially certified by the centurion.

The statements of the Evangelists concerning the disposal of the body are of the greatest interest. St. John's remark (XIX, 31): "great was the day of that sabbath," has hitherto been interpreted as if the greatness consisted in the fact that it was a week-Sabbath and at the same time the first day of the Jewish festival of Easter. This was an unfortunate error. Van Bebber has shown that the Evangelists really designate the first festival day of Easter (15th Nisan) as the day of Christ's death; this was a Friday, one of those Fridays on which the victims of the Easter sacrifices were eaten (XVIII, 28),—hence a high festival or an Easter-Sabbath, followed by the week-Sabbath (16th Nisan). It was a very grave mistake to think that the festal Sabbath of the 15th Nisan ranked above the week-Sabbath. In the splendor and solemnity of divine services the high festal Sabbath of the 15th Nisan, of course, excelled the week-Sabbath, not, however, in respect to the *strictness of the Sabbatical rest.* This follows from the wording of the law: "The first day [of the feast of the unleavened bread] shall be holy and solemn, and the seventh day shall be kept holy with like solemnity; you shall do no work in them, except those things *that belong to eating"* (Ex. XII, 16). Accordingly, on the first festal Sabbath of the passah it was permitted to prepare the food to be eaten on this day,—a work which was strictly prohibited on the week-Sabbath. According to Amos VIII, 5 and Neh. XIII, 16, buying on the Sabbath was also forbidden, but this law, as follows from what was said in explanation of Jn. XIII, 29, at the time of Christ had binding force only on the week-Sabbaths, not on the festal Sabbaths. The ordinance concerning the licitness of preparing food on the first and last Easter-Sabbath (Ex. XII, 16) had both in theory and practice undergone an amplification to the effect that the preparation of food on all festal Sab-

baths throughout the year was considered lawful.[14] Moreover, the permission to prepare food was extended so as to include the buying of victuals and animals for the sacrifice (Jn. XIII, 29). The burial of the dead and what pertained to it was also considered lawful on the festal Sabbath. Although we are not able to produce direct evidence on this point from Jewish literature, what the Evangelists say of the conduct of the friends and disciples of Jesus on the day of His death fully suffices to establish this fact. Joseph of Arimathea, after his departure from the palace of Pilate, purchases linen to wrap up the body of Jesus; he is declared to be a just man (Lk. XXIII, 50), *i. e.*, a thoroughly *law-abiding* Jew. With the help of others he takes down the body of Jesus and, after washing it, attends to the burial—all actions that were forbidden on a week-Sabbath. The pious Galilean women, after leaving the sepulchre for the city, prepare spices and ointments until the week-Sabbath begins, and then only do they rest from work according to the law (Mk. XVI, 1). There is complete harmony between the Synoptics and John also in this respect, and the statements of the former concerning the taking down and burial of the body of Jesus, or rather the conduct of the persons engaged therein, compel us to draw the same conclusion as from the statement of the fourth Evangelist (XIX, 31) that the day of the crucifixion and burial of Jesus was a festal Sabbath and the next day a week-Sabbath with the obligation of strict rest. In the *Martyrium Polycarpi* it is said that he died on the μέγα σάββατον,[15] February 23rd, 155. Strangely enough some exegetes understand by this expression the Holy Saturday, as if this day could ever possibly fall on the 23rd of February! What is meant is an ordinary Saturday following a Friday (παρασκευή), *i. e.*, a week-Sabbath. The Christian author of the acts of Polycarp undoubtedly chose this expression on account of the unbecoming behavior of the Jews, which he describes in chap. 13: the mob collected wood and faggots from dwellings and shops, and the Jews willingly offered their services. This behavior on the part of the Jews of Asia Minor fittingly illustrates the conduct of the Jewish hierarchs on the great Easter-Sabbath, 15th Nisan, 783. As the Jews of Smyrna believed themselves justified in carrying wood to a pyre on a week-Sabbath, in order to execute Polycarp, the teacher of Asia, so the Jewish rulers in Jerusalem did not scruple to desecrate the festal Sabbath by leading Jesus before Pilate and by taking part in the trial, as their chief endeavor was to render innocuous a menace to their national existence. The idea underlying the phrase μέγα σάββατον strikingly

[14] Philo, *Leg. ad Caium*, §23, p. 107; ed. Richter; cfr. *Mishna Betza*, 5, 2.

[15] C. 8 and 21; ed. Funk I, 322 and 340.

resembles that in Jn. XIX, 31: μεγάλη ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνου τοῦ σαββάτου: the rest on a week-Sabbath was stricter than on a festal Sabbath.

In conclusion I must not omit to call attention to the ἦν in Jn. XIX, 41. In V, 2 the same Evangelist writes: ἔστιν δὲ ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις. . . . Βηθεσδά and thus indicates that the building with five porticoes was still standing at the time when he wrote his Gospel, which we can easily understand because it was situated outside of the city near the fountain-gate. Here, however, he uses ἦν and thus gives the reader to understand that the garden no longer existed at the time when he wrote (cfr. XI, 18).

CHAPTER V

GUARDING THE SEPULCHRE

(Mt. XXVII, 62–66)

The enemies of Jesus were not yet satisfied. Their hatred seems appeased by the strangling of the innocent Lamb; but now various disquieting thoughts arise to torment them. They know that "the Galilean seducer" had predicted that He would arise on the third day after His death, but they pretend to believe the fulfilment of this prophecy to be utterly impossible and that the disciples may perpetrate a fraud, steal the body, and again disturb the public by the news of His Resurrection. Hence in the early morning of the week-Sabbath they repair to Pilate and petition him to guard the tomb. Regarding the time St. Matthew says: "On the next day which is [follows] after the day of preparation" (XXVII, 62). By this extraordinary manner of designating the Saturday or Sabbath, the Evangelist wishes to describe definitely the day when the hierarchs and Pharisees approached Pilate as the legal day of rest; the day of their coming, he says quite intelligibly, was the day after the death of the Lord. The day of His death was the day of "preparation," on which, according to law, all preparations had to be made, so that the Sabbath might be spent in holy quietude. The spiritual rulers of Israel, however, did not rest on this Sabbath-day, but negotiated with the pagan governor, and they did this to gratify their blind hatred against Jesus even beyond the grave. The idea of a meeting of the entire Sanhedrin in the palace of Pilate is by no means suggested by the Evangelist. The phrase used by him (*οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ*

Φαρισαῖοι) means that representatives of the high priests and Pharisees proceeded to Sion to present another petition to the governor in the case of Jesus Christ. Of course, these delegates regarded themselves as defenders of the public order and on this account believed themselves justified in brushing aside the law of the Sabbath, in entering the palace of the Procurator, causing a guard to be appointed and the tomb of Jesus to be sealed.

In order to impugn the historicity of the gospel account, some exegetes have declared it as very strange that the "Judeans" petitioned Pilate on the Sabbath, thus violating the law of rest, instead of taking the body into custody with the consent of Pilate immediately on the evening of the crucifixion. These critics overlook an experience confirmed a thousand times by history, that precisely in long and carefully prepared undertakings an important point is often overlooked. However, St. Matthew fully enlightens us on this point: "Sir, we have remembered that that seducer said while he was yet alive, after three days I will rise again" (XXVII, 62). These words were uttered to motivate the petition to the Procurator. On the preceding evening and during the following night their evil conscience caused them to reflect, and when they saw two fellow-members of the Sanhedrin, Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, men who stood high in the estimation of the people, unexpectedly display an amazing fearlessness, and the soldiers and populace standing aghast and deeply moved by the extraordinary events, fear seized them. If anything occurs, so they argue among themselves, which can be interpreted in favor of the Galilean and his cause, there is great danger that the populace will desert us (cfr. Lk. XXIII, 2). We must realize that the Judeans after Christ's death were obsessed by tormenting thoughts and at the same time called to mind the prophecy of Jesus regarding His Resurrection.

It is objected that the assertion attributed to the Judeans, namely, that they recalled the words of Jesus regarding His

Resurrection, is an historical impossibility. For, while the Evangelists (Mt. XVI, 21; Mk. VIII, 31; Lk. IX, 22; Mt. XX, 19 and the parallel passages) testify that Jesus plainly and definitely announced His Resurrection as well as His death, they add that this solemn announcement was made in the intimate circle of His disciples, and therefore the enemies of Jesus could have no knowledge of it. To refute this objection we will not point to the possibility that Judas the traitor may have informed the enemies of the prophecy of Christ, but rather emphasize another possibility, namely, that the Sanhedrists after the death of Jesus reflected on the figurative language with which He had foretold His Resurrection (Jn. II, 19) and which was perverted at the trial, and by such reflection obtained a kind of dim understanding of the meaning of His words. We may assume with still greater probability that after the demise of Jesus the sign of Jonas rose up before the mental vision of the high priests and Pharisees. Scribes and Pharisees from Jerusalem were present in Judea when Christ uttered that prophecy and in Mt. XII, 38 ff., where the same is recorded, Judeans from the Jewish capital are certainly meant by the phrase γενεὰ πονηρὰ καὶ μοιχαλίς; to these, however, the Son of man on the occasion mentioned had plainly announced (XII, 40) that He would arise three days after His death. We can, therefore, discover in the account of St. Matthew (XXVII, 62 ff.) nothing that is suspicious or that could impair the historical character of the narrative.

Pilate evidently was not afraid of the dead Christ in the same manner and for the same reasons as the Judeans; he granted their petition by saying: Here, I give you a guard; go and attend to the matter as best you can, in other words, I will place men at your disposal, but will have nothing to do with the affair. The answer betrays the Procurator's aristocratic pride and his vexation at the persistent annoyance of the hierarchs, who had entangled him in this disagreeable case. That he acceded to their demand is explained by the circumstance

that the Jewish rulers had declared the measure necessary for the public peace (XXVII, 64). With the words: ἔχετε κουστωδίαν = you shall have a guard (XXVII, 65) the Procurator placed a squad of Roman soldiers at the disposal of the Judeans. By κουστωδία we must not understand the cohort which was requisitioned when Jesus was arrested; much less the Jewish Temple-guard; for Mt. XXVIII, 14 expressly says that Roman soldiers kept watch at the sepulchre. These soldiers went from the palace of Pilate to the sepulchre near Golgotha and sealed the tomb, *i. e.,* stretched a cord across the stone which barred the entrance and fastened both ends to the wall with sealing-wax; then they stationed themselves in front of the sepulchre. Thus the precautionary measures taken in inconceivable blindness, insatiable hatred, and sheer fanaticism, had to serve as incontrovertible evidence of the fact of the Resurrection. [Note 1.]

1. St. Matthew is the only one who mentions the guard at the sepulchre. This is not strange, but fully agrees with the purpose he had in writing his Gospel, namely, to describe the obduracy and the blind hatred of the Judeans. The first Evangelist wishes to suggest to his readers the idea that ordinarily passion and hatred subside when their victim is dead, but in this case they extend beyond the grave. SS. Mark and Luke omitted the passage because otherwise they could not have passed over in silence the breach of discipline committed by the Roman soldiers, whom these two Evangelists wished to shield.

The peculiar manner of designating the day of the meeting of the high priests and Pharisees with Pilate is not explained by the assumption that the expression was borrowed from Christian usage, as the Christians called the day of the Passion and death, parasceve or day of preparation, the day of preparation κατ' ἐξοχήν, and St. Matthew therefore wrote: "On the next day, which followed the day of preparation" (XXVII, 62), to designate the day of the sealing and guarding of the tomb positively as the day following the death of Our Lord. It is *a priori* improbable that, at the time when St. Matthew wrote, such a Christian usage (parasceve = day of the death of Our Lord) had already obtained currency. On the contrary, St. Matthew designates the day of the meeting as the day which immediately followed the day of preparation, in order by this extraordinary designation to illustrate the proceeding of the

Judeans and pass judgment upon it. The day of the crucifixion of Jesus, he wished to say, was a day, when, according to the Jewish law, the required preparations had to be made so that the Sabbath could be spent in sacred rest; however, the high priests and Pharisees trampled the law under foot and disregarded the sacred character of this day, which, in respect to strictness of rest, even surpassed the first festival day.

The question whether the negotiations took place in the morning of the Sabbath, or in the evening, must be answered in favor of the morning. By his peculiar manner of designating the week-Sabbath the Evangelist evidently wishes to show up the breach of the Sabbath-law. Such a violation could not have been committed in the evening of the 16th Nisan. Moreover, the evil conscience and the tormenting thought of the prophecy of the Resurrection induced the Judeans to take the necessary precautionary steps as soon as possible. They no longer considered the violation of the law of the Sabbath, but regarded as justified every means by which they could attain their purpose. In passing we may refer to the *Acta Pilati* which in this case move entirely within the compass of the Gospel account and merely add a few details: *τῆς παρασκευῆς τελεσθείσης τῷ σαββάτῳ πρωΐ ἀπῆλθον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι πρὸς τὸν Πειλᾶτον*.[1] The motivation of the petition in this document agrees in general with that in St. Matthew: in order that the disciples may not steal the body during the night and thus deceive the people. The granting of the petition by Pilate is described by the author in similar terms: "Pilate gave them 500 soldiers, who were stationed about the sepulchre." The number is evidently too high; for the rest, the apocryphal narrative is correct. *Ὁ πλάνος ἐκεῖνος* (Mt. XXVII, 63) is retained. This expression is found also in St. Justin,[2] where we read: "Not only did you not repent, after you discovered that He had risen from the dead; but you chose select men and sent them forth into the world to announce that an impious and lawless heresy had been established by a certain man by the name of Jesus, a Galilean seducer. This man [you say] we have crucified, but his disciples stole him at night, from the tomb where he had been laid after being taken down from the cross, and now they deceive the people by saying he is risen from the dead and ascended into Heaven. *Ὁ πλάνος* is also found in the *Testamenta XII Patrum* (c. 16): *καὶ ἄνδρα ἀνακαινοποιοῦντα τὸν νόμον ἐν δυνάμει ὑψίστου πλάνον προσαγορεύετε*. It need not be remarked that in both instances the use of the term *ὁ πλάνος* proves an acquaintance with the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew. We ask those who uphold the priority of the Gospel of St. Mark and

[1] *Act. Pil.*, B, XII, 2, 315.
[2] *Dial. c. Tryphon*, 108; cfr. 69.

the dependence of the canonical Matthew on Mark: Whence did the first Evangelist take the subject-matter of this passage? Surely not from the Gospel of St. Mark; nor from a "proto-gospel," for aside from the fact that the existence of such a proto-gospel cannot be demonstrated, one of the chief defenders of that theory (Resch), on account of the linguistic character of the passage, denies that it is a part of what he calls the "proto-gospel." The passage must not be classed with the secondary materials of Jerusalemitic tradition, but, on the contrary, bears every characteristic of originality.

The Judeans invented and spread the most infamous lies and calumnies regarding the Resurrection of Jesus, as they did regarding His birth, and they began to do this at a very early date, as soon as their fears inspired by the prophecy of the Resurrection had proved well founded. Therefore, the remark of Eusebius, merits full credence that the Sanhedrin committed the calumnies to writing and sent them by special messengers to all Jewish communities.[3] To combat these lies with the truth, Matthew gives an exact description of the facts; at the same time he pursues an apologetic purpose in the same way as in Chapters I and II. This proceeding is quite comprehensible if we consider the specifically Jewish origin and character of the above-mentioned calumnies. They are as foolish as the idea of placing a guard at the entrance of the tomb. Pseudopeter, basing on Matthew, narrates the same story with some additions and alterations. In his account the ancients appear as deputies and petition for soldiers, and Pilate assigns to them the centurion Petronius with a squad of men to guard the tomb; these were accompanied to the sepulchre by the ancients and the scribes, they rolled the stone in front of the entrance, placed seven seals on it, and having pitched their tents, went on guard (v. 29–34). Pseudopeter, however, places the meeting with Pilate in the evening of the crucifixion; at least he continues in v. 35: "But when the morning of the Sabbath dawned, very many came from Jerusalem and its environments to view the sealed sepulchre." Here we have a deviation from St. Matthew, who by the phrase τῇ ἐπαύριον (XXVII, 62) designates as the time of the meeting the next day following the death of Jesus. Of course, this phrase has been understood of the eve of the approaching week-Sabbath, *i. e.*, Friday evening (the Sabbath began about 6 P. M. Friday); but this interpretation is prohibited by the New Testament idiom, according to which τῇ ἐπαύριον invariably designates the day on which the sun has risen anew (cfr. Jn. I, 29, 35, 44; VI, 22; Acts X, 9, 23, 24).

On the meaning of the phrase ἔχετε κουστωδίαν (Mt. XXVII, 65)

[3] *Comm. in Isai.*, XVIII, 1.

exegetes are not yet agreed. However, the indicative meaning seems to prevail: "You have at your disposal" (*praesto vobis est*). I cannot regard this interpretation as a happy one. The phrase cannot apply to the Temple guard on account of XXVIII, 14, where it is clear that Roman soldiers under the command of the Procurator formed the guard at the tomb. Hence we can apply the phrase only to the cohort which took part in the arrest of Jesus. However, according to our view, it was not the Procurator, but the commander of castle Antonia who had furnished the hierarchs with soldiers in the night of the 14th Nisan; the latter undoubtedly returned to their station in the palace of Caiphas after handing over Jesus; therefore we prefer the imperative meaning *habetote, i. e.,* you shall have. Ἔχετε occurs in this sense in classical Greek[4] and in Mk. IX, 50 and XI, 22; on the other hand the account in the *Acta Pilati* appears worthy of note (Pilate assigns to the Judeans 500 soldiers), although I can not approve of the number; there were evidently 488 less, *i. e.,* only twelve (or possibly sixteen) men. They were stationed in front of the sepulchre, after having sealed the stone at the entrance. Μετὰ τῆς κουστωδίας (XXVII, 66) certainly belongs to ἠσφαλίσαντο and means: they moreover secured the tomb by a guard (μετά = διά) or by employing a guard. In regard to the sealing cfr. Dan. VI, 17: "and a stone was brought and laid upon the mouth of the den, which the king [Darius] sealed with his own ring, and with the ring of his nobles, that nothing should be done against Daniel."

[4] Xenophon, *Cyrop.*, VIII, 7, 11.

PART III

THE RESURRECTION AND MANIFESTATIONS OF THE RISEN LORD, AND HIS ASCENSION INTO HEAVEN

SECTION I

THE RESURRECTION

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

We must above all name the principal view-points from which the gospel narrative has to be examined. Note in the first place that the Evangelists could not report the act of resurrection. Influenced by Christian art, we are accustomed to imagine the Resurrection of Our Lord as a visible coming forth from the sepulchre. This fancy, however, does not agree with the facts. What happened in the sepulchre at dawn of the third day is wrapped in darkness. Only this much may be said: at this highly significant moment there took place in the sepulchre the glorification of the body of Christ, by means of which it was raised above the physical laws (of gravity, impenetrability, etc.) and converted into a perfect instrument of the soul. The risen Lord entered the Cenacle through locked doors on the evening of the first day. The Evangelists in their narratives confine themselves to the description of the wonderful events at the sepulchre during and immediately after the Resurrection: the commotion of the air, the apparition of the angels, the fright of the guards, and the apparitions of the risen Lord Himself.

In the second place, in weighing the gospel accounts of the Resurrection, we must continually bear in mind the purpose which each Evangelist had in writing his Gospel. By reason of the many variations in the accounts, critics have pointed to St. Paul, who, they say, gives us the earliest account of the Resurrection in 1 Cor. XV, 4 ff., but does not mention that which constitutes the nucleus of the gospel narrative, namely, the prominent part played by the women, nor

the apparition with which they were favored. In matter of fact, however, St. Paul's account shows that the purpose which each writer had in view must be the decisive factor in examining and sifting the story. The Apostle does not mention Christ's apparitions to the women, evidently because he writes for men who deny the resurrection of the dead, hence also the Resurrection of Christ, and who would reject the testimony of women as insufficient and unconvincing. It is a grave mistake to infer from his account that he knew of no apparition of Christ to women; it is utterly false to assert that he was unaware of the apparitions on Easter Sunday in Judea, but knew only of a few later ones in Galilee. We shall produce the proof of the incorrectness of this assertion later. Like the four Evangelists, St. Paul accommodated his account of the Resurrection to the purpose he had in view in writing his epistles.

The *first Evangelist* proposes to refute the lie, invented and circulated by the Jews, that the disciples stole the body of Jesus. Accordingly he shows that from among the followers of Christ not men, but women were the first to come to the sepulchre, which was secured by seals and guards, and that the risen Lord appeared to these visiting women on the morning of the first day of the week (Mt. XXVIII, 9–10). He further demonstrates that this lie was maliciously invented by the embarrassed Sanhedrists to contradict the plain facts. Besides the apparitions to the women, St. Matthew mentions only one that occurred later in Galilee; this is in accordance with the general plan of his gospel to describe almost exclusively the activity of Christ in Galilee (XXVIII, 16 ff.).

St. Mark's purpose is to record concisely the highly important fact of the Resurrection, without any regard to the above mentioned lie. He shows that Christ really rose from the dead, and refutes the obvious objection that the Resurrection was a delusion of the senses. He therefore emphasizes that the disciples were by no means credulous, but were converted to a belief in the Resurrection gradually and by unequivocal evi-

dence. He cites three apparitions: one on the morning of the Resurrection to Mary Magdalen (XVI, 9–11), a second on the same day to the disciples on the way to Emmaus (XVI, 12–13), and a third in Galilee (XVI, 15–18 = Mt. XXVIII, 16–20).

St. Luke, like his teacher, St. Paul, adapts his account of the Resurrection to the requirements of his pagan converts, to fortify them in the belief in this fundamental truth of Christianity and to secure them against the attacks of the Greco-Roman pagans who denied the resurrection of the dead, on the one hand, and, on the other, against attacks and doubts which might arise among the Christians themselves concerning this doctrine. For this purpose he cites a larger number of witnesses than his predecessors and emphasizes more strongly than they that the Apostles and disciples were far from being credulous. He also informs us that the risen Lord Himself proved the necessity of His Resurrection from the prophecies of the Old Testament. This argument was well adapted to confirm the Christian belief in the Resurrection as a fact. Luke records four apparitions of Christ in Judea: to St. Peter (XXIV, 34), to the disciples going to Emmaus (XXIV, 15–31), to the Apostles on the evening of the Resurrection (XXIV, 36–43), and on the day of the Ascension (XXIV, 44–51). This selection must evidently be traced to the influence of St. Paul (cfr. 1 Cor. XV, 5 ff.).

St. John shows that, in opposition to the unbelief of the Judeans, which hardened into complete obstinacy, the faith of the disciples was brought to perfection (XX, 28) by the miracle of the Resurrection, to which Christ had alluded at the beginning of His public ministry (II, 19). The fourth Evangelist reports how his own faith was brought to perfection by a visit to the sepulchre (XX, 8). He recounts the meeting of Christ with Mary Magdalen, who brought the first news of the Resurrection to the disciples (XX, 11–18), the apparition of the risen Lord to the Apostles assembled in the Cenacle during the absence of St. Thomas on the evening of the Resurrection

(XX, 19–23), His apparition on the octave of the Resurrection when Thomas was present (XX, 24–29), and, finally, His apparition to the seven disciples at the sea of Tiberias (XXI, 1 ff.). By this narrative St. John demonstrates how Christ confirmed the Apostles in their belief in His Resurrection and the essential identity of His risen body with the one He had during His earthly career, thereby furnishing the readers of his Gospel testimonies which secure this fact against every sort of doubt and are adapted to bring to perfection the faith of his readers. St. John, like St. Luke, specially emphasizes the fact that the risen Lord first initiated the disciples into the true sense of the Scriptures concerning the prophetically announced necessity of His Resurrection (XX, 9). Probably as early as the end of the first century Jewish adversaries of Christianity asserted that the Christians believed in the Resurrection only on the strength of certain Old Testament texts. In our days this claim has been revived by Strauss *et al.* St. John and St. Luke furnish the material for the refutation of such attacks.

CHAPTER I

THE VISITORS TO THE SEPULCHRE—APPARITION OF THE ANGELS —APPARITIONS OF THE RISEN LORD—BEHAVIOR OF THE GUARDS

(Mt. XXVIII. 1–15; Mk. XVI, 1–10; Lk. XXIV, 1–12; Jn. XX, 1–18)

1. In the early morning of the first day of the week (Note 1) a number of women started for the sepulchre; they were Mary Magdalen, the "other Mary," *i. e.,* the mother of James the Less, Salome, the mother of the Zebedees, Johanna, the wife of Chusa, and several others (Mt. XXVIII, 1; Mk. XVI, 1; Lk. XXIV, 10; cfr. VIII, 3 and Jn. XX, 1). They started *together* from the city. All four Evangelists agree regarding the time of their departure: it was very early. St. John says "it was yet dark." According to this it was probably not quite 5 o'clock. To this statement St. Mark adds another: "the sun being now risen" (XVI, 2). Orthodox exegetes have expended much ingenuity in trying to adjust the difference, but in vain; the discrepancy must simply be admitted, if the words ἀνατείλαντος τοῦ ἡλίου were really penned by St. Mark. But this may justly be doubted, despite the testimony of manuscripts; first, because of the surprising position of the phrase, and secondly on account of its striking incompatibility with λίαν πρωΐ (Note 2). Accordingly we may accept the λίαν πρωΐ ("very early") as the unanimous testimony of the four Evangelists.

The motive of the women, "to see the sepulchre," as stressed by St. Matthew (XXVIII, 1), may very well be harmonized with "that they might anoint Jesus," mentioned by St. Mark

(XVI, 1) and suggested by St. Luke (XXIV, 1). Their actual purpose was to embalm the body of Jesus, which had been impossible on the evening of the 15th Nisan because of the closeness of the Sabbath. It was for this purpose that the women had bought spices and ointments on the evening of the 15th Nisan (Lk. XXIII, 56) and again on the evening of the 16th, "when the sabbath was past" (Mk. XVI, 1). In the second period, mentioned by St. Mark, it was merely a question of completing the preparations begun on the evening of the 15th Nisan (Note 3).

On the way the women were worried as to who would roll back the huge stone from the door of the sepulchre. It is objected that one should rather expect them to discuss the question of the Resurrection of Christ. But this is foolish. Even among the disciples, to whom Christ had repeatedly foretold that He would rise again, belief in the Resurrection had not taken deep roots; nay, the Apostles themselves, even St. John, had to see before they believed in the Resurrection. It was the anointing of Christ's body that occupied these women, and quite naturally above all the rolling back of the stone that closed the tomb. The other objection, that the conversation of the women would naturally be about the Roman guards, is equally silly. According to St. Luke, the women had returned to the city from Calvary and the sepulchre near it on the evening of the 15th Nisan to observe the strictly prescribed sabbath-rest (XXIII, 56). They stayed in the city on the 16th, paid no visit to the sepulchre, and hence knew nothing of the military guard and what had happened there; they did not believe the rulers of their nation capable of such a breach of the Sabbath as the military occupation of the sepulchre.

2. When the women arrived at the sepulchre they saw the stone rolled back. *Immediately before their arrival,* as Mt. XXVIII, 2 tells us, an angel of the Lord had descended from Heaven, amid a stormlike commotion of the air (σεισμός), rolled back the stone from the entrance to the tomb, and sat

down on it. The women, not seeing the angel, entered the tomb, but did not find the body and began to speculate whither it might have been taken (Lk. XXIV, 3 f.). Meanwhile Mary Magdalen hurried back to the city and reported the result of her observation to Peter and John: "They have taken away the Lord out of the sepulchre and we [my companions and I] know not where they have laid him" (Jn. XX, 2). She does not mention any apparition, either of the angel or of the Lord, because such had not as yet been vouchsafed to her (Note 4).

3. After the departure of Mary Magdalen the women who had remained at the sepulchre continued to discuss the disappearance of the body of Christ with fear and worry (Lk. XXIV, 4). Suddenly they beheld *two men, i. e.,* two angels, who announced the Resurrection of the Lord. The women were seized with surprise and dread. For they knew and felt that superior heavenly beings stood before them, and, not considering themselves worthy to look into the face of an angel, they humbly bowed their heads. But one of the two messengers of God allayed their fear by saying: *You* need not be afraid! (supply: others, whose plans have been frustrated, whose power has been broken, have reason to tremble; but *you* may cheerfully lift up your heads); God has begun to move to bring you help and consolation. Why seek you among the dead Him whom you have known alive, whose vital powers and glory you have so often experienced? He is risen: come closer and see the place where His body lay; let the empty tomb be to you a proof of the truth of what I say. Remember, moreover, the things Jesus spoke to you regarding His fate when He was yet in Galilee; like the prediction concerning His deliverance into the hands of sinful men, so also is that of His Resurrection now fulfilled; to-day is the third day of which He spoke to you so often: His prediction has come true. Go quickly and tell His disciples, especially Peter, that He is risen. The risen Lord will go before you into Galilee; there you shall see Him, as He told you; trust my words (Mt. XXVIII, 5–7; Mk. XVI, 5–7; Lk.

XXIV, 5–7). [Note 5]. The women left the sepulchre immediately after the angel had ceased to speak; on account of their great fear, their departure resembled a flight, and they at first said nothing of the apparition. Perhaps they met Peter and John on the way. Afterwards they related their adventure to the disciples in the city [Note 6].

4. Meanwhile, having heard from Mary Magdalen that the tomb was empty, Peter and John went into the garden, as St. John (XX, 3–8) narrates in an account distinguished by a naturalness and vivacity as scarcely any other in the fourth gospel. John because of his youthful vigor outran Peter, but the lively temperament of the son of thunder (Mk. III, 17) was counterbalanced by the resolute action of Peter at the sepulchre (XX, 5, 6). St. John was the first to reach the tomb, but did not dare to enter; perhaps he merely looked through the door for the place where the body had lain and saw the linen sheets lying around. After entering, he noticed the perfect order in the tomb and was convinced that Jesus had risen by divine power. Thus must the phrase, "and he saw and believed" (Jn. XX, 8) evidently be understood. The remark of the Evangelist about not knowing the Scripture (XX, 9) evidently means that the Apostle was led to believe in the reality of the Resurrection, not by reflecting on the Messianic prophecies of the Old Testament, but by ocular inspection, by sense-perception [Note 7]. In St. Peter the observation made did not produce the same effect, as we gather from Luke XXIV, 12; for the incident related by the third Evangelist is identical with the visit of Peter and John recorded by John. Luke, indeed, mentions only Peter, and from the context it might appear that Peter made the visit to the sepulchre upon the report of all the women, not upon that of Mary Magdalen alone. But the mention of Peter alone is explained by the aim of the third Evangelist, who intended to show how slow and difficult it was for the immediate disciples of Christ to believe in the Resurrection, since they could not comprehend that for their

Master the road to glory led through suffering. With this purpose in view, the third Evangelist in his account of the Resurrection mentions only Peter's visit to the sepulchre, and says that he convinced himself by personal inspection that the sepulchre was empty, and discovered no traces of theft or destruction, yet (in contradistinction to John), did not yet believe in the Resurrection. Regarding the second point it is evident that the account of St. Luke is summary and chronologically less exact, that he summarizes the return of Mary Magdalen and the other women, and omits to speak of the apparition of the risen Lord to Magdalen and the other women (compare Lk. XXIV, 9, 10 with Lk. XXIV, 22–23 and 1 Cor. XV, 5–8). It is plain that St. John wrote his account (Jn. XX, 1–8) with direct reference to the (not false, but) inexact statements of St. Luke (who goes beyond Matthew and Mark), and by supplementary and rectifying remarks placed the account of his predecessor in the right light. After the inspection of the sepulchre Peter and John returned home to await further developments.

5. Mary Magdalen remained in the garden and sought to obtain at least some consolation by looking at the sepulchre (Jn. XX, 11). Her ardent desire was gratified, first, by the apparition of an angel, and immediately thereafter by the appearance of the Lord Himself, and her confidence and love were amply rewarded (Jn. XX, 12–18; Mt. XXVIII, 9–10). While weeping, she stooped and looked into the sepulchre and saw two angels there. Note the courage of Mary Magdalen as compared with the fear which some time before, during her absence, had seized the women at the sight of the heavenly messenger (Lk. XXIV, 5; Mk. XVI, 8). Mary Magdalen answered the Angel's question why she wept with about the same words she spoke to the two Apostles: "Because they have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him" (Jn. XX, 13). The reason of her fearless attitude lies in the fact that, in her profound love for Jesus, she could think

of nothing but Him, all her thoughts and feelings, her every wish, were centered in the lost Master and, therefore, she was not frightened by the extraordinary angelic apparitions. Her singular devotion to Jesus was rewarded. Without paying any further attention to the angels, she looked around and saw an unknown man, whom she believed to be the gardener,—a peculiar but not incomprehensible mistake [Note 8]. Then Jesus, "changing" His voice (Jn. XX, 16; cfr. Gal. IV, 20), said to her: "Mary!" This sufficed to open her eyes; uttering the cry "Master!" she fell down to embrace His feet.

Another witness to the same apparition of Jesus was the companion of Magdalen, Mary, the wife of Clopas. St. John does not mention her, but St. Matthew, whose account certainly refers to the same event, does. Both women pay homage to the risen Lord and receive from Him orders to inform the disciples (Mt. XXVIII, 9^b). The fourth Evangelist adds to his narrative, merely as a supplement, the words which the Lord addressed to the women and Mary Magdalen: "Let go of me, for I am not yet ascended to the Father" (Jn. XX, 17). Mary tries to compel the Lord to stay. Christ stops her from holding His feet for this purpose, saying (according to the sense): You must not hold me so fast; do not cling to my feet, for I am about to ascend to my Father; as a dutiful handmaid go and bring the message of my Resurrection to my brethren (Jesus had pardoned the weakness of His disciples). Then He disappeared, and Mary and her companion hurried to the city, where they told of their adventure. But the disciples, still mourning and weeping, placed no faith in their message (Mk. XVI, 11; Jn. XX, 18). [Note 9].

6. The guards at the sepulchre were frightened to death by the miraculous events in the garden of Joseph,—the commotion of the air, the rolling back of the stone, and the apparition of the angels,—and some of them hastened to the high priests, who had employed them, to report what had taken place. According to Matthew (XXVIII, 11) this was done while the

women were on their way to report their experience at the sepulchre to the disciples, and hence, since the events succeeded each other rapidly, it must have been between 5 and 6 o'clock in the morning. Note, however, that the first Evangelist describes not the *departure* of the soldiers from the sepulchre (this occurred before the arrival of the women), but their *report* made in the city as simultaneous with the departure of the women from the garden. St. Matthew's object is not to fix the time of both messages, but rather to emphasize the fact that the news of the wonderful events in and about the sepulchre was brought very early to the friends and enemies of Christ,—to the former by the women, to the latter by the guards. The soldiers report to the high priests all the incidents, including their great fright, and are believed. The hierarchs evidently recalled the words of Christ regarding His Resurrection on the third day (Mt. XXVII, 63); but this belief drove them still farther into perdition. Clearly perceiving that their rule over the people would be at an end if the news of the events at the sepulchre and the belief in Christ's Resurrection spread among them, the high priests assembled the ancients to take counsel, *i. e.,* called a meeting of the Sanhedrin and submitted to it the report of the guards [Note 10]. It was resolved to give a large sum of money to the soldiers to induce them to be silent about the events and to issue the statement that the disciples came and stole the body of the Galilean during the night, whilst the guards were sleeping. It was a contemptible trick, but the only expedient under the circumstances. It recommended itself to the high priests on account of the motivating of their petition to Pilate on the morning of the 16th Nisan (Mt. XXVII, 64). But were the Roman soldiers ready to lend themselves to the spreading of a lie so dishonorable to them? The Evangelist answers this question in the affirmative, but insinuates that considerable resistance on the part of the soldiers had to be overcome: a large sum of money had to be distributed among them. Seeing the glittering coin, they evidently

suppressed the rising sentiments of honor by reasoning that the violation of duty imputed to them, concerned not directly the service of the emperor, but that of the Jewish hierarchs. They, of course, knew there was danger that Pilate might hear of it, but the hierarchs allayed their scruples by declaring that if the governor would institute an investigation, they (the Jewish rulers) would pacify him. The soldiers accepted the offer of the hierarchs, pocketed the money, and spread the lie that the disciples took the body of Christ from the sepulchre; at the time when the Evangelist wrote his Gospel, the rumor of the theft still circulated among the unbelieving Jewry, even outside of Palestine [Note 11].

1. About the noteworthy chronological statement in Mt. XXVIII, 1, I have expressed myself at large in my *Einleitung,* 2nd ed., pp. 44 ff. What the Evangelist intends to say by it is clear, but the form of the statement presents difficulties. Its sense is: when the Sabbath was over, at dawn of the first day of the week (Sunday). Materially this coincides with Mk. XVI, 2; Lk XXIV, 1; Jn. XX, 1. Ὀψὲ σαββάτων corresponds to the Talmudic *mozaë shabbat* = *egressiones sabbati* = on the day after the Sabbath. Ἡ (ἡμέρα) ἐπιφώσκουσα εἰς μίαν σαββάτων designates the (entire) night from the Sabbath to the Sunday [1] and corresponds to the Talmudic *ôr* = to dawn towards [2]: at the "ôr" of the 14th Nisan; evidently the moonlight or starlight is meant; [3] on the day after the Sabbath, on the day when the first day of the week began to dawn. Compare this with the parallel statements, at the end of the Sabbath, at the first break of day. Here we manifestly have the original Semitic locution which is the basis of the Greek text.

2. The chronology of St. Mark would agree perfectly with that of the other Evangelists, were it not for the alleged qualification, ἀνατείλαντος τοῦ ἡλίου. The Vulgate has *"orto iam sole,"* "the sun being now risen." Cod. D has ἀνατέλλοντος, and accordingly several Itala manuscripts translate: *"oriente sole,"* "when the sun rose." However, in

[1] *Chronol. Paschale,* 537, 693; Epiphan., *De Fide,* c. 21; *Haer.* 70, c. 11.
[2] *Pesachim,* I, 1.
[3] Cfr. Lk. XXIII, 54; *Epist. ad Diognet.,* IV, 5; Fronto, *Ad M. Caes.,* ed. Naber, p. 32: *"Nec aliter Kalend. Sept. expecto quam superstitiosi stellam, qua visa ieiunium polluunt."*

view of the manuscript material we must adhere to the aorist form. The expedient, resorted to by Hug, of taking the aorist form as designation of the present tense and translating: "very early when the sun rose" or "began to rise," is not feasible. I have given a great deal of thought to this chronological statement of St. Mark, especially in view of Jn. XX, 1; *πρωὶ σκοτίας ἔτι οὔσης*. The attempts at an adjustment by "early in the morning, at the break of day," etc., do not satisfy me, nor does the other: "The women came into the garden when it was still dark, when the day wrestled with the night" (John and Matthew); and when they timidly approached the sepulchre, the sun had risen. The words *ἀνατείλαντος τοῦ ἡλίου* in St. Mark appear surprisingly out of place when paralleled with the *πρωΐ ἔτι σκοτίας οὔσης* of St. John, where we have the natural sequence. Moreover, the contradiction with the preceding *πρωΐ* is undeniable. Note that St. Mark does not, as does St. John, simply write: *πρωΐ*, but *λίαν πρωΐ*; if *ἄρτι* or *ἀρτίως* (just now) would accompany *ἀνατείλαντος*, then this statement could easily be made to agree with *λίαν πρωΐ*; but as it is, there is a contradiction, which can hardly be attributed to the second Evangelist. We are told that, with the exception of D mentioned above, the MSS. agree; however, we may have here a duplication of the case in Jn. VI, 4. A very probable reason for inserting the limping "qualification" is that it may have been improvised later, in the interest of a divergent Oriental Lenten custom. The interpretation which presumes the originality of the words *ἀνατείλαντος τοῦ ἡλίου* and says: "The women started from Sion when it was still dark, walked slowly, and entered the garden of the sepulchre when the sun had risen," is well meant; but the fact that there is only one verb *ἔρχονται* (Mk. XVI, 2; Jn. XX, 1: they came to the sepulchre very early, when, . . .) wrecks this and also the other interpretation, that Mary Magdalen started from her home when it was still dark, and as she joined the other women to go to the sepulchre with them, the sun had risen.

Accordingly we consider "early" and "very early" as a uniform statement of all four Evangelists concerning the time of the visit of the women to the sepulchre on the 17th Nisan, when it was yet dark. But did not Mary Magdalen start *alone* for the garden of Joseph about this time? No! She was accompanied by several other women. St. Matthew mentions the "other Mary," *i. e.*, Mary Clopae, as her companion, St. Mark Salome, and St. Luke (XXIV, 1 and 10) adds Johanna and a few others. From Jn. XX, 1 it would appear as if Mary Magdalen alone started for the sepulchre, but this is a mere conjecture; the plural *οἴδαμεν* (XX, 2) clearly shows that Magdalen was accompanied on her first visit by other women. A simultaneous

departure of several women for the sepulchre is most probable also for internal reasons, if I may so express myself. On the evening of the 15th Nisan the women disciples of Christ had seen how the tomb was closed with a large, heavy stone; now, since they intended to embalm the body of Christ on the morning of the 17th, they had to depend on the help of several persons in removing the stone. The act of anointing, too, required several persons. No doubt the women mentioned in Lk. XXIV, 10, when buying the spices on the evening of the 16th Nisan (Mk. XVI, 1), had agreed upon the time when they would go to the tomb together on the following morning.

3. The intention of the women in going to the garden of Joseph is stated by St. Matthew (XXVIII, 1) in the words "to see the sepulchre," *θεωρῆσαι τὸν τάφον*, while St. Mark and St. Luke mention as their motive the anointing of the body of Jesus. There is no contradiction between these statements; the one purpose does not exclude the other. The intention emphasized by the first Evangelist (*θεωρῆσαι*) was absolute; the second (the anointing) depended upon the rolling away of the stone, and, in case the women knew of the seal, that this be removed. That the women went to the tomb early in the morning of the first day of the week, and not on the evening of the 16th Nisan, is explained by their intention of embalming the corpse while visiting the sepulchre; for this the time at the end of the Sabbath until the nightfall would not have sufficed.

4. The interpretation of the gospel narrative of the visit of the women to the tomb, the apparition of the angels and that of the risen Lord, presents very great difficulties. Modern critics ridicule the harmonizing attempts made by apologists. It is love's labor lost, they say. Let us frankly admit that thus far no one has succeeded in giving a perfectly satisfactory explanation of the four accounts. Perhaps this will be possible some day, and if the author of this volume could contribute even a little towards the solution of the difficulty, he would feel richly compensated for many an hour of labor. The account of the three Synoptics is exceedingly summary and often inexact. They all, indeed, emphasize the visit of the women to the tomb. We may take as the most complete the account of St. Luke, both as regards the number of women as well as the events at the apparition of the angels. St. Matthew mentions the coming of the angel, the rolling back of the stone, and his sitting on it. These events, according to his account, occurred before the women reached the tomb. We would expect of him a statement whether the women saw the angel or not.

According to St. Luke and St. John they did *not* see him; but at once entered the sepulchre and looked for the body of Jesus, but found it not; neither did they see the angel. St. Matthew in the course of his account notes that the women entered the sepulchre and were addressed by the angel (XXVIII, 8). However, the incompleteness of the account of St. Matthew and that of St. Mark shows itself especially in this that they say that the women, above all Mary Magdalen, Mary Clopae, and Salome, after their arrival in the garden, had an apparition of an angel inside the sepulchre, without indicating that Magdalen, perhaps accompanied by Mary Clopae, returned to the city and reported to the Apostles that the tomb was empty. St. Luke suggests the idea that Magdalen and her companions, after their arrival in the garden, entered the tomb, heard the joyful message of the Resurrection from the lips of the angel, and informed the Apostles without delay, but were not believed. Evidently such a view had spread in Christian circles and had become known to St. John. Therefore, with a firm and experienced hand, he pens (XX, 1 ff.) a supplement (or a correction, as you prefer). He says: True, Mary went to the tomb early in the morning of the 17th Nisan with the other women; but before she saw the angel or Christ Himself, she hastened back to the city to inform Peter and John of the removal of the stone and the disappearance of the body.

Thus far everything is quite clear; but now the difficulties begin. Hitherto all believing exegetes have been of the opinion that Mary Magdalen, after arriving in the garden in advance of the other women, at once noticed the removal of the stone, and hastened back to the city to inform the two Apostles; in passing the other women she briefly told them of her observations. This assumption is hardly correct. Mary Magdalen entered the garden simultaneously with her companions, and went into the sepulchre with them, no doubt as the first, but saw no angel there, any more than the rest, looked for the body of Christ, and not finding it, exchanged opinions with the others regarding its disappearance (Lk. XXIV, 3–4). Then she stepped out of the sepulchre and hurried back to the city. *Immediately after* her departure the other women saw the angel (or angels) in the sepulchre (Mk. XVI, 5: after entering; but not immediately after) and received the Easter message: "He is risen" (ἠγέρθη). This view is forced upon us by the accounts of Luke and John: the former says that the women entered the sepulchre, and the latter confirms this statement by the words, "We know not where they have laid him" (οὐκ οἴδαμεν ποῦ ἔθηκαν αὐτόν). According to this account Magdalen had at first taken part in the deliberations concerning the disappearance of the body

(Lk. XXIV, 3–4). It must be admitted that the account of St. John (XX, 1–2) suggests the idea that Mary Magdalen, upon her arrival *near the tomb,* seeing the stone removed, started to "run" toward the city to inform SS. Peter and John. However, it appears strange that, upon her arrival in the city, she should say to the Apostles: They have taken the Lord out of the sepulchre, and we know not where they have laid him (Jn. XX, 2). Perhaps she concluded from the fact that the tomb was open, that the body had been removed to another place. However, we prefer to combine the two accounts of St. Luke (XXIV, 2–4 f.) and St. John (XX, 1) and to assume that Magdalen really did enter the sepulchre with her companions and convinced herself with her own eyes of the absence of the body, and then, while the others deliberated (Lk. XXIV, 4), hurriedly sought SS. Peter and John. This assumption would explain her positive assurance. Under all circumstances we must maintain that Magdalen, when she ran to the city, had not yet been favored with an apparition of the angel, but that this apparition was vouchsafed to the other women immediately *after* her departure.

Did Mary Magdalen return to the city alone, or was she accompanied by Mary Clopae? St. John's account seems to indicate that she was alone, for the Evangelist only mentions Magdalen as visiting the tomb in the early morning of the 17th Nisan, and as carrying the news to SS. Peter and John. We must, of course, take into consideration her words: *"We* know not where they have laid him." These words do not necessarily mean that Magdalen must have been accompanied by at least *one* woman; if she entered the sepulchre with the other women and together with them perceived the absence of the body, she could very well say "we." At any rate the assumption recommends itself that Mary Clopae ran with Magdalen to SS. Peter and John. St. Matthew mentions the presence of these two women at the sepulchre on the evening of the 15th Nisan (XXVII, 61) and accordingly the visit of the two to the sepulchre in the early morning of the 17th (XXVIII, 1); surely the Evangelist means these same two women again in XXVIII, 9 ff.; from this we may conclude that they were continually together in those days and hours, and hence hastened together from the tomb to the city.

5. The revelation made to the women by the angels concerning the Resurrection of the Lord and the commission to bring the news to the disciples, is related by the first three Evangelists (Mt. XXVIII, 5–7; Mk. XVI, 5–7; Lk. XXIV, 4–8). St. John did not think it necessary to refer to this matter; only this does he give to understand,

especially in XX, 13, 15, that Mary Magdalen did not take part in this scene, as it would seem from the account of his predecessors. That St. Matthew and St. Mark speak of one angel and St. Luke of two, involves no contradiction, because St. Luke, as XXIV, 5 shows, does not distinguish between the speaker and her companions, as do SS. Matthew and Mark, who stress the message rather than the number of angels. By the phrase: and the Angel answering (*ἀποκριθεὶς δέ*; XXVIII, 5) St. Matthew by no means indicates a different situation than St. Mark or St. Luke, as if the women first addressed a question to the angel; St. Matthew rather describes the address to the women as a reply, inasmuch as the angel seems to wish to calm their fright. In view of the state of mind of the women he tells them: "Fear not." St. Luke likewise speaks of their great fright, but at the same time also of the bowing down of their countenance (XXIV, 5), an expression of humility, of the sense of unworthiness of standing in the presence of messengers of God, whose nearness these messengers indicate. The *ὑμεῖς* after *φοβεῖσθε* (Mt. XXVIII, 5) cannot very well be considered meaningless; the sense is: You, faithful, honest, upright, God-fearing souls need not fear; the emphasized *ὑμεῖς* may be viewed also as an indirect allusion to the terrified guards and their employers (Mt. XXVIII, 4), on whom the strong arm of God has decended. According to St. Matthew, the angel substantiates the friendliness of His attitude by saying: For I know that you seek Jesus, who was crucified (XXVIII, 5). To Jesus the women were still attached, although their faith had weakened; for they sought Jesus of Nazareth, instead of remembering that He was the Son of God. St. Mark has *τὸν Ναζαρηνόν* after *Ἰησοῦν* (XVI, 6); for the rest his wording agrees with that of St. Matthew. St. Luke says that the angels asked the women: Why seek you the living among the dead? According to all three Evangelists the angel said: (*Ἰησοῦς*) *ἠγέρθη*, not *ἀνέστη*, thus directing the women's attention to God's omnipotence, in order to assist their weak faith and gain for his Easter message an entrance into their depressed hearts. St. Luke does not mention the *command* of the angel, which in St. Matthew is worded thus: Going quickly, tell ye his disciples that he is risen from the dead. According to this Evangelist (XXVIII, 7) the angel continues: He will go before you into Galilee (*προάγει ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν*). As the introductory *καὶ ἰδού* (and behold) shows, these words refer primarily not to the disciples, but to the women; *ὑμᾶς* corresponds to the *ὑμῖν* in the final clause: "Lo, I have foretold it to you," which can have reference only to the women. According to St. Mark (XVI, 7) the command reads: But (the word *ἀλλά* interrupts and marks the transition) go,

tell His disciples and (especially) Peter (the head of the Apostles), that He goeth before you into Galilee; there you shall see Him, as He told you. The words, *ἐκεῖ αὐτὸν ὄψεσθε καθὼς εἶπεν ὑμῖν*, are not a part of the command addressed to the women, but contain a promise intended primarily for them. Of course, the angel, in saying "as He told you" (*καθὼς εἶπεν ὑμῖν*), had in mind the words (Mk. XIV, 28), "I will go before you into Galilee (*προάξω ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν*)," which Christ spoke to His Apostles, not to the women, on the evening of the 14th Nisan in the Cenacle, to intimate to the former that the disciples would see Him there. However, He gave this promise not only to His disciples in the restricted sense, but to all the disciples who had followed Him into Judea, and hence the angel could very well apply these words also to the women. The *ὅτι* before *προάγει* is commonly taken as an introduction to the words *προάγει ὑμᾶς εἰς τῆν Γαλιλαίαν*: deliver to the Apostles, in particular to Peter, the message that Christ goes there ahead of you. In this case *ὑμᾶς* would refer to the Apostles. We mistrust this interpretation and feel that *ὑμᾶς* has reference to both the Apostles *and* the women: tell the Apostles that He will precede you (disciples and women) into Galilee. In my opinion the original account is that of St. Matthew. The *καὶ Πέτρῳ* in St. Mark may be original, but the message evidently reads as St. Matthew (XXVIII, 7) records: He is risen. The promise regarding Christ's going ahead to Galilee was addressed to the *women* and primarily intended for them; but they were to tell the Apostles of it. St. Mark does not connect "He is risen" (*ἠγέρθη*) with the command of the angel, but only the words *προάγει ὑμᾶς*. Everybody will no doubt say to himself: The women evidently reported to the Apostles the *ἠγέρθη* said to them by the angel, and since the *προάγει ὑμᾶς* of St. Mark may be applied to the women as well as to the Apostles, there is no essential difference between the two accounts, except that St. Matthew's seems the more original and clearer of the two.

What do the words: "I will go before you into Galilee" (*προάγει ἔμᾶς εἰς τῆν Γαλιλαίαν*, Mt. XXVIII, 7; Mk. XVI, 7) mean? They coincide with the prediction on the evening of the 14th Nisan (Mt. XXVI, 32; Mk. XIV, 28, apart from *μετὰ τὸ ἐγερθῆναι*). How did the Apostles in the Cenacle understand the words of Our Lord? They at that time had no clear perception of the Resurrection; for although Christ had often spoken of it, they did not understand, because they labored under mistaken Messianic ideas; the thought that Christ should die was incomprehensible to them, and hence also that of the Resurrection. But if they reflected on the words, "I will go before you into Galilee," they might form the conception: as our teacher and master went with

us to Jerusalem (via Jericho), *going before* us boldly and calmly (Mt. XX, 17; Mk. X, 32), so in like manner will He go with us from Jerusalem to Galilee. Now when, on the morning of the Resurrection, the angel through the women informed the Apostles of the words spoken on the 14th Nisan, this interpretation was dispelled, for the heavenly messenger added: There (in Galilee) you shall see Him (the risen Lord). Hence they were to see the Lord and associate with Him only in Galilee, and not to enjoy His company on the journey thither. Christ Himself, however, by His commission to the women to whom He appeared on Easter morning, put a definite end to all doubts concerning the meaning of the words. For He ordered them to tell the disciples that they should set out from Jerusalem and go to Galilee, where they would see Him (Mt. XXVIII, 10). Hence we must assume that on the evening of the 14th Nisan, Christ meant to say to His Apostles: The shepherd will indeed be struck, but he will not die of this mortal wound, but rise again and with a shepherd's joy once more gather together his dispersed flock. At first this remark was unintelligible to the Apostles, and all they could gather with certainty from it was that the Lord promised an intimate association with them in Galilee. The message of the angel, communicated to them by the women on the 17th Nisan, and that of Christ Himself, gave them to understand that He would not meet them in Jerusalem and be their guide and leader to Galilee, but that they should go there alone. Whilst the angel's message repeated the enigmatical saying of the 14th Nisan word for word in the present tense: *προάγει ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν* (Mt. XXVIII, 7; Mk. XVI, 7), the passage was omitted in the message of Christ, so that nothing remained but the exhortation to the disciples to depart at once for Galilee to see the Lord face to face (Mt. XXVIII, 10). The ambiguous phrase "go before" or ahead by Christ in the prophecy on the 17th Nisan was suggested by the *simile of the good shepherd* employed immediately before (Mt. XXVI, 31; Mk. XIV, 21): The shepherd goes ahead of his sheep. At the same time Jesus wished to insinuate to the disciples that they must not expect to be led away from Judea, but that He would await them in Galilee, where shepherd and flock would be reunited. This much about the *logion* so greatly neglected by the exegetes. As found in Mt. XXVI, 32 and Mk. XIV, 28, it bears the stamp of originality, in fact, it obtrudes itself forcibly as a saying of Christ. Both Matthew (XXVI, 32) and Mark (XIV, 28) would have chosen a different form to express the idea: "After I shall have risen again, go from Jerusalem into Galilee, where you shall see me."

According to Lk. XXIV, 6–7 the angel reminds the women of the

prophecy uttered by Christ while sojourning in Galilee concerning His deliverance into the hands of sinful men and His Resurrection on the third day (Lk. IX, 22; XVIII, 31). The phrase "on the third day" merits special consideration. A parallel is the discourse of the resurrection "after three days" (Mt. XXVII, 63) or "in three days" (Jn. II, 19–22) or "after three days and three nights" (Mt. XII, 39–41). "On the third day" and "in three days" is quite comprehensible; there is question here of the 15th Nisan (beginning with the evening), the 16th and 17th. "After three days" means, on the third day next following. In this sense the Sanhedrists in their petition to Pilate use the phrase: ἕως τῆς τρίτης ἡμέρας (Mt. XXVII, 63). A difficulty seems involved in the phrase, "three days and three nights." However, according to the Jewish idiom, "three days" may not be three full days, for a part of the day was often reckoned as a whole day; "three days and three nights" is merely a paraphrase for "three days." The body of Christ was in the tomb part of the 15th, the entire 16th, and the entire night of the 16th to the 17th Nisan.

6. What the critics ridicule most in the gospel narratives of the visits to the tomb is the running to and fro of the women. Mary Magdalen, they say, hastens to the city to fetch Peter and John, and from the city back to the garden; the other women also start for the city immediately after the apparition of the angels, but meet neither Magdalen nor the two Apostles. This discrepancy cannot be explained by the arbitrary assumption that the other women went to the city by another road than Mary Magdalen. We must, however, remember that the accounts of the Synoptics are very incomplete and, as compared with that of St. John, inexact. A careful comparison shows that we must distinguish two groups of women: Mary Magdalen and the other Mary form the one; Salome, Johanna, and several other women constitute the second group. The latter, after the hurried departure of Magdalen and Mary Clopae, received the message of the Resurrection from the lips of the angel; they had the advantage of the apparition and the revelation at a time when Magdalen and the other Mary were on their way to the city. They at once started for the city, to deliver the message to the disciples, as they had been ordered (Mt. XXVIII, 8; Lk. XXIV, 9). On the way they met Peter and John, as also Mary Magdalen and Mary Clopae, returning to the sepulchre, but did not tell them of their experience; sheer fright hindered them from doing so (Mk. XVI, 8). Arriving in the city, they reported to the disciples what they had found at the sepulchre and the apparition of the angel. This is apparent from Lk. XXIV, 23 f. According to Luke, women, who

had not found the body of Christ, came from the sepulchre to the disciples in the city and reported that they had found the tomb empty and seen a vision of angels; they said nothing of an apparition of Christ. These favored women were Salome, Johanna, and the others; as St. Luke (XXIV, 11) expressly says, their statement was not believed; some time later Mary Magdalen and Mary Clopae arrived and reported the vision of an angel and an apparition of the risen Lord Himself (Jn. XX, 16; Mt. XXVIII, 10).

7. Jn. XX, 1–10 is so minutely exact and so picturesquely clear that every line betrays the eyewitness. Note the present tense τρέχει οὖν καὶ ἔρχεται (v. 2), the rapid transition (v. 3) from the aorist (ἐξῆλθεν) to the imperfect (ἤρχοντο). The reporter suddenly becomes a painter, His first meeting with Jesus with all its details (I, 35 ff.) is still vividly impressed on his memory in old age; also the visit to the tomb, which he describes as if it had been made on the day before writing his account. The unaffected truth and simplicity of the account is so striking that it was left for modern rationalists to detect in it a sinister purpose (self-glorification at the expense of Peter!). The fourth Evangelist plainly wishes to supplement and complete the summary account of his predecessors, in particular that of St. Luke. The prior arrival of St. John at the sepulchre is attributable to his youth and greater agility. The reason why he remains outside the entrance and merely stoops to look into the tomb, is not that he is seized with fear, but rather out of respect for Peter, to whom John wished to give precedence because he was older and had been chosen by Christ for the primacy.

The mystic explanation of the event by Gregory the Great[5] is rather far-fetched. According to Luke (XXIV, 12), St. Peter, arriving at the sepulchre, cast a glance into it and saw the linen cloths, but not the body; the cloths were all in one place, therefore St. John did not notice them. Having assured himself by ocular inspection of the orderly condition of the sepulchre, he *believed.* What did he believe? According to Theophylact, Bede, and many others, John believed the message of Mary Magdalen that the enemies of Jesus had stolen His body. This interpretation is impossible. The condition of the sepulchre could not lead him to entertain such an opinion. No matter how cautiously the enemies of Christ might have proceeded, the traces and consequences of their nefarious deed would necessarily have been perceptible in one form or another. No; the sight of the unprofaned sepulchre led St. John to believe in the *Resurrection* of Christ. Let us not forget that St. John

[5] St. John a figure of the Synagogue, St. Peter a figure of paganism; *Hom., 22.*

wrote the words, "and he saw and believed" (καὶ εἶδεν καὶ ἐπίστευσεν, XX, 8) in view of the statement of St. Luke (XXIV, 12) that Peter went away wondering at what had come to pass. The fourth Evangelist is considerate enough not to mention St. Peter in his narrative. Had he touched upon the latter's attitude, he would have been obliged to write: Peter for the present did not believe that Christ was risen. A glance at St. Luke's account shows that, despite his ocular inspection of the sepulchre, Peter did not as yet believe, but only marvelled. He sensed that something extraordinary, something wonderful had occurred; but he did not think of the Resurrection. Even St. John's humble confession: εἶδεν καὶ ἐπίστευσεν, involves a sort of self-accusation: "I also," he means to say, "was slow to believe and needed a sign, an external proof, a visible support, to accept the fact of the Resurrection. To me, as to Thomas, the Saviour might have said: Blessed are they who do not see and yet believe (XX, 29). The Old Testament prophecies (Ps. XVI, 10; Is. II, 7; cfr. Acts II, 24 ff.; XIII, 32 ff.) should have furnished me a solid and reliable basis for belief in the Resurrection, not to speak of the predictions made by Jesus Himself. However, precisely because I lacked a proper understanding of the Scriptures (XX, 9), I could be led to a belief in the Resurrection of Jesus only by sense-perception (in the sepulchre)." When the fourth Evangelist adds (Jn. XX, 10) that he and Peter returned from the tomb to their *diversorium* (ἀπῆλθον πάλιν, went away from the tomb back to their lodging-place), he indicates that his own faith was still weak. At home the two disciples intended to await further developments; they dared not for the present speak about the events to the other disciples. I am aware of the fact that the authenticity of Lk. XXIV, 12, a parallel text to Jn. XX, 3–10, has been questioned, that the words ὀθόνια, παρακύπτειν, and in particular the phrase ἀπῆλθεν πρὸς ἑαυτόν, have a distinctly Johannine sound, and that the verse XXIV, 12 is missing in D and several other codices of the third Gospel. Nevertheless I am not inclined to view this verse either as a gloss appropriated from St. John or as a later addition, for it is sufficiently attested by Aleph, A, B, and L, and besides, according to Lk. XXIV, 24, some (hence at least two) of the disciples hastened to inspect the tomb, while St. John, besides Peter, expressly mentions "the other disciple." If the verse were a later interpolation, its author would have mentioned two disciples, in view of the Johannine account and Lk. XXIV, 24. Hence its peculiar phrasing is an argument in favor of the authenticity of Lk. XXIV, 12. True, the position of the comma would seem to indicate that St. Peter started for the sepulchre only after he had heard of the apparition of the angels, whereas, according to St. John, he set

out immediately after receiving Magdalen's message that the body of Christ was missing. However, this difficulty is connected with the inexactness of St. Luke, which has been repeatedly noted. What Luke wishes to say is that the idea that the Messias must suffer before He could enter into His glory, was inconceivable to the disciples (cfr. XXIV, 26); therefore he represents Peter as the only visitor to the sepulchre, because he did not believe in the Resurrection despite the empty tomb. St. Luke saw no reason for mentioning the nascent faith of St. John, because it had no bearing on the attitude of the disciples at the time. The verse (Lk. XXIV, 12) should, therefore, not be attacked.

8. The account of St. John, especially XX, 15, shows clearly that when the Lord appeared to Mary Magdalen, she had not as yet knowledge of the angel's message, "He is risen" (ἠγέρθη), else it would not have occurred to her that the gardener might have removed the body of Jesus to another place. Some critics consider her attitude as abnormal, but without just reason. Perhaps the guards, who were relieved every three hours, had left traces of their activity in the garden by tramping down the vegetation, and when Magdalen noticed these traces, it was natural for her to think that the gardener had removed the body to another place in order to prevent further damage to his plants. The words of Mary Magdalen to the angel: "I know not where they have laid him [the body of Jesus]" do not preclude the presence of Mary Clopae, but merely indicate that the latter did not take an active part in the proceedings. This may have induced the fourth Evangelist not to mention her together with Magdalen; he proceeds from the idea that the apparition of Christ was intended for the benefit of His faithful disciple, Magdalen (cfr. Mk. XVI, 9), whose words to the supposed gardener are significant: "Sir, if thou hast taken him hence, tell me where thou hast laid him." Magdalen does not mention the name of Jesus, but acts as if the gardener must know whom she seeks.

9. It is surprising that the exegetes have not made greater efforts to obtain a clear idea of the relation existing between the account of St. Matthew (XXVIII, 9–10) and that of St. John (XX, 11–17). Both texts deal with an apparition of the risen Lord. According to St. John, Mary Magdalen was favored with it, whereas St. Matthew, as not a few exegetes think, means to exclude Mary Magdalen and represent the apparition as calculated for the benefit of the other women. We must first clear up the point whether the apparition narrated by St.

Matthew preceded or followed that narrated by St. John. The critics choose the latter hypothesis because, according to Mk. XVI, 9, Christ appeared first to Mary Magdalen, and this is very plausible for intrinsic reasons. If the apparition recorded by St. John must be assumed to have been the first or earliest, we must ask whether those exegetes are right in assuming that St. Matthew means an apparition different from that recorded by St. John. We positively answer this question in the negative and decide in favor of the identity of the two apparitions. Matthew is evidently inexact in XXVIII, 1–10. First of all, as was emphasized above, he mentions only Mary Magdalen and Mary Clopae as visitors to the sepulchre, whilst we know there were at least five or six women. Then—if we interpret his text literally —he introduces these two women as those who were favored with the angelic vision, whereas we know from the other gospels, especially that of St. John, that only the other women visitors to the sepulchre, Salome, Johanna, etc., heard the Easter message from the lips of the angel, but not Mary Magdalen. However, we must take into consideration the fact that St. Matthew, in recording the apparition of the risen Lord, distinctly mentions Mary Magdalen and Mary Clopae as the persons who were thus honored. Accordingly St. Matthew's account leads us to suppose that Mary Magdalen and Mary Clopae were present at the apparition of the Lord recorded by him. If this is the case, there can be no doubt that St. Matthew had in mind the same apparition as St. John, who evidently refers to St. Matthew (as well as to St. Luke) and emphasizes that Mary Magdalen was favored with the apparition of the risen Lord after she had hastened from the sepulchre to the city and announced to Peter and John that the tomb was empty. This is a highly important supplement or correction; which, however, does not exclude the fact recorded by St. Matthew, *viz.:* that, besides Mary Magdalen, Mary Clopae was also present at the apparition of Jesus. The aim of the Johannine account is merely to show that this apparition was intended for Mary Magdalen, that the Lord first manifested Himself to her, as St. Mark (XVI, 9) expressly states, without, however, invalidating the statements of St. Matthew. A satisfactory solution of the difficult question can be arrived at only by assuming that Mary Magdalen saw and recognized the Lord soon after the departure of Peter and John, hailed Him as "rabboni," and worshiped Him together with Mary Clopae (cfr. the words of Christ in Mt. XXVIII, 10).

Let us sum up the facts thus far ascertained: Mary Magdalen, together with several other women, early in the morning of the 17th Nisan, sets out for the sepulchre for the purpose of anointing the body

of Jesus. The women find the stone rolled back, enter the tomb under the leadership of Magdalen, and find it empty. Thunderstruck by this discovery, Magdalen, accompanied by Mary Clopae, hastens away to carry the news to Peter and John. After her departure, the other women are favored with an angelic apparition and entrusted with a message to the disciples. They hurriedly leave the sepulchre and hasten to the city; but, on account of their great fright, they are too confused to tell Peter and Magdalen, whom they meet on the way, what they have seen (Mk. XVI, 8). Upon their arrival in the city, they report the apparition to the disciples. After the departure of the Apostles, Magdalen also sees an angel, and immediately thereafter, Christ Himself appears to her in the presence of Mary Clopae, her faithful companion (Mt. XXVIII, 8–9); then both return to the city and inform the mourning disciples. The majority of the women only saw the angel, not the risen Lord. The Synoptics give a detailed account of the former apparition (Mt. XXVIII, 5–8; Mk. XVI, 4–8; Lk. XXIV, 4–11), which differs completely from that seen by Magdalen (Jn. XX, 12–13), whose behavior also differs from that of the other women, as described by the Synoptics. They were filled with fear and consternation, whereas Magdalen is perfectly calm, one might almost say indifferent, probably because of her complete absorption in the yearning for Jesus. She is eager to find His body and for the moment not in a state of mind to receive the message of His Resurrection. The apparition of Jesus to Magdalen, as described in Jn. XX, is identical with that recorded in Mt. XXVIII, 9 ff., for if it were not, we should have to conclude that the Lord appeared twice to Mary Magdalen on the morning of the Resurrection, which is unlikely. On the other hand, St. Matthew's account forces us to conceive the apparition described by him as the one to Magdalen and Mary Clopae, because in his opening verse (XXVIII, 1) he expressly introduces these two women as visitors to the grave. There is no contradiction between Mt. XXVIII, 9 and Jn. XX, 17), for even according to the latter account Mary Magdalen (and her companion) actually touched the Lord, as we see from the words μή μου ἅπτου (let go of me). Christ wishes to be released from her embrace in order to go to the Father (Jn. XIV, 4).

One is inclined to blame the first Evangelist for mentioning (XXVIII, 5–8) an angelic apparition accorded to the other women without indicating that there was a change of persons. But here as elsewhere Matthew is indifferent to chronological sequence and fine discrimination of individual traits, having in mind only the story as a whole. He stresses the visit of the Galilean women, the apparition to them of an angel, and the apparition of the risen Lord, but furnishes no details regard-

ing the number of the women (he mentions two by name; according to Mark and Luke there were more), the time of the apparitions, the attending circumstances and the manner of participation. By closely scrutinizing the accounts of all four Evangelists we see there were two groups of women, to one of whom was accorded only one angelic apparition, whereas the other group had two and also saw the risen Saviour. On the main points all four accounts agree.

(1) The Apostles and the intimate disciples (men and women) of Christ were in Jerusalem or in the immediate neighborhood (on Mount Olivet or in Bethania) on the 17th Nisan, the day of Christ's Resurrection. As He had predicted (Mk. XIV, 27; cfr. Jn. XVI, 20 and 32) they were scandalized by His suffering and on the third day after His death were still in a state of sadness, mourning, fear, and consternation (cfr. Mk. XVI, 10; Lk. XXIV, 17).

(2) The statements of the women concerning the events in and about the sepulchre were at first received by the Apostles and disciples with distrust and incredulity as day-dreams and idle gossip (Lk. XXIV, 11; Mk. XVI, 11, 14).

(3) A change took place later in the day (Lk. XXIV, 34). That the disciples in these hours of sadness and dejection believed in the Resurrection (*e. g.*, by studying the Old Testament passages concerning the Messias) is out of the question. They were initiated into the true sense of the Scriptures by the risen Lord Himself (Lk. XXIV, 25 ff.; XXIV, 44; Jn. XX, 9). On the other hand, Christ's own prophecies concerning His Passion, death, and Resurrection (Mt. XVI, 21; XVII, 23; XXVI, 32; Mk. VIII, 31; IX, 31; XIV, 28; Lk. IX, 22), almost forgotten by the disciples in their consternation, had nevertheless been treasured in their hearts, revived at the report from the sepulchre, and filled them with some hope (Lk. XXIV, 21 ff.), which was, of course, again darkened by the dejected mood which had taken hold of them in consequence of the death of their Master. The doubts, dejection, and unbelief of the disciples were overcome solely by the apparitions of the risen Lord. The Evangelists do not fail to state that the disciples were convinced of His identity only by seeing, hearing, and touching Him (Mk. XVI, 14; Lk. XXIV, 36–43; Jn. XX, 19–23; XIX, 24–29).

10. According to Mt. XXVIII, 11, some of the guards (perhaps four men) reported the events that had occurred at the sepulchre to the hierarchs while the women were on the way from Joseph's garden to the city (πορευομένων δὲ αὐτῶν). The context shows that the Evangelist has in mind the return of Mary Magdalen and Mary Clopae (Lk.

XXIV, 10) after the apparition of the risen Lord; for the statement concerning that apparition and His command to the women to inform the disciples immediately precedes the return of the two women. The events at the sepulchre on the evening of the 17th Nisan, described by the Evangelists, took place within about one hour, and we must positively reject the idea that Christ appeared to Magdalen later in the course of the forenoon. We must, therefore, place the report of the guards to the hierarchs at about 5 to 6 o'clock A. M. Whether a report of the events was made also to the military authorities, St. Matthew does not say; but the presumption is not precluded by his account; the "some" (τινές) deputized by the entire guard acted quite correctly in going to the hierarchs, for the guard had been placed at the disposal of the latter by Pilate. To interpret Matthew's account concerning the departure of τινές as meaning that the remainder, mindful of the military regulations, stayed at the sepulchre until further orders, is incompatible with the gospel narrative, which gives us plainly to understand that Joseph's garden was *completely* evacuated by the guards when the women, and, soon after, Peter and John arrived there: for they inspected the tomb unmolested. Possibly, however, the guards left the garden just as the women approached. Their departure was, of course, contrary to duty, but we must not overestimate the military discipline of the Roman army and remember that extraordinary events always entail a deviation from the strictest military regulations. St. Matthew does not expressly say that an official session of the Sanhedrin was called on account of the news from Christ's sepulchre. One might think that prominent members of the Grand Council met to discuss the situation. In that case, however, they would have consulted with the Pharisees, who had gone with them to Pilate on the previous day (Mt. XXVII, 62). Since Matthew also in other passages (cfr. II, 4; XX, 18) mentions only two classes of Sanhedrists, although he evidently has in mind the entire corporate body, his words: "The chief priests being assembled together with the ancients, took counsel" (XXVIII, 12) may be understood of an *official* meeting of the Sanhedrin. The Supreme Council had decreed the death of Jesus and therefore had to take action when the report came that the tomb of the crucified Galilean had been found open.

According to the apocryphal *Acta Pilati*, the guards reported τοῖς ἀρχισυναγώγοις καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ τοῖς λευίταις concerning the earthquake, the apparition of the angels, and the rolling back of the stone (A. XIII, 1, 254 f.) and their commander related to the Judeans the *revelation* made by the angel to the women. This report must, of course, be rejected. One would like to know whether the report of the soldiers

also contained a statement or hint regarding the empty tomb and the disappearance of the body of Jesus. This can hardly be assumed; for according to Matthew the guards swooned when the earth quaked and the angel appeared (XXVIII 4). The *Acti Pilati* (B, XIII, 1, 316) say that they were so terrified that they could neither flee nor speak; after recovering somewhat, they fled without examining the sepulchre. Their report, therefore, does not include the interior condition of the tomb. On the other hand, it cannot be doubted (cfr. Mt. XXVIII, 13 f.) that the hierarchs knew that the body of Jesus was no longer in the sepulchre, and for this reason invented the lie that His disciples had stolen it. How did they know that the body was no longer in the tomb? They evidently had caused the tomb to be inspected; for although the Evangelist does not report this fact, we may infer it from his account. Christ had foretold this inspection (Jn. XIII, 33; VII, 33 f.; cfr. VIII, 21).

We must not leave unnoticed the account of the Pseudo-Peter (v. 40–49) according to which the guards at first heard a voice from heaven saying: "Hast thou [Christ] preached to those who are asleep?" —whereupon another voice was heard from the cross, answering: "Yes!" The guards, taking counsel together, decided to report the matter to Pilate; but suddenly the heavens again opened and a man (an angel) came down and went into the sepulchre. The guards now deserted the sepulchre, went to Pilate, and excitedly told him what they had seen, saying: "Indeed, he was the Son of God." Pilate repudiated the responsibility for the death of Jesus, and the Judeans petitioned him to impose silence on the soldiers; they admitted their guilt and expressed fear that the people might stone them. Pilate granted their request.

11. St. Matthew's account of the conduct of the Judeans is by no means unreliable, as some assert. The hierarchs were convinced that the guards had told the truth. The tomb was empty, and they certainly did not believe that the disciples had stolen the body, for in that case they would have forthwith proceeded against them. The remembrance of Christ's words about His Resurrection on the third day must have risen in their mind (Mt. XVII, 63); however, the thought: God is with Him, God has resuscitated Him, was forcibly repressed by a guilty conscience. The hand of God had written on the rocks of Joseph's garden words which they could read and interpret for themselves. If we let the matter take its course, they argued, and submit to the powerful hand of God, the people will believe in the Resurrection of Jesus and kill us as seducers and deceivers. To escape this dilemma they, the children of the devil (Jn. VIII, 44), resorted to a deliberate

lie. It was, of course, a desperate expedient to instigate the Roman soldiers to a declaration of this sort: to testify to what they had not seen. St. Augustine is quite right when he exclaims: *"Infelix astutia; si dormiebant, quid videre poterant? si nihil viderunt, quomodo testes sunt?"* (*In Ps.*, LXIII, 7). But no other expedient was feasible, and the Jewish hatred of the Galilean has, in the course of centuries, even to this day (cfr. Mt. XXVIII, 15), devised no better means to explain the empty sepulchre than the hoary lie that the disciples stole the body of Jesus. For the nonce the hierarchs attained their purpose: the great mass of the people allowed themselves to be blinded by the lies spread by the soldiers; they adhered to their deceitful leaders, and the base lie about the theft of the body was spread in and outside of Palestine. Cfr. on this matter the *Acta Pilati*, B, XIII, 318, and especially Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.*, 17 and 108; Tertullian, *Apolog.*, 21 and *De Spectac.*, 30. These writers evidently had in mind the account of St. Matthew (XXVIII, 14), who reports the hierarchs as saying to the Roman soldiers: "We will persuade him (ἡμεῖς πείσομεν αὐτόν), in case the matter will be brought up for a hearing before (ἐπί) the governor" (the Vulgate translates ἀκουσθῇ τοῦτο ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος less correctly by: *si hoc auditum fuerit a praeside*), giving no indication that the account is unworthy of credit. True, the speech of the high priests is at variance with the situation. The Judeans in the last few days had lost the governor's favor, if there was any favor to lose; he had shown cold reserve to the deputation of the 16th Nisan (Mt. XXVII, 65). All this, however, the wise hierarchs prudently concealed from the soldiers, and assumed an air as if *they*, the acknowledged leaders of the Jewish people, had Pilate fully in their power: *We* shall appease, pacify, propitiate him, that he may not harm or punish you. In uttering these words the hierarchs scarcely thought of pacifying the governor by bribes; they merely said something to quiet the soldiers; the import of their words was evidently not clear to themselves at the moment. Perhaps the chief speaker (Caiphas) flattered himself with the hope of pacifying, if need be, the governor by representing to him that for the sake of maintaining public order the chosen expedient (prevailing upon the soldiers to make false statements) appeared necessary. The soldiers may have found the offer quite acceptable on account of the promised reward and in the hope that Pilate would ignore the matter, especially, as it was expected that he would soon leave Jerusalem. Experience shows that men, when they let themselves be betrayed into committing a crime, do not anxiously weigh all the possible consequences (think of Judas). In short, the objections raised against the lie concerning the theft of Christ's body are unfounded.

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Significant, though by no means strange, is the expression, "among the Jews" (παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις). To say that it originated with the Greek translator of St. Matthew's Gospel will not do. True, οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι primarily denotes the members of the Jewish nation as contrasted with non-Jews (*e. g.*, Mk. VII, 3); but here it can only mean the Jews who did not believe in Jesus. The use of the term in this sense by St. Matthew need not surprise us, for he speaks the language of the Christians of Jewish origin, for whom he wrote his Gospel. In this light we can comprehend this procedure, which resembles that of St. Paul, who likewise was a Jew by birth (cfr. 1 Thess. II, 14; 2 Cor. XI),—not to speak of St. John, who wrote later and who also uses οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι in the above-quoted sense. There is no cause for seeing in the phrase: "And this word (about the alleged stealing of the body) was spread abroad even unto this day" an indication that a long interval elapsed between the Resurrection and the rumors connected with it, and the writing of the first Gospel. The remark of the Evangelist is quite comprehensible if he wrote about A. D. 42: a decade had already elapsed, and the lie was still current.

CHAPTER II

OTHER APPARITIONS OF THE RISEN LORD IN JUDEA

(Mk. XVI, 12–13; Lk. XXIV, 13–43; Jn. XX, 19–29)

1. The apparition of Jesus to the two disciples traveling to Emmaus on the day of the Resurrection is recorded by St. Luke (XXIV, 13–35) and alluded to by St. Mark (XVI, 12, 13). As the locality where it took place both Evangelists name the road from Jerusalem to Emmaus. Hence it was in Judea. At Emmaus the travellers were for some time in the company of Jesus. In regard to the location of this place St. Luke merely states that it was sixty furlongs (*stadia*) from Jerusalem. Most of the Greek manuscript codices and nearly all the translations contain the lection, *ἀπέχουσαν σταδίους ἑξήκοντα* (Lk. XXIV, 13), only Aleph, J and N (sixth century) and the *Evang. Hierosolym.* have *ἑκατὸν ἑξήκοντα*. If the latter were correct, we would have to locate the incident at Amwâs-Nicopolis on the northwestern slope of the Jewish mountain-range, which is not precisely 160, but 176 *stadia* or 22 Roman miles from Jerusalem. Eusebius, the metropolitan of the church of Nicopolis, and St. Jerome[1] mention this town (home of Cleophas) as the place where the two disciples were together with the risen Lord. However, in view of the manuscript tradition we must abide by *σταδίους ἑξήκοντα*, so much the more because the origin of *ἑκατὸν ἑξήκοντα* and the change of 60 to 160. are quite intelligible. Amwâs-Nicopolis was always a city of great importance and soon after the time of Christ once more rose to a flourishing condition, whilst the whole region around

[1] *Epist. ad Eust.*, 108, I, 8.

Jerusalem suffered exceedingly from the many devastations incident to the two great Jewish rebellions and for a long time was almost uninhabited. If the reading "60 furlongs" (7½ miles) is correct, we must not think of Ἀμμαοῦς (now Kalonieh or Kulonieh), Hammoza (Succah, IV, 5), mentioned by Josephus (*B.I.*, VII, 6, 6), because, according to the correct reading of the text of Josephus, this town was situated not 60, but only 30 stadia (3½ miles) northwest of Jerusalem; but rather of the present Kubêbeh, situated in a northwesterly direction from Jerusalem on the caravan road to Jaffa; according to exact measurements, this town is distant a little over 60 *stadia* from the Jewish metropolis.

That the *time* when Christ appeared to the two disciples was the afternoon of the day of the Resurrection, is indicated by Lk. XXIV, 29. After nightfall of the same day the disciples returned to Jerusalem (Lk. XXIV, 33 and Jn. XX, 19). [Note 1]. St. Luke was evidently induced to incorporate this beautiful episode into his account chiefly by the fact that it gives a deep insight into the hearts of Christ's disciples during the days and hours after His death, especially on the day of the Resurrection. We learn, on the one hand, of their good will, their faith, their hopes and yearnings (Jesus was a prophet, mighty in word and work, proved as such before God and all the people); on the other hand, we see the defectiveness of their ideas concerning the true nature of the Messianic work. (Compare the words of the disciples recorded in Lk. XXIV, 21, in which all their Messianic hopes and expectations manifest themselves.) Evidently they did not conceive the redemption as something in the ethical or religio-moral order, but as political in the Jewish sense. But the nascent hopelessness of the disciples is also quite noticeable, for they say (XXIV, 21): And now, besides all this (trial and crucifixion of Jesus), this is the third day (so anxiously awaited), and there is no change in the situation as foretold by Christ. The risen Lord consoles these disciples, who with perfect sincerity expose their oppressed heart to

Him, and teaches them to understand the spiritual nature of His kingdom and the truth of His Resurrection. The narrative of the incident gives the third Evangelist an opportunity to show how the disciples were taught by the risen Lord to discern the events of His life in the prophecies of the Old Testament (Mt. XXIV, 25 ff.). St. Luke's reasons (XXIV, 16), why the disciples at first did not recognize Jesus, differ apparently from the motivation in St. Mark (XVI, 12). Whilst St. Mark states as the reason that Jesus showed Himself to them "in another shape," St. Luke expresses it in the words: "Their eyes were held, that they should not know him" (XXIV, 16). However, there is no contradiction between the two accounts. According to St. Mark, Christ showed Himself in a bodily form differing from the one He had had before His Passion and death, in a manner which made it possible to see and recognize Him. According to St. Luke, God so ordained that they did not recognize Him at first, and thus had an opportunity to unburden their hearts, thinking they were talking to a stranger, whereupon they were enlightened and realized their good fortune. The words: "Jesus made as though he would go farther" (XXIV, 28) must not be understood as if He intended to deceive the disciples; He intended to put them to a test; by urgently inviting Him to stay with them (παρεβιάσαντο = to press closely with fervor; XXIV, 29), they stood the test, and Our Lord stayed. Of course He knew in advance that He would stop in Emmaus and that the disciples would pass the test.

The blessing, breaking, and giving of the bread may with good reason be interpreted of the Eucharistic banquet. A glance at Lk. XXII, 19 and Acts II, 42, 46; XX, 7, 11 will lead to this interpretation of XX, 30. The expression "to break bread" is the technical term for the Eucharistic sacrifice. In the second place the immediately following words: "And their eyes were opened, and they knew Jesus" (XXIV, 31) also seem to point to this explanation. Let it not be objected that these disciples,

not being members of the Apostolic College, were not present at the Last Supper, and hence could not know the meaning of the ceremony of breaking bread. They surely had been informed by the Apostles about that memorable celebration. Note the classical phrase with which St. Luke records the sudden disappearance of Christ: and He was made invisible away from them (καὶ αὐτὸς ἄφαντος ἐγένετο ἀπ' αὐτῶν; XXIV, 31). [Note 2].

St. Luke says nothing of a command of the risen Lord to bring the glad tidings to the brethren in Jerusalem; these happiest of mortals hasten to do so *motu proprio*. On their arrival they find the Apostles and the rest of the disciples assembled, and are greeted with the joyful exclamation: "The Lord is risen indeed and has appeared to Simon" (Lk. XXIV, 34.) [Note 3]. The apparition of the Lord to *Peter* had reassured them. The travellers then gave a detailed account of their experience on the way, but, according to St. Mark (XVI, 13), they were not believed. This remark of the second Evangelist is difficult to rhyme with the account of St. Luke, which does not suggest an "unbelieving" attitude on the part of those assembled in the Cenacle. The facts are probably as follows: The disciples, who had assembled there before the arrival of the pilgrims from Emmaus, when the latter entered, gave expression to their belief in the Resurrection, —a belief which had grown stronger under the impression made by the apparition of Christ to Peter. What seemed strange to them was that Jesus should have appeared to two disciples going away from Jerusalem, and not to the Apostles and disciples assembled in the city; the sequence they expected was: to St. Peter, then to all the Apostles and disciples. Therefore they, or at least most of them, refused to credit the story of the two travelers, just as they had refused to believe the message of Mary Magdalen.

2. The apparition on the evening of Easter is related briefly by St. Luke (XXIV, 36–43) and St. John (XX, 19–23). Both Evangelists agree as to the *time*. "Now whilst they [the two

Emmaus-travellers] were still speaking in the assembly of the disciples," says St. Luke (XXIV, 36). "When it was late that same day," *i. e.,* the day of the Lord's Resurrection" (17th Nisan), says St. John (XX, 19). John expressly states that it was the first day of the week, *i. e.,* Sunday (cfr. XX, 19 with XX, 1). Comparing the expression οὔσης ὀψίας (Jn. XX, 19) with passages like Mt. XIV, 15 and Mk. I, 32; XIV, 17, one would be inclined to think it was about 6.30 o'clock, since St. Mark (I, 32) explains ὀψίας γενομένης by "after sunset" (ὅτε ἔδυ ὁ ἥλιος). However, we must not forget that St. John, when making a statement regarding time, by no means follows the specifically Jewish reckoning, but the one generally in vogue; accordingly, the first day of the week, the day of the Resurrection, did not end with 6 o'clock P. M., but lasted until midnight. The Evangelist (XX, 1) includes the early morning of the day of the Resurrection, when it was yet dark, in the 17th Nisan. His statement XX, 19 therefore means: On the day of His Resurrection, late in the evening, Jesus suddenly appeared in the midst of His disciples. An unprejudiced study of St. Luke's account of the Emmaus incident results in about 8.30 P. M. as the time of the return of two travellers.

Regarding the *place* where the apparition occurred, both Evangelists are silent. Farther up, when treating of the Last Supper, the Cenacle on Mt. Sion was mentioned as the place where the disciples were wont to meet, even after the Ascension of Christ.

Regarding the *manner of Christ's appearance,* they make but brief statements: "Jesus stood in the midst of them" (Lk. XXIV, 36); "When the doors were shut, Jesus came and stood in the midst" (Jn. XX, 19). Christ could enter when the doors were locked in virtue of His glorified body, which was a luminous σῶμα πνευματικόν, *"quod pondere non premitur neque mole praepeditur."*

A more difficult question is why, in spite of the great mental depression and "unbelief" (Mk. XVI, 13) of the disciples,

they nevertheless assembled in such large numbers on Mt. Sion. The answer has already been indicated: St. Peter succeeded in gathering them together again. When Christ appeared to him (Lk. XXIV, 34; 1 Cor. XV, 5), his "wonderment" (Lk. XXIV, 12) rapidly turned into ardent faith, and thus encouraged and in high spirits, he proceeded to confirm his brethren (XXII, 32). Undoubtedly St. John loyally assisted him in his work, as he did later (after the descent of the Holy Ghost), when he was the first to believe (Jn. XX, 8). Quite naturally, fear of the hostile hierarchs caused the assembled brethren to barricade the door of the meeting-room. The "Judeans," while exceedingly frightened by the news of the events at the sepulchre, were by no means converted, but rather hardened in their unbelief and hatred against the Galilean, and therefore did not desist from the terrorism they had so long exercised in the city. On the other hand we must not forget that the disciples, collected and somewhat reassured by Peter and John, were nevertheless still alarmed, dismayed, and weak in faith, and their fear of the Judeans is quite comprehensible (*τῶν θυρῶν κεκλεισμένων . . . διὰ τὸν φόβον τῶν Ἰουδαίων*; Jn. XX, 19). Hence the salutation of the risen Lord: "Peace be to you" (Lk. XXIX, 36; Jn. XX, 19). These words are not the ordinary formula of salutation customary among the Jews. Christ meant to express far more by them: "I, the Prince of peace, bring to you the *Messianic peace* (cfr. Jn. XIV, 27). In the hours since the beginning of my Passion you have bitterly reproached yourselves with your conduct (flight, denial; Mk. XIV, 50 and Jn. XVIII, 17, 25, 27). *All your sins and guilt are forgiven.* You have spent your time in sadness, mourning, and lamenting my death and your separation from me; you have refused to believe the testimony of the Resurrection, manifested hardness of heart and entertained many doubts. Behold, I stand before you as one risen from the dead. Since all your sins and guilt have been forgiven, and you have received complete certainty of my

Resurrection and divine nature, let your hearts be filled with perfect joy and true peace!"

Did the salutation of the risen Lord bring peace and joy to the disciples assembled on Mt. Sion? Before we answer this question, let the one touched upon in the discussion of the parting discourse of Our Lord receive its final settlement, namely, why the risen Lord appeared to St. Peter and the disciples on the day of the Resurrection, since He had promised to appear to them in Galilee after His Resurrection (Mt. XXVI, 32; Mk. XIV, 28) and through the good offices of the women had instructed them to go there (Mt. XXVIII, 7, 10; Mk. XVI, 7). The disciples, in whose hearts the love for Jesus had not died out completely, even during the hours of darkness (as is evinced by their tears and their sadness; Mt. IX, 15; Mk. XVI, 10), in their low spirits and discontent with themselves could not summon enough courage to go to Galilee, but remained in Jerusalem and in the name of Jesus fervently implored the Heavenly Father to send them the risen Lord on this very day (17th Nisan), that He might show Himself to them and give back to them their peace of mind. In the Cenacle Christ, although in obscure words, had suggested to the disciples the way out of their tribulation (Jn. XVI, 23–27) and promised them success. The Heavenly Father had heard their fervent prayer and granted that the risen Lord appeared not to all the people, but to the preordained witnesses (Acts X, 49 f.), and became visible to them to console, instruct, and prepare them for the meeting in Galilee.

The disciples, seeing Jesus and hearing His salute of peace, *were glad* (Jn. XX, 20). St. Luke records the same fact (XXIV, 41), but describes the feeling which at first came over them as fright and terror, because they imagined they saw a ghost (XXIV, 37). Jesus appeared before them all in a luminous, heavenly, glorified body. This circumstance, coupled with the suddenness of the apparition, caused fright, consternation,

and then doubt, whether it really was the same Jesus who had formerly lived among them. To remove all doubt and thoroughly to convince them that the one standing before them was the same Jesus who died on the cross, that He was, therefore, risen with His real human body, the same which He had before, Jesus invites them to touch Him and to handle and see the prints of the nails in His hands and feet. [Note 4.] When they, therefore, at His request, handled His *σῶμα πνευματικόν*, their doubts vanished, but on account of their great joy they could not grasp the unexpected truth, nor believe that Jesus, the sole object of their desires, belief and hope, stood before them, till He ate of the food they gave Him (Lk. XXIV, 37–43). Then at last all their fears and doubts were at an end and perfect joy filled their hearts (Jn. XX, 20). [Note 5.]

Jesus again said to them: "Peace be to you; as the Father hath sent me, I also send you." With these words He passes on to the institution of the Sacrament of Penance for the remission of sins. For it is this and nothing else that St. John wishes to record (Jn. XX, 21–23). The sense of Christ's words is: Just as the Father has sent me to blot out sin by my death and reconcile the world with God, and as I, in virtue of my Messianic office, have procured for all of you forgiveness of your sins, joy and peace, so I now give you the mission and power to remit the sins of others. But since in order to forgive sins and thereby communicate peace it is necessary to possess divine power and commission (because God alone and those empowered by Him can forgive sins; Mt. IX, 2 and the parallel texts). I now give you of my divine spirit and nature. And He breathed on the eleven (ten) and by this breathing, in union with the words, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost," communicated to them the supernatural power of forgiving sins. The added words: "Whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven them; and whose sins you shall retain, they are retained," unequivocally prove the bestowal upon the Apostles of the power of forgiving sins. To view the second clause as a mere in-

tensification of the first, is an altogether arbitrary proceeding. Christ plainly declares: As the Apostles have the power to forgive sins, so also have they the power and right to retain sins, *i. e.,* not to forgive them. In order to exercise this power, the faithful must confess their sins; such a confession Christ had ordained on the evening of the 14th Nisan in the same place (the Cenacle). (Jn. XIII, 14 ff.) [Note 6.]

3. The apparition of Christ on the octave of His Resurrection (Jn. XX, 24–29) is recorded solely by St. John. That St. Paul does not mention it, is not strange, because this apparition served the same purpose as that on the evening of the Resurrection, namely, to induce the last of the Apostles to believe in the Resurrection. We may, therefore, look upon this apparition, despite its great importance, as a sort of supplement to the preceding one. This will make it clear why St. Paul links it with the first (εἶτα τοῖς δώδεκα; 1 Cor. XV, 5). Whether Thomas, who bore the surname "the Twin," was for a while on Sion with the other disciples and then, perhaps on account of the seemingly incredible story of the two disciples concerning the incidents on the road to Emmaus, went away "in unbelief," or whether he kept himself altogether aloof from his friends and companions, cannot be gathered from the account of St. John. Only this much may be assumed as certain, that he had a general knowledge of the Easter message (cfr. Lk. XXIV, 9 ff.) [Note 7].

More important is the question: How did it happen that the Apostles remained in Jerusalem eight days after the 17th Nisan, *i. e.,* until the close of the Easter octave, despite the fact that public sentiment among the Judeans was decidedly inimical to the followers of Christ (Jn. XX, 19), and, moreover, *Christ's order* to set out for Galilee was not cancelled by His apparition on the 17th. There is evidently but one satisfactory answer: The Apostles and other disciples remained because Christ, before leaving them on the 17th Nisan, had announced that He would again appear to them in the same

place after eight days. This interpretation is positively demanded by the circumstances. Thomas, who was absent on the 17th Nisan, was to experience faith and the Easter joy before the disciples left Jerusalem. But this purpose might have been attained by an apparition, say, on the following day; why, then, did the risen Lord wait fully eight days? That was the octave of the Resurrection; according to Jewish custom the two chief feasts, Easter and Tabernacles, lasted eight days, and the first and last days were distinguished by greater solemnity. This idea and usage was to be received into the new theocracy; hence the Resurrection and its octave. By rising from the dead on the 17th Nisan and glorifying this day by appearing to His disciples, and the eighth day by another apparition, Jesus wished to show how the *ἡμέρα κυρίου*, the Lord's day or Sunday, was henceforth to be kept holy instead of the Sabbath. That the Christians, at least in the first decades after the Ascension, especially in Palestine, for practical reasons continued to observe the Sabbath, nobody denies, but it is equally certain that alongside of this custom the Resurrection was from the very beginning commemorated on Sunday in accordance with the directions given by Christ. It seems incomprehensible, therefore, how any one could regard the phrase *κυριακὴ ἡμέρα* (Apoc. I, 10) as an indication that the Apocalypse was written in the second century, as if the term were not already contained in the *Didache* and in the Epistles of St. Ignatius; cfr. 1 Cor. XVI, 2: on the first day of the week (*κατὰ μίαν σαββάτου*).

The announcement of his fellow-Apostles, "We have seen the Lord," is received by Thomas with decided incredulity. He declares that he will believe in the reality of the Resurrection only after seeing and touching the imprint of the nails in the hands of Christ and putting his hand into His side. The opinion that *ὁ Δίδυμος* was a surname of Thomas given to him on account of his scepticism (*ὁ δίδυμος = ὁ δίψυχος ἀνήρ*), is probably incorrect; but the *confidence* with which he declares his unbelief almost frightens us. According to all that we know of

him, in particular from St. John's Gospel, Thomas was a sober, blunt, energetic, and at the same time thoroughly honest man, deeply attached to Jesus (cfr. Jn. XI, 16; XIV, 5), and were it not for Jn. XX, 25, we should not expect such pronounced scepticism from him. His desire to see the risen Lord and to touch His wounds was in itself legitimate because he also was to testify before the world to the fundamental fact of the Resurrection (cfr. Acts I, 8), and therefore had to be convinced by ocular inspection of the identity of the risen body with the one nailed to the cross. But he went too far in refusing to believe in the Resurrection although Christ had repeatedly and positively predicted it and the ten disciples unanimously testified to the fulfilment of the Master's prophecy. Nevertheless Jesus accepts the condition laid down by Thomas, because of the Apostle's legitimate desire to see and touch His wounds. The unbelief of Thomas caused the Resurrection to be established by incontrovertible evidence. As he for a while had been a doubter (not an unbeliever, mark the words, *μὴ γίνου ἄπιστος*; XX, 27), so, after being drawn from the sea of doubt by the apparition and words of Christ, he surpassed others in his fervent faith by falling on his knees and exclaiming: "My Lord and my God." The words *ὁ κύριός μου καί ὁ θεός μου* (XX, 28) partake of the nature of a declaration (= thou art my Lord and my God). St. Thomas thereby confessed the human nature and the divine essence of Christ (two natures in one person). By this confession he gave expression to the faith of the Apostles in Christ's divinity. It is strictly a *dogmatic* confession and completes the confession of the Apostles (cfr. Jn. XVI, 30); the Evangelist deliberately placed it at the end of his Gospel to show the conclusion that followed therefrom, namely, the divinity of Christ (cfr. XX, 31). Christ accepts and confirms Thomas' confession: Indeed, thou hast believed and believest, because thou hast seen me; blessed are they that have not seen and yet believe (XX, 29). These words of the risen Lord sank deep into the soul of St. John. On the one hand he felt

guilty himself, inasmuch as he needed, not so much an ἔλεγξις (proof), like Thomas, as an ocular demonstration (Jn. XX, 8) to believe in the Resurrection. Looking back from the height of his faith at the time he wrote his Gospel, on the weak belief, not only of St. Thomas, but also his own in the hours after the Resurrection, John feels ashamed and sorry and with these sentiments records the last saying of Christ on that day: "Blessed are they that have not seen and have believed." This consoling message he also announces to his readers, who had not seen their Lord and Redeemer with their bodily eyes (cfr. 1 Jn. I, 1–4) and then adds the closing words of his gospel, which fittingly follow the words of Christ and those of St. Thomas (Jn. XX, 31).

1. My standpoint in regard to the much discussed Emmaus question was explained in an essay in the *Theologische Quartalschrift,* 1896, pp. 193 ff. There may also be found the literature on this subject, to which may be added the *Zeitschrift für kathol. Theologie,* 1895, pp. 189 pp. 189 ff. and 1897, pp. 200 ff. I still adhere to the view there expressed, except on one point. I held that the two travelers to Emmaus knew of the apparition of Jesus, and not merely of that of the angels, to the women. This opinion I hereby retract. Cleophas and his companion on the road to Emmaus knew only of the apparition of the angels. Some writers infer from the words of these men (Lk. XXIV, 23, 24) that, at the time they started for Emmaus, Jesus had not as yet appeared to the women. This appears to be incorrect. Their ignorance of the apparition of Christ is fully explained by the assumption that the news of it had not as yet spread in the circles in which they moved. The remark regarding the distance between Emmaus and Jerusalem is decisive: ἑξήκοντα has by far the preference, though we can comprehend the change into ἑκατὸν ἑξήκοντα in view of the ancient tradition in favor of Nicopolis. This tradition, traceable to the fourth century (Eusebius), may be called the strongest argument in favor of Nicopolis, but we must not undervalue the tradition in favor of Kubêbeh, which is far older than the 15th century, as the early Crusaders (A. D. 1099) found a town called Emmaus on the site of the present Kubêbeh (*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästinavereins,* XVI, 300). Josephus knows of an Emmaus to the northwest of Jerusalem; *B. I.,* II, 5, 1 he says that Varus set out from Ptolemais, slowly marched

through Samaria to a place called Sampho; he then mentions the sacking of Emmaus and continues: from there Varus marched to Jerusalem. In *Ant.*, XVII, 10, 9 he says that Varus first marched to the city of Samaria, but spared it, and camped near the village of Arus, which the Arabs, sent to his aid by King Aretas, burned to the ground; the same Arabs then devastated Sampho; Varus set fire to Emmaus and from there marched against Jerusalem (ἐντεῦθεν δὲ καὶ Ἱεροσολύμοις ἤδη συνῆπτε, and thence advanced directly towards Jerusalem). The town spoken of here, as in *B. I.*, VII, 6, 6, is the Emmaus situated about 30 furlongs from Jerusalem. Its name was soon after completely supplanted by Colonia (*i. e., militaris*). "30 stadia" was changed into "60 stadia," to harmonize with St. Luke; but the original certainly had "30 stadia," and we must, therefore, admit that the existence of an Emmaus at the time of Christ, situated 60 furlongs northwest of Jerusalem, cannot be proved by the materials now available, especially in the writings of Josephus, However, considering the complete devastation of Judea in the two wars 66–70 and during Hadrian's reign, this is not at all surprising. Under these circumstances all who cling to the originality of the reading σταδίους ἑξήκοντα (Lk. XXIV, 13) will do well to regard Kubêbeh, a village situated in a northwesterly direction from Jerusalem, as the Emmaus of St. Luke. As points of evidence we may take the following:

a) The better attested reading "60 stadia"; whoever accepts this, must choose Kubêbeh.

b) St. Luke calls Emmaus a village or country town (κώμη). A village is sometimes also called a town (κώμη; *e. g.*, Bethlehem in Jn. VII, 42). However, a glance at Mk. XVI, 12 ("going into the country" πορευομένοις εἰς ἀγρόν) determines us to take the Lucan κώμη in the stricter sense. Cleophas and his companion intended to go into the country (not: into the field); they wished to get away from the tumultuous city, stained with the blood of the Just One, controlled by the enemies of Jesus with brute force, where there seemed to be no more hope for them; they wished to retire to a quiet place, to mourn and grieve.

c) The chronological statements in St. Luke likewise suggest the aforesaid view. The phrases: "It is towards evening (πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἐστίν), and "the day is now far spent" (XXIV, 29) are indeed quite elastic and might possibly be applied to the time between 2 and 3 o'clock P. M. (cfr. Judg. XIX, 9); but the invitation to stay over night evidently indicates a much later hour, although on this point also there is room for disagreement, since Emmaus was undoubtedly the home of one or both disciples. It will be best to place their arrival in Emmaus at

about 4 P. M. and the return to Jerusalem at 5.30 o'clock, so that by hurrying a little they could arrive in Jerusalem before 9 P. M. This agrees with the chronological statement in Jn. XX, 19.

2. Everybody admits the simplicity and vivacity of the Lucan account and because of the abundance of detail with which this Evangelist relates the events and also on account of the emotion which he everywhere displays (cfr. especially XXIV, 32), it has been surmised that St. Luke was himself one of the two disciples who went to Emmaus. This surmise appears to be incorrect, because St. Luke became a Christian only about A. D. 40–41. But he evidently had a reliable source; probably one of the two disciples concerned had personally given him an account of the episode. This assumption would explain the incomparable description of the sentiments which animated the two disciples after meeting Jesus (XXIV, 32): "Was not our heart burning within us whilst he spoke in the way and opened to us the Scriptures?" Wonderfully, they mean to say, was our heart enkindled by the first sight of Him, when He spoke to us, and from this *peculiar feeling* we might have guessed, if we had had sense enough, who He was. Maldonatus describes the connection of this question with that which precedes, when he lets the disciples say: *"Vere Christus est; nam non alia potuit esse causa, cur in via eo loquente tantopere animus noster inflammaretur."*

In interpreting Lk. XXIV, 30 I did not overlook Mt. XIV, 19 and XV, 36. I knew very well that the expressions λαβὼν τὸν ἄρτον, εὐλόγησεν, καὶ κλάσας ἔδωκεν are used in describing the miraculous multiplication of loaves in the desert. But it appeared to me significant that, at the miraculous feeding of the 5000, which has an evident relation to the still more wonderful feeding of mankind with the Eucharistic bread (cfr. Jn. VI), the blessing, breaking and giving of the bread is mentioned by the sacred writers. These same expressions in the two passages of Matthew can, therefore, be interpreted only in connection with the Eucharistic mystery. It is objected that the disciples could not possibly understand the act because they had not been present at the institution of the Eucharist. Grimm, who is an opponent of our view, admits that this objection is in no wise plausible, because, on account of their intimate association with the Apostles, the two disciples may have been informed by them. But if this learned scholar fails to discover in the context any support for interpreting the breaking of the bread in the sense of a Eucharistic celebration, we point to Lk. XXIV, 31: "Their eyes were opened, and they knew Him." Evidently there must have been an intrinsic relation between the opening of

the eyes on the one hand, and the breaking and giving of "the bread" on the other; the latter must have caused them to know what the gesture of the risen Saviour signified. But what about Luke's silence concerning the chalice? There was no ground for stressing the chalice, for the simple reason that, when Luke wrote his Gospel, the expression "breaking of bread" was in general use to designate the entire Eucharistic celebration (cfr. Acts II, 42; 1 Cor. X, 16; *Didache,* XIV, 1; Ignatius, *Ad Ephes.,* XX, 2). It is, therefore, not at all surprising that St. Jerome understood Lk. XXIV, 30 of the Eucharistic celebration (*De Loc. Hebr.* and *Epist.* 27). The words: ἐν τῇ κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου (in the breaking of the bread, XXIV, 35) are decisive: the stranger is recognized by the two disciples when He breaks the bread. The words of consecration must have been the sign of recognition; for the taking, blessing, breaking, and giving of bread was performed by every father of a family at meals, and every native Jew was familiar with this custom. But when Jesus said: "This is my body," they could not fail to recognize Him.

St. Luke goes on to relate (XXIV, 35) how they told the others what had happened on the way to Emmaus. The disciples assembled in the Cenacle received the travelers from Emmaus with the joyous message: "The Lord is risen indeed" (XXIV, 34), and they on their part were in a position to return this greeting by relating how they had met the risen Lord. Then the construction changes: καὶ ὡς ἐγνώσθη αὐτοῖς (and how they knew him; XXIV, 35); the passive voice is noteworthy instead of the expected: καὶ ὡς ἔγνωσαν αὐτόν: not to their own strength and insight do they owe the recognition of Jesus, but to their enlightenment in consequence of eating of the mystic bread. The manner in which St. Luke expresses the sudden disappearance of Jesus (XXIV, 31) may be called classical, because it recalls similar expressions in Homer and other poets: ὤχετο (gone he was), ἄϊστος, ἄπυστος. These poetical expressions indicate a sudden and miraculous disappearance. Christ's body was now in a glorified state, no longer subject to the law of gravitation.

3. We must be grateful to the third Evangelist for the three words (Lk. XXIV, 34) καὶ ὤφθη Σίμωνι. True, he does not describe Christ's apparition to St. Peter, but even in this form the account suffices. If we compare it with 1 Cor. XV, 5: καὶ ὅτι ὤφθη Κηφᾷ, we cannot reasonably doubt the identity of the two accounts. The Apostle of the Gentiles in that place explains that he preaches, according to tradition, that Christ rose on the third day and appeared to Cephas, and after

that to "the twelve." Mark well that he designates Christ's apparition to St. Peter and to the twelve as an element of the Apostolic preaching (καὶ ὅτι ὤφθη).

Taking this circumstance into consideration, we shall understand why he does not mention Christ's apparition to the women. In preaching the Gospel to pagans, women could not very well be cited as witnesses for the fundamental fact of the Resurrection. True, St. Paul gives no detailed information either regarding the place or time of Christ's apparation to St. Peter; however, a comparison with the account of his pupil Luke (XXIV, 34) makes it appear practically certain that St. Paul had in mind Jerusalem and Judea as the place of the apparition, since he mentions in close connection therewith an apparition of the risen Lord in the presence of "the twelve," precisely as in Lk. XXIV, 36–43 (cfr. Jn. XX, 19–23), and in the course of his narrative again mentions a second-last apparition to all the Apostles (1 Cor. XV, 7), evidently the same which St. Luke records in XXIV, 44 ff. (Acts I, 2–8). From the very outset it cannot be doubted that St. Paul intends to enumerate the apparitions of Christ in chronological order. The literary form chosen by him betrays this endeavor. In his sermon at Antioch in Pisidia St. Paul reveals that the apparitions of the risen Lord are known to him as having occurred successively during a long period: "God raised him up from the dead [him] who was seen for many days, by them who came up with him from Galilee to Jerusalem, who to this present time are his witnesses to the people" (Acts XIII, 30 sq.). The Pauline tradition, therefore, so far as we are able to see, agrees with the Lucan. The importance of Christ's apparition to St. Peter we readily understand; the Apostle who had fallen and risen again, who by the inspection of the tomb had not as yet been moved to believe in the Resurrection of Jesus, was to receive complete certitude (ἀσφάλεια), in order that he might be a support to all the disciples and by his testimony enkindle in them faith, courage, and confidence (cfr. Lk. XXII, 32).

The revelation of Christ to Mary Magdalen presents no difficulty. She, as the courageous leader of the women disciples, was to be rewarded for her heroic fortitude and perseverance. On the other hand we are tempted to ask: Why did Christ favor the two Disciples going to Emmaus with a revelation? St. Luke enlightens us fully as to their frame of mind. They left Jerusalem and separated themselves from the circle of the disciples because they were on the point of suffering shipwreck in their faith. Aside from the words quoted in XXIV, 21, they give expression to their sentiments in XXIV, 22–24: Certain women of our company affrighted us; who before it was light

(ὀρθριναί) had gone to the sepulchre and, not finding His body, came and said that they had also (καὶ = aside from the fact that they did not find the body) had a vision of angels. Δέγουσαι indicates that the disciples refused to believe in the apparition of the angel as told by the women. Christ appeared to the two travelers despite, or rather precisely on account of, their "unbelief," which did not altogether preclude good will. Christ here proved Himself the Good Shepherd, who goes after the stray sheep and carries them back on His shoulders. He showed them His merciful love, healed their wounds, and sent them back to their fellow-disciples in Jerusalem.

In conclusion it may be remarked that by their departure on the 17th Nisan (within the octave of Easter) the two disciples were not guilty of a breach of the Jewish law. While a visit to Jerusalem was obligatory on all adult Jews, the law did not require them to stay for the whole eight-day celebration. The visitors from afar were allowed to depart after the principal day of the festival.

4. The importance of the words: "See my hands and feet, that it is I myself" (Lk. XXIV, 39) was pointed out *supra* in connection with the Crucifixion. Christ, however, did not stop at exhorting the disciples to look, but added: "Handle [me] and see." This exhortation was meant quite seriously. Why was Christ so anxious that His Apostles should acquire a conviction resting on ocular and tactual evidence? Was it not enough that He spoke to them in His natural voice with its loving accents, as He spoke to Mary of Magdala? The Apostles later attached the greatest weight to the fact that they had seen Jesus after His Resurrection, had eaten with Him, handled Him with their hands (Acts II, 32; III, 15; X, 38–42; XIII, 30–34; 1 Cor. XV, 4–8; 1 Jn. I, 1). It is not difficult to recognize the importance of this fact. The Apostles, the future witnesses of Christ's death and Resurrection, had to have absolute certainty, not only by sight, but also by touch, that the Redeemer after His Resurrection showed Himself to them in the same body with which He had hung on the Cross. If they had seen Him only with their eyes, had heard only His voice, there might have been room for suspecting that Jesus had appeared to them in a phantom-body. But as they were permitted to see and handle His body with its five wounds, the identity of this body with the one that hung on the cross, that had been pierced by the nails and the lance, in other words, the actual Resurrection of the crucified Lord, was certain.

Doubts have been raised as to whether the disciples responded to the request of Christ to touch His wounds; but 1 Jn. I, 1 and the account

of St. John in his Gospel regarding the behavior of St. Thomas make the matter perfectly clear. His demand to touch the wounds of Jesus can only have been provoked by the announcement of his fellow-Apostles: We have seen the Lord and handled His wounds (Jn. XX, 24 ff.). St. Ignatius of Antioch takes this view. He writes: "When the risen Lord came to those who were with Peter, He said to them: Touch, handle me, and see that I am not an incorporeal phantom. And *straightway they felt* Him and believed, being convinced both by His flesh and spirit" (*Ad Smyrn.*, III; Burton's translation). St. Ignatius here undoubtedly used as his source not the apocryphal gospel of the Hebrews, but oral tradition, *i. e.*, the account of an eye and ear witness.

5. After His Resurrection Christ sent word to the disciples to go into Galilee (Mt. XXVIII, 7, 10), where He would unfold before their eyes one of His chief activities, relating to the organization of His Church. This was actually done, but not, as one would expect from the above mentioned request, immediately after the Resurrection, but after the close of the Easter octave.

Apparitions of Christ in Galilee are recorded by St. Matthew and St. John. St. Luke, in supplementing his gospel in Acts I, 3, remarks that Christ gave His disciples many proofs by appearing to them repeatedly during forty days, evidently including in this the apparitions in Galilee, although he does not expressly mention them. The disciples in their despondency could not make up their minds to go into Galilee in response to Christ's request, but remained in Jerusalem and its environments, and sent up fervent prayers to God to grant them an apparition of the risen Lord there. He did appear, first to St. Peter, then to all the Apostles and disciples, and again on the octave of the Resurrection.

Why Christ at His sudden appearance in the Cenacle on the evening of the Resurrection said, not only once, but twice: "Peace be to you" (Jn. XIX, 19, 21), is made intelligible to us by St. Luke's remark that He first saluted the disciples with the Messianic peace greeting; but because this could not take immediate effect in them on account of their disposition (fear [φόβος] and unbelief [ἀπιστία] regarding the identity and reality of His body), but only after the removal of this obstacle, He repeated the salutation: "I therefore (οὖν) again say to you: Peace be to you." Now peace and joy really entered their hearts. The Evangelist purposely chooses the word ἐχάρησαν (XX, 20) to recall the respective prophecy (XVI, 20, 22) to the minds of his readers.

6. The words καθὼς ἀπέσταλκέν με ὁ πατήρ (as the Father hath sent me; XX, 21) is interpreted by Van Bebber in the following manner: As my and your Father has sent me to you in response to your prayers, to bring you peace of heart and forgiveness of sins, so I now send you to communicate the same peace to my other disciples (*Zur Chronologie,* 184 f.). For once I cannot agree with this learned writer. The perfect tense, ἀπέσταλκεν, is intelligible only if it is referred to Christ's mission on earth, which came to a close by His death on the Cross and His Resurrection. This commission must not be interrupted; with it is directly connected that of the Apostles (cfr. Jn. XVII, 18 and 1 Clem. *Ad Cor.,* 42: "Christ was sent by God, the Apostles were sent by Christ"). They receive, it is true, their universal commission only at His apparition in Galilee and the equipment to fulfill that commission only on Pentecost day; but the power to forgive sins is given to them already on the evening of the Resurrection, because peace of mind and remission of sins must be communicated also to others than the disciples present in Jerusalem, and because during the fifty days up to Pentecost the celebration of the Holy Eucharist was to take place, and before receiving the wonderful food, a repeated "washing of the feet," *i.e.,* blotting out of sins by means of the Sacrament of Penance (cfr. Jn. XIII, 10 ff.) is necessary. In Jn. XX, 22–23 Christ endows the Apostles with the power of forgiving sins in the Sacrament of Penance, an integral part of which was confession, which He had instituted at the Last Supper (XIII, 14).

By πνεῦμα ἅγιον (XX, 22) is commonly understood the Holy Ghost. In that case, what difference is there between the communication of the Holy Ghost on Pentecost day and on the day of the Resurrection? We might say: On the 17th Nisan the outpouring of the Spirit began, on Pentecost it reached its fullness. However, it is preferable to interpret πνεῦμα ἅγιον as the spirit of God, the divine nature, the πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης (cfr. Rom. I, 4), the holiness of the spirit of Jesus. When St. John speaks of the Holy Ghost he uses the phrases: τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον (XIV, 26), or τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας (XV, 26), or merely ἡ ἀλήθεια (Jn. I, 14 and 3 Jn. 12). His breathing on the disciples was not merely a symbol, but the vehicle of the spirit of Jesus. When He breathed on them and said: "Receive ye the Holy Ghost," He communicated to them the divine spirit. This external act, perceptible by the senses, was a guarantee that divine power was really communicated to the Apostles. The power of forgiving sins, which was communicated to them in the first place, could not have been intended to expire at their death, any more than the power given them on the evening of the 14th Nisan to change bread and wine into the body and blood of

Christ. He had expressly declared that it was the duty of all the members of His Kingdom, *i. e.*, the Christians of all ages, to eat His flesh and drink His blood for the purpose of obtaining eternal life (Jn. VI, 53). Therefore it was necessary for them to be continually cleansed from their sins because the body of Christ in the Holy Eucharist may be received only by those who are free from sin (Jn. XIII, 14). How this cleansing was performed in Apostolic times we learn from St. John. In his first letter (I, 8–10) he says that the Christians confessed their sins to the Apostles and their successors.

Nebe asserts that on the evening of the 17th Nisan there were present not only the eleven (or rather, on account of the absence of St. Thomas, ten) Apostles, but also other disciples, men and women (Lk. XXIV, 33), to all of whom Christ addressed the words recorded in Jn. XX, *22, 23*. However, St. John, when speaking of the address of Christ and the communication of the Spirit, mentions only the μαθηταί, a word which he usually employs to designate the Apostles. Whilst he does not deny the presence of other disciples on the evening of the 17th Nisan, when Christ appeared in the Cenacle, nevertheless, when he speaks of the conferring of the power of forgiving sins, he has in mind the Apostles, as is plain from the context (XX, 24: Thomas, one of the twelve, was not present). Nebe admits that Christ breathed only on the Apostles; but his theory that the breath was diffused in "the air" and thus communicated the Divine Spirit to all present, can not be taken seriously. The only question that can be asked is, whether, with the power of forgiving sins, the Apostles received also the right of communicating that power to others, and this question must be answered in the affirmative, just like the similar one whether they could and were permitted to endow others with the power and grace of celebrating the Eucharistic sacrifice. The need for which Christ conferred the power of forgiving sins on His Apostles is ever present, as St. John says in his first Epistle (II, 1; cfr. Gal. VI, 1; Jas. III, 2); and hence that power must be handed down in the Church. How the Apostles handed it down is apparent from the action of St. Paul in Ephesus (1 Tim. I, 1 ff.). The Catholic Church is perfectly right in appealing to Jn. XX, *22* ff., in favor of the Sacrament of Penance (*Conc. Trid.*, Sess. XIV, canon 3).

7. Why Thomas was not present at the apparition of Christ on the evening of the day of Resurrection is a matter for conjecture. Undoubtedly Thomas, like the rest of the disciples then present in Jerusalem, was apprised on the morning of the 17th Nisan of the events at the sepulchre, especially of the apparition of the angels and

of Jesus to the women, and perhaps also of the apparition accorded to St. Peter. The assumption that since the night of the 14th Nisan he kept aloof from the disciples and roamed about aimlessly, must be rejected. But if some go further and (appealing to Lk. XXIV, 33) assert that Thomas was present on the evening of the 17th Nisan, we cannot follow them. True, the Emmaus travelers gave an account of their adventure to "the eleven"; however, "eleven" as well as "twelve" (cfr. Jn. XX, 24) is a technical term for the Apostolic College, from which it must not be concluded that all were present. I am, therefore, not inclined to hold with St. Augustine (*De Cons. Evang.*, III, 76) and others that Thomas was present with the other Apostles in the Cenacle when the travelers arrived and left the room in ill-humor, vexed at the credulity of the others in regard to the news of the apparitions. I am rather of the opinion that he was not present at the beginning. To suggest dejection and lack of faith as the cause of his absence recommends itself still less. From Jn. XX, 25 we must infer that Thomas was constantly in communication with the rest, and hence his absence on the evening of the Resurrection may have been caused by an external and apparently accidental circumstance (in reality a dispensation of Providence). That those favored with an apparition of Jesus exclaimed on meeting Thomas: "We have seen the Lord," merely meant: We have not merely heard of His apparitions; we have *seen* the Lord with our own eyes. Thomas refuses to believe, and asks to see the print of the nails in the hands of the risen Lord and to put his finger into the place of the nails and his hand into His side. The significance of the phrase, *βάλω τὸν δάκτυλον* (XX, 25) must not be weakened by saying that the nails were very large and left holes into which a finger might easily be introduced.

But is it not surprising that Thomas does not ask to examine the wounds *in the feet* of Christ? Is this perhaps an indication that the feet were not nailed to the Cross? No. Thomas asked to examine only the hands and side of Christ because he regarded an examination of the feet as unnecessary; if the wounds in the hands are there, he is sure those in the feet are also there.

CHAPTER III

CHRIST'S APPARITIONS IN GALILEE

1. At the Sea of Tiberias

(Jn. XXI, 1–23)

At the close of the octave of the Resurrection the disciples departed for Galilee, where Christ appeared to seven of them on the shore of Lake Tiberias. These seven were: Simon Peter, Thomas, the sons Zebedee, Nathanael (Bartholomew) and two others. Whether the two not mentioned by name were Apostles or merely disciples (in the wider sense), is difficult to decide. If we may be permitted a conjecture, they were probably disciples. The literary form seems to favor this assumption. Perhaps Aristion was one of the two not mentioned by name [Note 1]. At this apparition, which certainly occurred before that on the mountain in Galilee, Christ conferred the supreme headship of the Church on St. Peter by solemnly giving him the commission to feed and guide His sheep (Christ himself being the shepherd *per eminentiam,* St. Peter His representative on earth), *i. e.,* bestowed on him the supreme office of teaching and the supreme power of governing. The narrative, which is genuinely Johannean in style and diction, records an event of the greatest importance. Those who regard the text as an interpolation hold it was inserted in order to prove that the supreme pastoral office was conferred on St. Peter, because this fact is expressly stated [Note 2]. The fact of the matter is that the Evangelist wished to refute the widely spread opinion that Jesus, before His definitive return to the

Father, had promised the Apostle John that He would live until the *parousia* (ἐξῆλθεν οὗτος ὁ λόγος εἰς τοὺς ἀδελφούς; XXI, 23). At His meeting with the seven disciples on the shore of Lake Tiberias, in connection with the conferring of the primacy, Christ had prophesied to St. Peter that he (Peter) would be delivered over to his enemies at the end of his life and put to death on the cross. When St. Peter tried to learn something about the fate of his intimate friend, John, Christ told him: If I will that he remain till I come (for the *parousia* and the judgment), what is that to thee? Do *thou* follow me! These words in course of time were understood by many to mean that Christ had promised John that he would live until the day of his Master's return. This interpretation, once established, gained more adherents when John not only outlived Peter, but grew very old, and gradually Christ's saying about John assumed the form: This disciple will never die. Perhaps St. John himself shared this belief for a time; at least this assumption would explain certain passages of his gospel and first epistle. But when he felt death approaching and did not see any signs of the Master's return, he decided to record in a supplement the exact words of Christ, so that his death would not throw the Christians of Asia Minor into confusion and consternation because a prophecy of Christ had remained unfulfilled. [Note 3].

2. On the Mountain in Galilee

(Mt. XXVIII, 16–20; cfr. 1 Cor. XV, 6)

This apparition occurred after the one spoken of above; for concerning the latter St. John (XXI, 14) remarks that it was the third time that Jesus was "among His disciples"; it must, therefore, have immediately followed the apparition on the octave of the Resurrection. The statement that St. Peter and his companions went fishing, suggests the inference that since

the arrival of the disciples in Galilee no revelation of the risen Lord had taken place there. On the other hand, the directions given by Christ on the mountain in Galilee allow us to surmise that not many other apparitions followed this one [Note 4].

St. Matthew mentions only the eleven as being present. When the Apostles saw Jesus, they adored Him, *i. e.,* worshipped Him as the Son of God. The remark, "but some doubted" (Mt. XXVIII, 17), need not surprise us. True, Christ had repeatedly appeared to His disciples and confirmed their belief in His Resurrection; however, the doubt did not pertain to the latter, but to the identity of the risen Master. Christ undoubtedly appeared in His true body; but as that body was glorified, it was difficult for the disciples to recognize it. But when He stepped up close to them (Mt. XXVIII, 18), all doubt vanished.

On this occasion, by virtue of the power given Him (*i. e.,* His Messianic power; the Father hath given all things into His hands; Jn. XIII, 3) He commanded them to evangelize the whole world, to make all men members of His kingdom, *i. e.,* the Church, by preaching the "word" and administering Baptism, and to exhort all those whom they received to observe the commandments of the New Law, *i. e.,* lead a good Christian life. The extraordinary importance of this apparition will appear from the following considerations.

a) Jesus commands them to baptize all men, and to administer Baptism in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost [Note 5]. It would be a mistake to see in this commission the institution of Baptism. Christ's words to Nicodemus (Jn. III) presuppose the institution of this Sacrament; we may consider Easter, 782, as the time when it was instituted,—at first only for the people of Israel [Note 6].

b) Jesus endows the Apostles with Messianic power and charges them to preach salvation to all mankind. It was a moment of world-wide historical importance. As the primacy

conferred on St. Peter at the Sea of Tiberias was not to expire with the Apostle's death, but was to continue in the Church, so also the Messianic powers conferred on the Apostles on the Galilean mountain, including the power of forgiving sins bestowed on them on the evening of the Resurrection (Jn. XX, 21–23), were to pass on to their lawful successors, *i. e.*, the bishops installed by them. Jesus expressly says this in the words: "Behold, I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world" (Mt. XXVIII, 20). [Note 7].

Christ's apparition to more than 500 brethren, mentioned by St. Paul in 1 Cor. XV, 6, also occurred in Galilee and is most likely identical with the one recorded by St. Matthew (XXVIII, 16–20). That the Evangelist mentions only the eleven Apostles is explained by his endeavor to show in the conclusion of his Gospel how the risen Christ manifested Himself as the Lord and Founder of His Church in Galilee. This was done by commissioning the Apostles (XXVIII, 19–20). The command of the angel and that of the risen Lord Himself (Mt. XXVIII, 7, 10) to go into Galilee, was intended not only for the Apostles, but also for *the entire body of the disciples*. All were ordered to go to Galilee, where Christ would communicate an important message to them. He wished to assemble all His followers on the mountain in Galilee for a grand manifestation. Since He appeared to "more than 500 brethren at once," practically the entire Church of those days was assembled to adore Him, the Victor over death and hell, and to celebrate His triumph [Note 8].

1. The Evangelists give us no particulars concerning the time when the disciples departed from Jerusalem for Galilee (cfr. Mt. XXVIII, 16). Nevertheless we have unhesitatingly named the eighth day after the Resurrection as the last of their sojourn in Jerusalem. After all the Apostles and disciples in Jerusalem had been convinced of Christ's Resurrection, there was nothing to hinder them from starting on the journey to Galilee. The account of Pseudopeter is arbitrary and opposed to the canonical tradition (Jn. XX, 26). According to this apocryphal writer the disciples left Jerusalem at the end of the Jewish

passah-octave. "It was the last day of the unleavened bread [21st Nisan], and many left for their homes because the feast was at an end; we, the twelve disciples of the Lord, wept and mourned, and, filled with sadness at what had happened, each departed for his home. But I, Simon Peter, and Andrew, my brother, we took our nets and went to sea, and with us went Levi, the son of Alphaeus" (v. 58–60). The statement about the profound sadness of the disciples when they departed from Jerusalem is most unlikely. Of the entire apocryphal story only one statement is worthy of attention, namely, that after the Resurrection the "twelve" started from Jerusalem for the sea. With this assertion the author passes on to the story of Christ's apparition at Lake Tiberias, which goes to show that, besides the Synoptics, he also used St. John, who declares the apparition (*ἐφανέρωσεν ἑαυτόν*: he manifested himself, made himself visible; cfr. Chrysost., *Hom.* 87 *in Io.*) as "another" (*i.e.*, after the one recorded in XX, 24 ff.), and as the third (XXI, 14) to the disciples. However, he contents himself with his usual vague statement, *μετὰ τοῦτα*. Probably an interval of two or three weeks may be presumed between this incident and Christ's manifestation in Jerusalem (XX, 24–29). It occurred at the Sea of Tiberias (*ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς Τιβεριάδος* grammatically belongs to *ἐφανέρωσεν ἑαυτόν*; XXI, 1), as we may assume, on the western shore of the lake, in the neighborhood of Capharnaum. Not as a historical fact, but as a plausible conjecture, we may add that this apparition took place in the region of the "Sweet Water Well," close to the present colony of Tabiga, since there is a respectable tradition in favor of this (Burchard of Magdeburg, 1283, *Descript. Terrae Sanctae,* III, 4: 20 paces from the lake at the stone monument, *tabula* or *mensa*). Five of the disciples present are named; the "two others" were evidently not Apostles; I presume that one of them was Aristion. I base this conjecture on Jn. XXI, 24, where *ταῦτα* (these things; v. 24) evidently means all the events and speeches recorded in chap. XXI. The verse was not written by St. John the Evangelist, but added by someone in his entourage, which no doubt comprised some of the immediate disciples of Christ, who were eye-witnesses of the sacred events, as, for instance, the Aristion mentioned by Papias. Only such a witness could corroborate the truth of what preceded.

2. Some critics maintain that the draught of fishes recorded in Jn. XXI is the same as the one mentioned in Lk. V, 1–11, holding that later tradition made two out of one. However, it is impossible to overlook the great differences between the two accounts, despite their similarities. St. Peter is the leader in both cases; at first they labor fruitlessly, then,

upon the word of Christ, they are rewarded with a copious catch. The time, according to Luke, is the beginning of the public ministry of Christ in Galilee; according to John, the period after the Resurrection. There are two ships in one account, but only one in the other. There Jesus is in the ship, here on the shore; there the net is cast in every direction, here on the right side of the ship only; there the net is about to break, here it holds out; there both ships are filled while out on the water, here the net with the fish is dragged ashore. That St. Peter in both cases was the leader of those who took part in the catch, is incontestable, and precisely this circumstance should be taken into consideration when answering the question why this text was added. St. John does not relate the draught of fishes on account of the extraordinary circumstances accompanying it, but on account of Christ's pronouncement regarding SS. Peter and John made in connection with the catch.

But is it not strange that Peter, after returning to Capharnaum, again takes to fishing and induces the other disciples to do so also? Their motive certainly was not to while away the time, but a kind of necessity. Peter, together with his brother Andrew and the sons of Zebedee, after the first wonderful draught of fishes, had abandoned his implements and calling in order to become a fisher of souls (Lk. V, 1–11). Our Lord provided for their sustenance (Lk. VIII, 3; Jn. XII, 6). But His Passion and death brought a change. While the time for continuing the work of Christ by preaching the gospel had not yet come, the common treasury was evidently exhausted, and Peter again went to sea for a living (cfr. St. Augustine, *Tract. in Io.*, 122). We must remember that the exercise of a worldly trade like fishing was not impeded by the higher vocation, as the example of the Apostle of the Gentiles shows (1 Cor. IX, 1 ff.; XV, 10). Nebe (*op. cit.*, 262) regards the action of St. Peter as quite noteworthy: "Resolutely, as was his wont, Peter takes the initiative; he turns to the others and says: I go fishing (ὑπάγω ἁγιεύειν; Jn. XXI, 3), thus informing them of his firm determination. But he does not invite, much less command them to follow him. From this we see that the primacy did not confer on Peter the power of ruling others; he merely acts as *primus inter pares*,—a fact which the Romish Church should not have overlooked." We answer: At the moment when St. Peter went back to his calling as a fisherman, the primacy had not yet been conferred upon him. The Master had merely given him the characteristic name Peter (Cephas; Mt. III, 6; Lk. VI, 14) in accordance with His previous promise (Jn. I, 41–43), and announced his appointment as supreme shepherd and teacher (Mt. XVI, 16 ff); but the actual bestowal of the supreme pastorate did not take place until

the apparition of the risen Lord at Lake Genesareth, after the draught of fishes and the meal (note how St. John introduces the highly important scene: "Jesus saith to Simon Peter"; XXI, 15). Accordingly, his supreme power in the kingdom of God began only from that moment and referred solely to matters pertaining to this kingdom. Nebe evidently sees and appreciates the connection between the draught of fishes and the distinction of St. Peter, in other words, the symbolical meaning of the draught, which unmistakably points to the important office immediately afterwards conferred by Christ upon St. Peter. This symbolical character becomes even more evident from the similarity existing between this draught and the first catch recorded by St. Luke, where Christ himself says to St. Peter: "From henceforth thou shalt catch men" (Lk. V, 10).

In regard to the draught of fishes at the apparition of the risen Lord, we must observe the following points: St. Peter takes the initiative; his suggestion is accepted by the others; they unhesitatingly follow him and enter the boat belonging to him; the other disciples vigorously help in the work, but it is St. Peter who, after jumping into the water to reach his beloved Master before the others, once more enters the ship and drags the net with the fish ashore. All these points indicate the prominent position which Christ was about to assign to St. Peter. It is not he, but John, who first recognizes Christ, though not at once. However, Mary Magdalen and the disciples at Emmaus did not at once recognize Him on the day of the Resurrection. Like these, the seven disciples at Lake Tiberias should have recognized Him by the effect of His words, *i. e.,* by the miraculous catch. Why did St. John recognize Jesus first? His bodily eyes were hardly any keener than those of the rest, but the eye of his soul certainly was. Not without good reason the Fathers (cfr. St. Jerome, *Epist. ad Pamach.: "prior virginitas virginale corpus agnovit"*) point to the virginal purity, of the Apostle. His heart was with his Master while he dragged the net with his hands, and because his eyes were constantly on the look-out for Him, they were opened at the sight of the miracle.

We must, not, however, overlook the fact that St. Peter was the first to come to Jesus. When he heard that it was the Lord, he girded his coat about him (for until then he was clad only with a shirt), cast himself into the sea, and swam ashore to meet the Lord (XXI, 7).

The repast is likewise significant. Immediately after finishing their work, the disciples are invited to partake of a meal provided for them by Christ without any effort on their part. This was a symbol of the reward they were to receive for the laborious task of preaching the

kingdom of God and gaining souls for Heaven,—a promise that they would share in the banquet of eternal life.

The eating of the fish is explained by St. Augustine as follows: *"Piscis assus est Christus passus"* (*Tract. in Io.*, 123). When Christ fed the multitude in the desert, He used, besides the loaves, two fishes (cfr. Mt. XIV, 19 ff. and the parallel passages; Jn. VI, 9); the wonderful event served as an introduction to and a preparation for the discourse on the bread of life, and hence in early Christian times the relation between the wonderful feeding with loaves and fishes and the Holy Eucharist was expressed in word and picture (cfr. Wilpert, *Capella Graeca*), and in the *Disciplina Arcani* the fish (ἰχθύς) was the symbol of the Eucharistic Christ. St. Augustine, therefore, rightly speaks of the prepared fish as a symbol of Christ, who sacrificed His flesh and blood in suffering and dying for us and gave the same flesh and blood as food for "His own in the world" (Jn. VI, 51 and XIII, 1).

The burning embers (XXI, 9) were to remind St. Peter of the fire at which he had denied his Master;—at least this view is suggested by the Evangelist when he uses the same terms here as in XVIII, 18. The narrative here is brisk and full of life, yet very explicit, and there can hardly be any doubt that the events recorded are of very great significance. When the risen Lord sent word to His disciples to meet Him in Galilee, this was a clear indication that something important would occur there. The work of redemption was accomplished, the fact of the Resurrection was repeatedly and fully corroborated in Jerusalem, the internal organization of the Messianic Kingdom was completed by the bestowal of peace and the establishment of perfect faith, especially by the institution of the Sacrament of Penance. Here in Galilee the risen Christ wished to manifest Himself *externally* as the Lord and Founder of His Church by conferring the primacy on St. Peter, by assigning to the Apostles the mission of converting the world, by appointing the Church as the infallible teacher of the truth and law of Christ. One can see why He chose Galilee for this purpose, for it was there He had previously revealed His plan of founding the Church (Mt. XVI, 18 f.). On the shore of Lake Tiberias the primacy was solemnly instituted; the promise made to St. Peter at Caesarea Philippi received its fulfillment; Christ made him the rock-foundation and keeper of the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. Accordingly Jn. XXI records an event of tremendous importance, though it is possible to defend the thesis that the Evangelist wrote this chapter in order to fix the words of Christ concerning (John) himself and thereby to prevent any trouble or misunderstanding after his death. True, the descrip-

tion of the draught of fishes and the institution of the primacy takes up most of the space; however, this description was necessary to clear up the situation in which the word of Jesus concerning St. John was spoken. The Apostle would not again have taken up his pen some time after the completion of his gospel, had he not been troubled by the thought that after his demise many would renounce the Christian religion on account of a false interpretation put upon the words of Christ concerning himself.

3. The question addressed to St. Peter: "Lovest thou me more than these?" (XXI, 15) requires for its completion the words: than these (disciples) love me. It does not mean: Lovest thou *me* more than these. There can be no question that Jesus demanded a greater and more perfect love from St. Peter than from the other disciples, precisely because He intended to confer upon him the primacy in His Church. St. Peter, to fulfill this calling, *i. e.*, to administer his highly important office successfully, must have a more unselfish and self-sacrificing love for Christ and His cause than the other disciples. Christ undoubtedly wishes to express the need of such a love by repeating His question, because, as God, He was well aware of the fervent love in the heart of St. Peter and believed the Apostle's first assurance. The repetition of the question may have a relation to Peter's thrice repeated denial of the Master. Peter shows by his answer that he profited by his triple fall. He does not dare to answer Christ's question with a bold: "Yea, indeed, I love Thee more than the others (love Thee) (before he had said: "Even if all shall be scandalized in thee, yet not I" [Mk. XIV, 29]), nor even with the simple assurance: "I love Thee"; but says: "Thou knowest that I love thee," thereby indicating that he had examined his conscience before Christ's all-seeing eye and found his sentiments towards Him to be as stated. Profound humility and modesty now distinguish him in contradistinction to the self-confidence that had characterized his bearing on the evening of the 14th Nisan. He answers Christ's question: ἀγαπᾷς με (lovest thou me?) with φιλῶ (XXI, 15), to indicate that he cherishes a fervent love and attachment for Jesus, though it is not yet the love which he owes Him as the Son of God (ἀγαπᾶν). The Lord rewards his candid confession by omitting from his second question the words πλέον τούτων. Peter answers as he did the first time, and so also to the third question, though, of course, with grief in his heart because the Lord apparently did not believe in the sincerity of his protestations, and emphasizes more strongly the omniscience of Jesus: Thou knowest all things, and also that I love Thee; I can unhesitatingly give Thee this assurance, I do so with a

full consciousness of Thy divine knowledge (XXI, 17). Despite St. Peter's simple answer, dictated by humility, "Lord, thou knowest that I love thee," we may assume his love for Jesus to have been greater than that of the other Apostles and disciples.

Let it not be objected that John, not Peter, was the disciple whom the Lord loved. Christ's special manifestations of love for John must be explained with regard to his pure, virginal heart. But the greater love of St. Peter is proved by his conduct on a number of memorable occasions. Thus in the crisis caused by the Master's discourse at Capharnaum concerning the bread of life, St. Peter, though he did not correctly understand the words of Jesus, kept his faith, coupled with a great, mighty, ardent love, which made the idea of a separation from Jesus appear to him unbearable (VI, 68 f). Then there is the fervid demonstration of his love at the washing of the feet (XIII, 6 ff.).

Not to admit that Our Lord conferred the primacy on St. Peter (XXI, 15–17), is to commit a sin against the sacred text. Protestant scholars (*e. g.,* Nebe) feel this, but refuse to make "concessions to the Romish interpretation" of the text, and as a result hold a sort of vague and inconsistent position. They acknowledge the significance of the fact that St. Peter heads all the lists of the Apostles, admit his decisive and energetic attitude on important occasions, his unequivocal profession of faith, and the distinguished rôle assigned to him in the Acts of the Apostles during the period after the Ascension of Christ. In view of all this they concede to him the position of *"membrum praecipuum"* of the Apostolic College and admit that no other Apostle was "installed" like St. Peter, but explain this by saying that Christ wishes to show that "this disciple will accomplish more in his pastoral office than the others" (Nebe). Yet the glory of having worked more arduously is reserved for St. Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles, who, before exercising the supernatural, divine mission of carrying the name of Jesus before the gentiles and kings (Acts IX, 15), recognized the absolute necessity of entering into communication (Gal. I, 18) with this very Cephas, or Peter, who was the head of the Apostolic College and the supreme shepherd of the flock of Christ.

As regards Christ's prophecy concerning the death of Peter, the latter was able to grasp the meaning of the words, because Jesus pronounced the prophecy "thou shalt stretch out thy hands" (XXI, 18) after Peter had seen Him stretched out on the cross. We may pass over the various interpretations of the words "when thou shalt be old, thou shalt stretch out thy hands," etc. (Jn. XXI, 18). The correct interpretation is given by the Evangelist himself when he adds: "And this he said signifying . . ." (XXI, 19). St. John does not refer Christ's

words to the death of St. Peter, but to the particular character (*ποίῳ θανάτῳ*), discerning in the prophecy of the risen Lord not merely the prediction of a violent death, but the *special mode of violence,* applied to him by his executioners. No sensible person to-day can doubt that the Evangelist recorded this prophecy after Peter's death, when it was already fulfilled. St. Peter suffered martyrdom by crucifixion, as we are told by Clement of Rome (I, 5, 4) and Origen (cfr. Eusebius, *H. E.,* III, 1: *ἀνεσκολοπίσθη κατὰ κεφαλῆς*). When St. John wrote his Gospel in Asia Minor, he knew how Peter had died; when, therefore, in view of the historical fact of the crucifixion of St. Peter, he records the words of Christ concerning the latter ("thou shalt stretch forth thy hands"; *ἐκτενεῖς τὰς χεῖράς σου*), he meant that he would be nailed to the cross. St. Peter himself could not have understood the words of Christ, had they been spoken during His earthly career; but while the death of Christ on the Cross was still fresh in his memory, he could understand the outstretching of his hands as signifying his death on the cross. The addition of the words, "another shall gird thee and lead thee whither thou wouldst not" (*ὅπου οὐ θέλεις*), rouse doubts in the minds of some exegetes, because, they say, the body is girt with ropes or bound and fettered and led out to the place of execution before it is nailed to the cross; however, such an inversion (*ὕστερου πρότερον*) St. Augustine, with many others, did not find unintelligible, because Christ intended to tell St. Peter first the "chief thing," namely, his martyrdom by crucifixion, and then the details. The words, "whither thou wouldst not" (*ὅπου οὐ θέλεις*) indicate the anguish of the natural man. It is not meaningless that the Evangelist (XXI, 19), to designate the manner of Peter's death, chooses the words: "by what death he should glorify God" (*ποίῳ θανάτῳ δοξάσει τὸν θεόν*); they sound very much like the words of Christ in the Cenacle (XIII, 31), where He speaks of His death as an accomplished fact and says that by His death on the cross He is glorified, as well as His Father. In the Cenacle the disciples evidently did not understand the expression, "to glorify God," but they understood it later on, and St. Peter and St. John undoubtedly also understood it when the risen Lord used it at the Sea of Tiberias. The expression *δοξάζειν τὸν θεόν* in the Apostolic age became a technical term for: to die the death of Christian martyrdom = *μαρτυρεῖν* cfr. Suic., *Thes. Eccl.,* I, 949 and on *μαρτυρεῖν* Apoc. XVII, 6; 1 Clem. V, 4, 7 and Polyc., *Ep.,* VII, 1.) The term *ἀκολούθει* likewise indicated that the Lord predicted St. Peter's death on the cross, *i. e.,* demanded this sacrifice of him.

By the words in XXI, 20, "who also leaned" (*ὅς καὶ ἀνέπεσεν*) the Evangelist points to the scene in the Cenacle (XIII, 25): John, in

accordance with the tender and fervent love (ὃν ἠγάπα) existing between them, leaned his head on the Master's breast at that repast. The reason why St. John paraphrases his own name in this manner may be indicated by the following query: What will become of John, whom Christ so highly distinguished, especially at the Last Supper? I think it more probable that the addition ὃς καὶ ἀνέπεσεν was made to explain the motive of the "following." The meaning is: The Lord ordered only Peter to "follow" Him, but "the other disciple" thought he had the right to follow Him also, because he was on very intimate terms with the Lord. The translation of XXI, 22 in the Vulgate: *"Sic eum volo manere, donec veniam,"* which has been received into the *Officium S. Ioannis Apostoli,* is incorrect and annoying and suggests nay, fairly forces on the reader the idea that Christ made an unconditional declaration concerning St. John, although the Apostle himself repudiates this interpretation. Let us hope that this passage will be corrected in a future revision.

4. Does Mk. XVI, 14–18 relate the same event as Mt. XXVIII, 16–20—the apparition of the risen Christ on a mountain in Galilee? Some authors think that Mk. XVI, 14 must be taken by itself and only XVI, 15–18 paralleled with Mt. XVIII, 16–20. They stress the similarity between Mk. XVI, 15 and Mt. XXVIII, 19. Though πάντα τὰ ἔθνη (Matthew) does not coincide fully with πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις (Mark), they say, the two passages are materially identical. No objection can be raised against this argument. Mk. XVI, 16 really does not seem to be far removed from Mt. XXVIII, 19. Nevertheless there are reasons for regarding the much discussed text Mk. XVI, 14–20 rather as a parallel to Lk. XXIV, 44–53, as may be seen *infra.* For the apparition of the risen Lord on the mountain in Galilee we have to consider, besides Mt. XXVIII, 16–20, also the brief remark in 1 Cor. XV, 6.

5. Christ commanded His disciples to set out (πορευθέντες) and bring to all nations, *i. e.,* to all members of the human race, the truth and grace of the Gospel. The term πορευθέντες contains a veritable programme. The Apostles were to fulfill their mission among the people of Israel, not like the Old Testament prophets, but to set out from Palestine and go forth into the whole world. The Jews, in view of several prophecies (*e. g.,* Is. LX), conceived the spreading of the Messianic Kingdom as a meeting of all nations in the Holy Land and in the Holy City; Christ, on the other hand, commanded His Apostles and servants to travel from country to country, to the ends of the

earth and preach the Gospel to all mankind. His Church is to be universal, for His commission embraces "all nations," *i. e.*, all mankind, Jews and gentiles, the whole world. Μαθητεύσατε, *i. e.*, make disciples of all nations by baptizing them; this command includes instruction in Christian doctrine. Note the expression μαθητεύειν (cfr. Acts XIV, 21). In Jn. IV, 1 μαθητὰς ποιεῖ means: receive into discipleship. This took place already during the earthly career of Christ (beginning with the first Easter) by the administration of Baptism, which was a cleansing process and effected forgiveness of sins (Jn. III, 25). Such purification, coupled with positive sanctification, is also the purpose of Christian Baptism. Nebe (*Auferstehungsgeschichte,* 355) emphasizes the difference between Christ's Baptism and that of John the Baptist saying that the Baptist himself solemnly indicates this difference and attributes to the Messias alone Baptism ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ (Mt. III, 11; Mk. I, 8; Lk. III, 16). If the Baptism administered during the lifetime of Christ was a Baptism "in the Holy Ghost," it must necessarily have produced forgiveness of sins and sanctification, which is precisely what Christian Baptism does (Jn. III, 1 ff.), as St. Peter testifies in his sermon on Pentecost (Acts II, 38). But we must not confound the coming of the Holy Ghost for the purpose of blotting out sin and regenerating the soul with the coming of the Holy Ghost in the fulness of His gifts and graces on Pentecost and thenceforth by the laying on of hands by the Apostles and their successors. The latter is referred to in Jn. VII, 39; cfr. IV, 10; XVI, 7; Acts II, 38[b]: "and you shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost" (καὶ λήμψεσθε τὴν δωρεὰν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος; Acts VIII, 14 ff.; XIX, 2); the former in Jn. III, 1 ff. It is useless to attribute a higher character to the Messianic Baptism than to that of St. John, yet continue to regard the former as a mere preparatory ceremony. This will never rid us of vagueness. All we can admit is that the form of administering Baptism was a different one after the Ascension of Christ (εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος ἁγίου) than before; the Trinitarian formula was patterned upon the words of Christ (Mt. XXVIII, 19). The disciples in Judea (Jn. III, 22; IV, 1 ff.) no doubt administered Baptism in the name of Jesus, *i. e.*, upon the profession that Jesus was the Messias. The risen Lord, moreover, on the mountain in Galilee commanded the Apostles to exhort their converts to obey all His commandments and precepts, so that they might lead a life in conformity with the requirements of the Gospel. We may see in the words recorded by St. Matthew an institution of Baptism for the *whole world,* but they do not signify the institution of Baptism as such.

6. The command to baptize, at least in the form contained in Mt. XXVIII, 19, has been severely assailed. Some declare it spurious, and hold that only the words πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου are original (Eusebian text). Riggenbach refuted these attacks in a separate monograph. In view of the documentary evidence the objectors will have no more success here than with Mt. XVI, 17 f. They are aware of this and marshal so-called internal arguments against the authenticity of the text. One of the weightiest of these arguments is the phrase, *to be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ,* occurring in New Testament books, and the absence of the baptismal formula proper not only in St. Luke, but also in the tradition recorded by Aristion (Mk. XVI, 16), where Baptism is mentioned *without the Trinitarian formula.* Harnack thinks that this latter formula originated during the Christian-Jewish controversies of the earliest age. Against the slogan, "Yahveh and Moses," he says, the Christians set up God and His ambassador, Jesus Christ, and this binary formula was developed into the Trinitarian one, God, Christ, and Spirit, which we find in 2 Cor. XIII, 13, and which, between A. D. 50 and 80, developed into the present formula by the addition of the sonship of Jesus (which automatically suggested "the Father"). This explanation, as may readily be seen, involves a denial of the authenticity of Mt. XXVIII, 19. Some exegetes have suggested that possibly in the original (Aramaic) version of St. Matthew the baptismal formula did not read as it does now in XXVIII, 19; that the *Greek translator,* in view of the practice current in his day, gave it this form. Several essential points are overlooked here. St. Luke's gospel does not, it is true, contain the Trinitarian formula; but this Gospel is incomplete and shows many gaps. We cannot expect Luke to mention the commission to baptize, since he does not mention the apparition of the risen Lord *in Galilee,* but records only His apparitions in Judea. When mentioning the last apparition on Ascension day (XXIV, 44 ff.), he has Christ speak of preaching penance and the remission of sins after His Ascension, and we can scarcely get away from the thought that Christ at that time also mentioned Baptism; cfr. Acts II, 38, where St. Peter, evidently recalling the instructions of Christ between the Resurrection and the Ascension, makes the well-known exhortation. Moreover, the Trinitarian formula is not only adverted to in 2 Cor. XIII, 13, but also occurs in the Apostolic writings, mostly, it is true, in a covert way, *e. g.,* Eph. I, 3–13 and especially II, 19–22; Rom. XV, 16, 30; 1 Cor. VI, 11; XII, 3; Hebr. X, 29–31; 1 Pt. I, 2; II, 5; IV, 13; Apoc. III, 12–13. We must further consider that, according to the fourth Gospel, the disciples who had joined Jesus in the region about

the Jordan, recognized and confessed Him as the Messias and Son of God at their first meeting (Jn. I, 35 ff.). It was a very imperfect recognition at first, but the Evangelist shows how these disciples were gradually led to such a perfect faith in Him as the Messias and true Son of God that, on the evening before the Passion, they solemnly made a loud profession in this sense (Jn. XVI, 30),—a profession of faith which was surpassed only by that of Thomas on the evening of the octave of the Resurrection (Jn. XX, 28). With an ever increasing definiteness Christ had attested Himself before His disciples as the consubstantial Son of God, equal to the Father in power (Jn. chaps. V, VII, VIII–X, especially X, 36) and in the Cenacle before His death (Jn. XVII, 3 ff.) formally declared knowledge of the one true God and faith in Himself as the Messias and Son of God to be the means of gaining eternal life, as He had said on a former occasion in Jerusalem that He and the Father were one in essence and power (X, 30). That Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, was the sum and substance of the knowledge and faith of the disciples before His departure. Of the *Holy Ghost,* however, He spoke very frequently, at first in veiled words, as in Jn. VII, 37 f., then more definitely, and again before His Ascension (Jn. XIV, 15–17, 26; XVI, 13–16). He foretold that the Holy Spirit would operate after the manner of the Father and His own, and emphasized His intimate union with the Father and the Son. However, this process of revelation did not end with the evening of the 14th Nisan, but, as the Evangelists plainly show, was considerably and essentially enlarged by the instructions which Christ gave to His disciples between the day of the Resurrection and that of the Ascension (*evangelium quadraginta dierum*). Consider Lk. XXIV, 24 ff., XXIV, 44 ff., and Jn. XX, 9, where He speaks of His person, His suffering and death, His life in glory together with the Father and the Spirit (Lk. XXIV, 26; Jn. XV, 26), and in connection with this of His own oneness and equality with the Father and the Spirit. Thus the full knowledge of the oneness of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost gradually dawned on the Apostles, and they understood that the single name "God" includes three distinct persons. Thus was the knowledge and faith of the disciples before the final departure of Jesus and thus must be the faith of His disciples in all ages. Accordingly, on the occasion of His apparition in Galilee (Mt. XXVIII, 19) He ordains that all who wish to become members of His kingdom on earth, should be baptized on acknowledging God as the Father, Jesus as the Christ and Son of God, and the Holy Ghost, who is one God with the Father and the Son, and thereby enter into fellowship with these three Divine Persons. The Acts of the Apostles

(II, 38; VIII, 16; XIX, 5) mention Baptism in the name of Jesus, but do not express the formula as given in Mt. XXVIII, 19, but merely refer to the profession of Jesus as the Christ as a *conditio sine qua non* of Baptism, which does not preclude that this Sacrament is administered in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

7. Our Lord Himself, by the words "and behold," called the attention of His disciples to the significance of His promise: "I am with you all days even to the consummation of the world" (Mt. XXVIII, 20). He promised His Apostles not merely grace while carrying out His command, but an all-powerful assistance. When they heard this promise, the eleven surely recalled His words spoken in the Cenacle at Jerusalem: "I will ask the Father, and he shall give you another Paraclete, that he may abide with you forever" (Jn. XIV, 16 ff.; cfr. XVI, 12), and this evidently is also the meaning of the words He spoke at His apparition in Galilee. The Spirit of the Father and the Son shall be continually with the Apostles, shall enlighten, strengthen, and comfort them (Mt. XXVIII, 20) and also their successors. For since His promise reaches to the end of the world, it cannot be restricted to the Apostles. Euthymius writes: *τοῦτο δὲ δείκνυσιν, ὅτι οὐ μόνον μετὰ τῶν τηνικαῦτα μαθητῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ τῶν μετ' αὐτούς ἐστιν· οὐ γὰρ ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος οἱ ἀπόστολοι μένειν ἔμελλον.* Since the Lord addressed Himself to the eleven Apostles, the all-powerful assistance of the Spirit of God was promised to them and their successors. The Gospel of St. Matthew could not end more magnificently than by mentioning this promise of the risen Lord.

8. The Resurrection of Christ, this fundamental truth of Christianity, is well attested in the gospels; nevertheless, it has been bitterly assailed both in ancient and modern times. Celsus asserts: "that He rose from the dead and showed the marks of his wounds and the prints of the nails in his hands,—who has seen it? A silly, half-witted woman, as you yourselves say, and perhaps one or the other of the same gang, be it that he dreamed with a morbidly excited imagination, or that he had visions caused by auto-suggestion and misguided opinions, a thing that has happened to hundreds before; or, what is more probable, that he wished to astonish others with this hocus-pocus and by this lie intended to gain admittance for other deceivers. . . . Why did Jesus appear secretly and timidly to a woman and to his companions, he who died in view of the whole world?" (Origen, *C. Cels.*, II, 50, 70)? Thus wrote Celsus, and numberless persons have followed in his footsteps

throughout the centuries, with this sole difference, that many express their thoughts in a more veiled form, *e. g.:* After the death of Christ the disciples *at once* departed from Jerusalem for Galilee and there occupied themselves with nothing else but the recollection of His life and works. He cannot be dead, they said to themselves; He is not dead; He lives; He is risen. Does not the Scripture predict that the Servant of God shall be bruised for the sins of men, but shall be taken away from distress and judgment (Is. LIII)? Absorbed in such thoughts, now one, then another, especially Peter, imagined in his excitement that he saw Jesus bodily and heard Him speak, and gradually they talked themselves into the belief that He had risen from the dead, and it was not long before hundreds shared this belief (vision-hypothesis of Strauss and Renan). But if the disciples of Christ in Galilee conceived the idea of the spiritual survival of their Master, why did they clothe this idea in the form of a belief in the Resurrection, since the idea of a spiritual existence *per se* was well known among the Jews and Hellenists, without assuming this particular form? Moreover, the assumption of an *immediate* departure of the disciples for Galilee is flatly contradicted by the Gospels. St. Matthew, it is true, mainly stresses the apparitions of Jesus in Galilee, although he also mentions one in Jerusalem, *i. e.,* Judea (Mt. XXVIII, 9, 10; cfr. Mk. XVI, 9–13). However, this is in full accordance with the main purpose of his narrative, namely, to describe the Galilean activity of Christ. Accordingly, at the close of his gospel he presents Christ as the Lord, organizer, and consolidator of His Church *ad extra,* whereas St. Luke and St. John (barring Jn. XXI, 1 ff.) record only apparitions in Jerusalem and Judea. The assertion that the disciples during the days that followed Christ's death were prone to dreams and hallucinations is absolutely contrary to the Gospel accounts, which report that after the death of Christ sadness, mourning, and a resignation verging on despair reigned among the disciples (Mk. XVI, 10; Lk. XXIV, 21 ff.; cfr. Jn. XVI, 10). They received the Easter message with doubts, hesitation, and unbelief (Mk. XVI, 11, 13, 14; Lk, XXIV, 11, 25, 34.) The woman maligned by Celsus and others stands at the sepulchre and thinks of the body of Christ; it was only after the signs and evidence increased that reality gained the victory over the obscurity of doubt. Precisely these traits of the gospel narrative offer the surest guarantee for its reliability, as also the unvarnished account of the sepulchre, of which the gist is: The tomb was found empty. None of the Evangelists undertakes to describe the mysterious process of the Resurrection. This was reserved for the writers of the apocrypha (cfr. Pseudo-Peter, 35 ff.). The report of the conversations of the

risen Lord with His disciples is dominated by a sober and inspiring confidence: demonstration of the necessity of the suffering as well as the Resurrection (Lk. XXIV, 25 f.; XXIV, 44 ff.), instructions concerning the preaching of the Gospel throughout the world (Mt. XXVIII, 19 f.; Mk. XVI, 15; Lk. XXIV, 47 f.; Jn. XX, 21), announcement of success and suffering (Mk. XVI, 17 f.), promise of the Holy Ghost (Lk. XXIV, 49; Acts I, 4). The description of the subsequent behavior of the disciples (Mk. XVI, 20; Lk. XXIV, 51 f.; Acts I ff.) forces us to conclude that they continued in personal contact with Jesus, now glorified; they preached the gospel and testified above all to the death and Resurrection of Christ and could not be induced either by mockery, threats, or brutal ill-treatment to keep silent about these facts (cfr. especially Acts IV, 20). Hence they firmly believed in the reality of Christ's Resurrection, and this firm belief can be accounted for only by the fact that personal intercourse with the risen Lord rendered His presence, His life in glory, His assistance absolutely certain. St. Paul testified before Festus and Herod Agrippa concerning the Passion and Resurrection of Christ, and when told that he was "beside himself," answered: "I am not mad, . . . but I speak words of truth and soberness" (Acts XXVI, 24 ff.). In 1 Cor. XV, 4 f. he says it is the common belief of the Apostles and all Christendom that Jesus died and rose again from the death. Finally, like the rest of the Apostles, he laid down his life for the truth of Christ's death and Resurrection. The Protestant theologian Barth, from whom we have quoted, is right when he says: "Whoever refuses to believe in the Resurrection of Christ, does so, not for historical reasons, but under pressure of a world-view which refuses to accept miracles." (*Die Hauptprobleme des Lebens Jesu,* 1899, 213 ff.).

SECTION II

THE ASCENSION

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

Two of the Evangelists, the first and the last, say nothing of the Ascension. The silence of St. John may be explained by the circumstance that he saw no need of supplementing and correcting the accounts already extant when he wrote his Gospel, namely, the short account of St. Mark and the detailed double account of St. Luke at the close of his Gospel and in the beginning of the Acts of the Apostles. Moreover, St. John may have thought it superfluous to write a special account, because in the course of his narrative he had repeatedly referred to the Ascension (*e. g.*, III, 13 ff.; VI, 63; XIV, 1 ff.; XVI, 5 ff.; XVII, 4 ff). The case is analogous to the account of the Holy Eucharist, to which the fourth Evangelist refers in detail in chap. VI and which he omits later in his account of the events on the evening of the 14th Nisan. Allusion and reminders there are in plenty in chap. XIII ff., especially XIII, 1.

The omission of the Ascension by St. Matthew can also be satisfactorily explained. His story of the Messianic activity of Christ starts with His public career in Galilee (IV, 12) and closes with the account of the bestowal of the powers on the Apostles at Christ's apparition in Galilee. This close is thoroughly in accordance with the character and purpose of the first Gospel, whose object is to demonstrate the transfer of the message of salvation from the Jews to the gentiles, made necessary by the refusal of the former, and the establishment of

the new Synagogue, for which the Messias chose, instructed and endowed the Apostles.

Therefore St. Mark had to give the first written account of the Ascension and to show that Christ's ministry on earth came to a close and the reign of the Godman at the right hand of the Father in Heaven began with His Ascension, while His work was continued by the Apostles (Mk. I, 1 and XVI, 19–20). To the short account of St. Mark, St. Luke added a longer one with more details, describing the last apparitions of Christ in Jerusalem (XXIV, 44–49) immediately before His Ascension and then the Ascension itself (XXIV, 50–52; also Acts I, 4–12). By concluding his Gospel with an account of the Resurrection and Ascension, St. Luke proves himself a faithful pupil of St. Paul, who in all his Epistles lays stress on the fact of the Resurrection and delights in setting into a bright light the activity of the Godman who entered into glory by His Ascension (cfr., *e. g.*, the introduction to the Epistle to the Romans, Eph. I, 19 ff., and Hebr. I, 2 ff.).

CHAPTER I

THE PARTING DISCOURSE OF JESUS AND HIS ASCENSION INTO HEAVEN

(Mk. XVI, 14–20; Lk. XXIV, 44–53; Acts I, 4–12)

1. The parting discourse of Jesus was spoken in the Cenacle forty days after the Resurrection, on the day of the Ascension. St. Luke treats this subject in the above mentioned two passages of his Gospel and the Acts; St. Mark in the closing verses of his Gospel (XVI, 14–18) [Note 1]. Taking these texts together, we have the following order of events: Christ first reproves the unbelief of the disciples in His Resurrection, which was so well attested; then He once more emphasizes the fact that His suffering and glorification had been foretold in the Old Testament (Moses, the Prophets, and the Psalms) and had been repeatedly and positively predicted by Himself during His public career ("While I was yet [continuously] with you [before my passion];" Lk. XXIV, 44). Thus Christ wished once more to strengthen the faith of His disciples in the fundamental truths of His death and Resurrection. The words, "He opened their understanding, that they might understand the scriptures" (Lk. XXIV, 45), evidently mean that He graciously enlightened the Apostles so that they perceived the meaning of the Old Testament prophecies. Christ granted them this grace in order that they might see in His Passion and Resurrection a fulfilment of the Scriptures and enter into their calling with a full knowledge of the necessity of His death and the connection between that event and His Resurrection. He once more solemnly declared it to be their duty to preach penance and forgive sins (XXIV, 47 = Acts I, 9) and to announce the Gos-

pel to all nations. Humble acceptance of the gospel and reception of Baptism were to be the conditions of salvation, and those who refused to believe and be baptized were to be condemned to eternal perdition (Mk. XVI, 16). He furthermore explains to the Apostles the power and extraordinary effects of faith in order to urge them to let no dangers and no obstacles deter them from propagating the divine message. He illustrates this power by enumerating various kinds of miraculous effects: (a) Casting out of evil spirits. As Christ Himself had cast out devils and had given this power to the Apostles when He sent them out on trial (Mt. X, 8; Lk. IX, 1), so His disciples, after the Ascension, would have the power of casting out devils by virtue of their faith in Him and by invoking His name. (On the fulfilment of this promise cfr. Acts V, 16; VIII, 7; XVI, 18; XIX, 12.) The Apostolic Fathers give testimony to this power in the Church.[1] (b) Speaking with new tongues. The disciples were to speak in a wonderful manner, *i. e.,* praise and glorify God and proclaim His great deeds. We see this promise fulfilled in Acts II, 1 ff.; on the charisma of tongues in the Apostolic age see Acts X, 46; XIX, 6; 1 Cor. XIV, 1 ff. (c) The taking up of poisonous serpents. Αἴρειν cannot mean "to tread on" or "to kill," but only "to take up with the hand"; cfr. Lk. X, 19, and, in regard to the fulfilment, Acts XXVIII, 3 ff., St. Paul on Malta and the viper. (d) Drinking poison without deadly or injurious effects. In regard to the fulfilment of this prophecy cfr. the story about the Apostle John in Isidore of Seville (chap. 73) and St. Augustine (*Soliloq., 22*) as also the story Papias tells about Justus Barsabas,[2] who drank a deadly poison, but was preserved from its evil effects. (e) The healing of the sick by the laying on of hands. This charism the deacon and evangelist Philip (Acts VIII, 7) received shortly after Pentecost. St. Paul testifies to the "grace of healing" (χάρισμα ἰαμάτων) in 1 Cor. XII, 9, and St. Irenaeus for his time when

[1] Cfr. Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.,* II, 32, 4; Justin, *Apolog.,* II, 6.
[2] Eusebius, *H. E.,* III, 39.

he writes: "Others heal the sick by the laying on of hands and restore them to health." [3]

Christ's promise is not that each and every one of these wonderful powers should be exercised by every convert, but merely that they would occur among Christians to serve as a corroboration of the divine origin of their faith and the supernatural authority of the missionaries.

The risen Lord closes His valedictory address with the promise to send them the Holy Ghost, whom the Father had promised by the mouth of the prophets (Joel III, 1, 2; Is. XLIV, 1; Ez. XXXVI, 27; XXXIX, 29; Lk. XXIV, 49; Jn. XIV, 16 ff.; XV, 26 ff.; XVI, 7), and with the command to wait for His descent in Jerusalem [Note 2].

2. According to St. Luke (XXIV, 50; Acts I, 12), Jesus led the Apostles from the Cenacle to Mt. Olivet, where He was "carried up to heaven" and "a cloud received Him out of their sight." By this description the Evangelist wishes to express the idea that Jesus, in His human nature, passed from this earth into a state of glory which no human eye has ever beheld (cfr. Mk. XVI, 19). The words "Jesus was carried (or taken) up," the genuineness of which is, however, not entirely above suspicion, must be explained according to Biblical usage, which ascribes all works of omnipotence to God the Father. The Apostles' Creed has *ascendit* (*ἀνέβη*), meaning that Jesus ascended into Heaven by His own divine power. The technical term "Feast of the Ascension" (*ἡ ἀνάλημψις*, from *ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι*, cfr. Acts I, 2 and 22; Lk' IX, 51) is mentioned in the Apostolic Constitutions (XV, 19), and the feast itself was universally observed in the Church as early as the fourth century.

In regard to the *time* of the Ascension St. Luke says nothing in his Gospel, but he speaks of it in Acts I, 3, X, 41 (Cod. D), and XIII, 31. The omission of it in the Gospel is not attributable to ignorance of the facts at the time, but to the

[3] *Adv. Haer.*, II, 32, 4; cfr. Origen, *Contra Celsum*, III, 24.

Evangelist's intention to recur to the event on a later occasion.

Regarding the *place,* St. Mark is silent [Note 3], while St. Luke in Acts I, 12 names Mt. Olivet. This agrees perfectly with the statement in his Gospel (XXIV, 50) that Christ led His disciples out towards Bethania (ἕως πρὸς Βηθανίαν). Both accounts suggest the idea that the Lord walked from the city to Mt. Olivet, up to the spot where the road descends to Bethania. This spot is shown to pilgrims at the present day [Note 4]. How important St. Luke deemed it to inform Theophilus of the location, is clear from the exact statement of the distance from Jerusalem to Mt. Olivet. It is a sabbath-day's journey, *i. e.,* as far as the Jews were allowed to travel on the Sabbath (six stadia or furlongs).[4] The story of the Ascension expressly mentions only the Apostles as eye-witnesses; but from Acts I, 21 ff. we know that other disciples were also present. The eye-witnesses returned to Jerusalem in accordance with the directions given them by Christ (Lk. XXIV, 49 and Acts I, 4) and the exhortation of the angels, overjoyed at the glorification of the Godman and the promised sending of the Holy Ghost.

1. Can Mk. XVI, 14–20 be quoted as a parallel text to Lk. XXIV, 44–53? The question is answered differently by exegetes. Ordinarily Mk. XVI, 14 is taken by itself alone and the contents are applied to the apparition of Christ on the evening of the Resurrection (Lk. XXIX, 36–43; Jn. XX, 19–23), and Mk. XVI, 15–18 is interpreted as a parallel to Mt. XXVIII, 16–20. Mk. XVI, 19 in that case stands by itself, without any chronological connection with XVI, 15–18. I have preferred to combine Mk. XVI, 14 with XVI, 15–18, but regarded it as an account of the apparition in Galilee (Mt. XXVIII, 16–20). The combination of verse 14 with verses 15–18 I still maintain, but the parallel with Mt. XXVIII, 16–20 I abandon and regard XVI, 14–20 as a parallel to the conclusion of St. Luke's Gospel (XXIV, 44–53).

The following reasons induced me to change my opinion: Mk. XVI, 14 begins with the words, ὕστερον ἀνακειμένοις. This ὕστερον has been much discussed. It does not mean "finally," or "at length," but "later," "afterwards," "subsequently." Immediately preceding it is a short ac-

[4] Cfr. Epiphanius, LVI, 82; Josephus, *Ant.,* XX, 8, 6; *B. I.,* V, 2, 3.

count of the apparition of Christ to the Emmaus disciples on the afternoon of the Resurrection-day. These two men returned to Jerusalem and reported to the other disciples that they had met Jesus, but were not believed (Mk. XVI, 12–13). Now, when the account continues: Later Jesus appeared to the eleven, as they were at table, this cannot be referred to the apparition of Christ on the evening of the day of the Resurrection in view of the account of St. Luke (ταῦτα αὐτῶν λαλούντων; XXIV, 36). I always preferred to refer Mk. XVI, 14 to the apparition in Galilee, which really did occur later than the one of the 17th Nisan in Jerusalem. However, this latter interpretation is also open to objections. Mt. XXVIII, 16–17 says nothing of the disciples being at table, but that may be an oversight; Christ's upbraiding of the disciples for their incredulity and hardness of heart (Mk. XVI, 14) may also have been uttered on that occasion (Mt. XXVIII, 16–18). But we must take into account that, according to St. Mark, the incredulity of the disciples manifested itself in their sceptical attitude towards those who had seen the risen Lord and brought them the news of the Resurrection. The style indicates that this incredulity and hardness of heart were *completely overcome* at the moment when Christ addressed the disciples. Full belief and perfect assurance animated the disciples when the Lord appeared at the repast. They could not have been fully convinced until the close of the forty days, to speak more definitely, at their meeting on the day of the Ascension, although then also Christ once more told them that the Old Testament prophecies concerning His death and Resurrection had been fulfilled (Lk. XXIV, 44 ff.). Furthermore it is asserted that the connection of Mk. XVI, 15 with 14 does not justify the conclusion that what is related in XVI, 15–18 occurred in close connection with the event narrated in XVI, 14. This is quite true; St. Luke often employs the formula καὶ εἶπε or the word ἔλεγε to join speeches and events with that which precedes, although chronologically they have no connection with it. This is precisely the case in XXIV, 44 (other cases *infra,* Note 2). But it does not justify us in maintaining that if St. Luke does this, St. Mark or Aristion does it also. The presumption, therefore, is that Mk. XVI, 15 ff. has a direct chronological connection with XVI, 14. Now no one can fail to perceive the resemblance between Mk. XVI, 15 and Mt. XXVIII, 19. However, the mission-command in Mk. XVI, 15 agrees well with Lk. XXIV, 47, though Baptism is not mentioned there; but neither does St. Mark mention Baptism as an act to be performed when preaching the Gospel; the command is, however, indirectly contained in XVI, 16. St. Luke mentions only a change of heart to be preached as necessary for the remission of sins; that this change of heart leads to Baptism goes without saying (cfr. Acts II, 38). Mk. XVI,

16 sets forth the double effect of the Apostolic preaching. This again fits very well into the discourse of Christ before His final departure. The same applies to the assurance and promise given in XVI, 17–18. Finally, it is said, there is no need of assuming that XVI, 19 records an event which immediately followed. But the connection is made by the well-attested οὖν, which tells what happened as the final result of the meeting of Jesus with the eleven narrated before. If, besides, we take into account the phrase, "after he has spoken" (μετὰ τὸ λαλῆσαι αὐτοῖς; XVI, 19) and collate it with Acts I, 9, we shall be confirmed in the view that St. Luke, like St. Mark, connects the Ascension with the last apparition of Christ.

To sum up: it is highly probable that Mk. XVI, 14–19 is a parallel to Lk. XXIV, 44–53, and hence records the last meeting of the risen Lord with His disciples in Jerusalem and His Ascension from Mt. Olivet. Why is this passage of St. Mark's Gospel always connected with Mt. XXVIII, 16–20? Because it is so difficult to emancipate oneself from the idea that the Gospel of St. Mark must tell of an apparition of Christ to His disciples in *Galilee*. The whole trend of the Gospel, and especially Mk. XVI, 1–8, warrant, nay impose this conclusion; and if St. Mark had himself written the conclusion of his Gospel, that expectation would no doubt have been gratified. However, not he, but Aristion is the author of the passage. Aristion cleverly fitted XVI, 17–18 into the second gospel. As St. Mark chiefly utilizes the miracles of Christ to prove His divinity, so the power of working miracles is emphasized by Aristion in the conclusion, as being operative in the Church after the Ascension. To this must be added the frequent mention in the second Gospel of the casting out of devils by Christ (III, 15; VI, 13) and (XVI, 17; cfr. XVI, 9) the prediction of the wonderful power of the Apostles and Christians to cast out devils. When St. Mark in the course of his narrative (especially VI, 52; VIII, 15) emphasizes the want of understanding and faith on the part of the disciples, this corresponds with Christ's upbraiding of the eleven for their incredulity and hardness of heart after the Resurrection (XVI, 14). Accordingly, the assumption that the conclusion of the Gospel was written by St. Mark himself, does not appear altogether improbable. However, there still remain a few insurmountable difficulties. Thus St. Mark would hardly have made the connection with XVI, 8 by the peculiar phrase ἀναστὰς δέ, which would be appropriate only if the crucifixion and burial of Christ had been related immediately before. Nor would he have written πρώτῃ σαββάτου, but (as in XVI, 2) τῇ μιᾷ σαββάτου, and when enumerating the events he would, according to his custom, have interwoven detailed traits and made his narrative more graphic, and, moreover, would surely have

recorded, in view of XVI, 8, the final execution of the order given to the women.

Mk. XVI, 9 makes the impression on every unprejudiced reader that Jn. XX, 1 ff. served the author as a model. The Armenian Gospel Book of the year 989 names "Ariston [=Aristion], the presbyter," a disciple of Jesus known to us from Papias, a pupil and assistant of St. John the Apostle,[5] as the author of XVI, 9. Aristion is sufficient authority for us, as his tradition is not much inferior to that of St. Mark.

St. Jerome[6] apprizes us of a peculiar variant in Mk. XVI, 15: *"Postea cum accubuissent undecim, apparuit eis Iesus et exprobravit incredulitatem et duritiam cordis eorum, quia his, qui viderant eum resurgentem, non crediderunt* (Mk. XVI, 14). *Et illi satisfaciebant dicentes: saeculum istud iniquitatis et incredulitatis sub satana est, quae* [rather *qui*] *non sinit per immundos spiritus veram dei apprehendi virtutem; idcirco iam nunc revela iustitiam tuam."* But this is plainly an apocryphal text. How can the Apostles impatiently wish for the manifestation of retributive justice before they have begun to preach the Gospel? Some manuscripts present the conclusion in a shorter form, thus: "All that they [the women] were commissioned to tell the disciples, they announced briefly (*συντόμως*) to Peter and those who were with him. After that Jesus Himself sent forth through them [the Apostles] from the rising [of the sun] to the going down the holy and imperishable message of eternal salvation. Amen."

2. Regarding Lk. XXIV, 44–53, I have given an explanation of it in my commentary on chapter I of the Acts of the Apostles.[7] Here I will confine myself to a few remarks. That Lk. XXIV, 44–49 must be joined to the preceding narrative of the apparition on the day of the Resurrection and a short description of the Ascension begins only with XXIV, 50; that St. Luke places the Ascension on the day of the Resurrection in his Gospel, but following another tradition, removes it in the Acts of the Apostles to the fortieth day thereafter, are opinions with no foundation in fact. St. Luke, it is true, after recording the apparition of Christ on the evening of the 17th Nisan, continues his narrative with *εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτούς*. But he often employs this formula (or *ἔλεγεν δέ*) in passing on to a discourse of Christ which chronologically by no means follows the events narrated immediately before; in many cases we can prove that there was a chronological interval (cfr. Lk. XII, 13, 54; XIII, 18, 23; XVI, 1; XVII, 1, 22; XVIII, 1, 9; XXII, 31,

[5] Eusebius, *H. E.*, III, 39, 4.
[6] *C. Pelag.*, II, 15.
[7] *Theol. Quartalschrift*, 1895, pp. 66 ff.

35). Accordingly, this formula in XXIV, 44 proves nothing for the chronological sequence, whereas it is evident from the discourse that follows (beginning with XXIV, 44) that there is question of the last words of Christ before His final departure. A careful examination of the discourse convinces us that Lk. XXIV, 44–49 coincides with Acts I, 4–8. Both passages contain the exhortation to the disciples to preach the Gospel, the command to remain in Jerusalem until the descent of the Holy Ghost, and the definite promise of the coming of the latter, expressed in both passages by the same characteristic words: the promise of the Father (*τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ πατρός*), with this difference, however, that in Acts I, 4 is added "*ἣν ἠκούσατέ μου*" (which you have heard by my mouth), when the transition into direct speech is abruptly made, for which we have an analogy in Acts XVII, 3; XXIII, 22 and Lk. V, 14; cfr. the reverse case in Jn. XX, 18: *ὅτι ἑώρακα τὸν κύριον, καὶ ταῦτα εἶπεν αὐτῇ*. That St. Luke, when writing the last chapter of his Gospel, did not as yet know the duration of the interval between the Resurrection and the Ascension, is not a plausible assumption. How can the statement in the prologue of his Gospel about the careful researches he had made (I, 3) be true, if St. Luke had not informed himself on such an important point? There was no need for him to make long and burdensome journeys to obtain the necessary information; all he had to do was to ask his teacher, St. Paul, who knew that a lengthy interval lay between the Ascension and the Resurrection of Jesus, as we learn from Acts XIII, 31 and 1 Cor. XV, 3 ff. Moreover, if St. Luke was ignorant of the time of the Ascension when he wrote his Gospel, and would have mistakenly assigned it to the day of the Resurrection, thereby misleading Theophilus, he would no doubt have openly admitted his mistake and corrected it in the Acts. As it is, at the beginning of the Acts he simply repeats his statement about the interval of forty days (I, 3) with the perfect assurance that his new statement does not contradict that made in his Gospel, at the end of which he gives a brief account of the last meeting of Jesus with His disciples in Jerusalem and of the Ascension, and repeats the same with greater detail in the beginning of the Acts,—a proceeding followed also by other writers, *e.g.*, by Josephus at the end of Book XVII of his *Jewish Antiquities* and in the beginning of Book XVIII (XVII, 13, 5 and XVIII, 1, 1: census of Quirinius). As regards the content of the discourse, Lk. XXIV, 44–46 must evidently be placed first; then followed the commission to preach, the exhortation to the Apostles to remain in Jerusalem, and the promise of the Holy Ghost: "These (= the following) are the words which I spoke to you [on a former occasion] while I was yet [continuously, before my Passion] with you, [namely] that all things must needs be

fulfilled, which are written about me," *i. e.*, in the Old Testament. Οὗτοι points ahead and is defined by the ὅτι which follows. Then (XXIV, 46) Christ finishes His instruction with the words: Thus [as I have just now explained; not otherwise] is it written: the Messias suffers and rises again on the third day.

The explanation of Lk. XXIV, 47 offers considerable difficulty. The most natural way is to take κηρυχθῆναι as dependent on γέγραπται, to wit: It is further written that penance and remission of sins should be preached in His name unto all nations, beginning at Jerusalem. This universal preaching of Messianic salvation and its wide acceptation had been frequently foretold in the Old Testament (Ps. XVIII, 50; LXVII, 5; CXVII, 1; Joel III, 5; Dan. VII, 14; Mal. I, 11). It will, however, be advisable to give to κηρυχθῆναι a more independent position, so that it is translated not "and it will be preached," but, "it shall be preached (*i. e.*, by you)." This view is confirmed by the conclusion of the verse ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ Ἰερουσαλήμ. Some exegetes read: ἀρξάμενον (= the preaching [κηρυχθῆναι] starts at Jerusalem). But ἀρξάμενοι has the preference, as it is the more difficult lection. Of course, in this case we have an irregular construction (anacoluthon), as, *e. g.*, in Eph. IV, 2: ἀνεχόμενοι and σπουδάζοντες after ὑμᾶς, where the sense is: You should walk, supporting one another. The irregularity is explained by the passive meaning of κηρυχθῆναι, the sense of which phrase is: You shall preach, by making a beginning. A study of Acts I, 8 forces us to adopt this interpretation of XXIV, 47. There, too, we find the exhortation to witness or preach to the world, Jerusalem being the starting-point of the Apostolic preaching, to which is added: and in all Judea, and Samaria, and even to the uttermost parts of the earth. We have, therefore, in Lk. XXIV, 47, a command resembling that in Mt. XXVIII, 19, but this does not imply that the same event is spoken of in Mt. as in Lk. XXIV, 44 ff. It is surely quite intelligible that Christ should repeat the command in His last moments on earth (Mk. XVI, 15). The words in Lk. XXIV, 48: "You are witnesses of these things," ὑμεῖς μάρτυρες τούτων ἐστέ, was not in the original, but is a gloss added to explain the sense) are in accord with Acts I, 8: You are witnesses of these things, *i. e.*, of the fact that the Messias died and rose again from the dead. The preaching is to be done "in his name" (ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ); this does not mean, by His order, but in virtue of His name, *i. e.*, in reference to His *person* as the Christ attested by death and Resurrection, and by exhorting the nations *to do penance* and thereby share in the fruits of His death. The promise of the outpouring of the Holy Ghost and the exhortation to remain in Jerusalem until this event had occurred, is recorded both in the third Gospel (XXIV,

49) and in Acts I, 4–6, where we find the supplementary statement that the last meeting was connected with a repast (Mk. XVI, 14). This and nothing else is the meaning of *συναλιζόμενος* in Acts I, 4. While Jesus ate with the eleven, He commanded them not to depart from Jerusalem (*ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων* [mark the Greek form for the name of the Jewish capital] *μὴ χωρίζεσθαι* [= Lk. XXIV, 49]). Acts I, 6 contains a reference to I, 4: They, therefore, having come together with Jesus, as indicated in verse 4, asked Him whether He would restore the kingdom of Israel at the outpouring of the Holy Ghost. The Apostles assume as certain *that* such a restoration is to take place, but wish to know just *when*. This also is a significant augmentation of the account at the end of St. Luke's Gospel, which plainly shows how the Apostles were entangled in certain imperfect notions. With tender forbearance Christ for the last time carefully corrects them by opposing His universalism to their particularism and insinuating that salvation is to come not alone to Israel, but to all nations (Acts I, 8[b]). The departure of Christ from the place of the repast (Cenacle) to Mt. Olivet is mentioned only in the Gospel (XXIV, 50), and must, therefore, be inserted between Acts I, 8 and 9.

3. St. Mark's account of the Ascension is very brief (XVI, 19). He simply records the fact that Christ ascended into Heaven (cfr. Acts I, 9), where He sits on the right hand of God. Both Mark and Luke represent the Ascension as a *visible* process, perceptible by the senses. His seating Himself on the right hand of the Father, of course, was not visible. But it could justly be predicated of Our Lord in view of Ps. CX, which He had applied to Himself (cfr. Mt. XXII, 43 ff.), and in view of His solemn declaration before the high priest (Mt. XXVI, 64; Mk. XIV, 62), which was well known to the disciples, and finally, in view of His repeated declaration that He would return to His Father in Heaven (Jn. VI, 62 and the farewell discourses), to return with great majesty for the last judgment (Mt. XXIV, 30; XXV, 31; Lk. XXI, 27). As the glorified Son of Man sitting on the right hand of the Father—a position of honor as well as power—He shares in the government of the world and has the power to assist the appointed messengers of the Gospel, the Apostles, in their work and to confirm their preaching with miracles (Mk. XVI, 20). *Παντα χοῦ* must not be interpreted onesidedly as a popular hyperbole. When this verse was written, the Gospel had actually been preached throughout the Graeco-Roman world. As regards the wording of St. Mark's account, there are indications which suggest a later origin. We attach no decisive weight to the use of *ὁ κύριος* in XVI, 19, although it does not correspond

to the idiom of St. Mark, but is rather a peculiarity of St. Luke, and hence suggests an imitation of the latter (cfr. Jn. IV, 1); nor to ἐπακολουθεῖν in XVI, 20, although this verb is not used elsewhere in the Gospels. What is very significant, however, is the omission of all details (presence of the Apostles and disciples at the Ascension, discourses, gradual disappearance of Jesus). St. Mark ordinarily shows himself to be a master of detail. Ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι soon became the technical term for the Ascension (Lk. IX, 51; Acts I, 2, 22; 1 Tim. III, 16). When Christ Himself spoke of His Ascension, He used such general terms as: going (ὑπάγειν, πορεύεσθαι) or going up (αναβαίνειν; Jn. XIV, 2, 3, 4; XX, 17; cfr. III, 13). Regarding the difference between the expressions *to go up* and *to be taken up,* the same must be said as regards the Resurrection. Ἐγήρθη in Acts I, 9 denotes a miraculous lifting up. According to St. Luke (XXIV, 51), Christ disappeared from the sight of the Apostles while blessing them. Thursday is regarded as the day of the Ascension, though in view of St. Luke's remark (Acts I, 12) as to the distance of the place from which He ascended (*i. e.,* Mount Olivet) one is tempted to conclude that the Evangelist meant a Sabbath.

4. During the reign of Constantine a beautiful church was built on Mt. Olivet by the Emperor's mother, St. Helena.[7] Eusebius adds that this magnificent church was erected over the grotto in which Jesus Christ, according to a trustworthy tradition, initiated His disciples into the ineffable mysteries. He probably means that close by the place of the Ascension was a cave in which Christ frequently instructed His disciples. The account of Eusebius is supplemented and illustrated by the itineraries of various pilgrims. Silvia speaks of a church called *Imbomon,* built "in the place from which the Lord ascended into heaven." She also mentions another splendid church in the place where Christ was wont to instruct His disciples in a grotto; this church was called *Eleona* (c. 30, 31, 33, 34). She writes: On Palm-Sunday the Christians assemble in Eleona, in the grotto in which the Lord was wont to teach (c. 30). On Tuesday of Holy Week they go to the church which is on Mt. Eleona; there the bishop enters the grotto in which the Lord was wont to instruct His disciples (c. 33). Evidently she applies the same name, Eleona, to Mt. Olivet and to the church erected on it. The question is: Where was the church (Imbomon) erected in memory of the Ascension? And where was Eleona, or the temple built over the grotto? The Pilgrim throws light on this question in her description of the religious celebration of Holy Thursday. On this day, once a year, an abbreviated Mass and general communion was celebrated at 4 o'clock P. M.

[7] Eusebius, *Vita Const.,* III, 41, 43.

"behind the cross," *i. e.*, on the east side of Calvary. Later the people repaired to the holy sepulchre, where a prayer was recited, the catechumens and the faithful were blessed, and the people dismissed. In the night from Holy Thursday to Good Friday they went to the church on Eleona (Mt. Olivet), to the cave in which Jesus met with His Apostles, and spent a long time there in prayer and reading from the discourses which Jesus addressed to His disciples "while He sat in the cave which is in the church" (c. 35). Then they went up to the place of the Ascension to pray, sing and read. There follows the *descent* from the grotto on Mt. Olivet to the place where the Lord (in the night of the 14th to the 15th Nisan) prayed (Lk. XXII, 41), to the place of the agony of Jesus (grotto of the agony, c. 36). The place of the Ascension or Imbomon must have been situated a little farther up the hill, beyond Eleona, for Silvia expressly describes the walk from Eleona to Imbomon as *ire sursum* or *subire* (c. 31). Eleona itself cannot have been in the valley or in the neighborhood of the first ascent, for Silvia designates its position by the words: *"Ecclesia, quae est in monte Eleona"* (c. 33). On the other hand, she describes the walk to the Eleona church with its grotto as *ascendere* (c. 39). Eucherius (127) likewise names both churches as situated on Mt. Olivet. The two churches, or at least their sacred sites, are mentioned also in other itineraries; cfr. Theodosius (c. 17), Breviarius (155), and the Pilgrim of Placentia (c. 16). Adamnanus praises the rotunda on the crest of Mt. Olivet (c. 23 f.). St. Bede mentions the *ecclesia rotunda* in the same place (vi, 130). Undoubtedly this Imbomon church, built by Constantine and Helena, but subsequently destroyed, stood on the height of Mt. Olivet on the historical spot of the Ascension, where at the present day is the little village Kefr-et-Tur and the so-called Ascension-chapel. Eleona was built over the grotto where Christ had often instructed His disciples, close to the place of the Ascension, but not on the same level. According to Eusebius [8] it would seem that the two sanctuaries were in some way connected with each other. Jn. VIII, 1, XVIII, 2 and Lk. XXI, 37, XXII, 39 compel us to assume that Christ had a predilection for such places as the heights of Mt. Olivet for sojourning and instructing His disciples when He visited Jerusalem on the great feasts of the year.

Jesus began His Passion at the foot of Mt. Olivet. On the top of Mt. Olivet His economy of salvation, taking that term in a more restricted sense, came to a close. The Ascension, like the Resurrection, is a brilliant proof of the divinity of Christ. St. John, by recording

[8] *Vita Const.*, III, 43.

Christ's prophecies referring to this event, as also by his reflection in III, 13 ff., has acquainted us with the profound significance which attaches to the Ascension as an evidence of Christ's divinity, and the Apostles generally, moved by the same conviction, inserted into their creed the words: "Ascended into heaven, sitteth on the right hand of God the Father almighty." Christ, exalted on Mt. Olivet, fulfilled the promise made to the Apostles (Acts I, 8; Jn. XVI, 7) by sending the Holy Ghost. He will likewise fulfill His promise made to all of us: "I go to prepare a place for you . . . I will come again, and will take you to myself" (Jn. XIV, 2–3), provided we believe in Him as the Messias and the Son of God (Jn. XX, 31), suffer here below for His sake (2 Tim. III, 12) and, in accordance with His exhortation (Jn. VI, 53), frequently and worthily receive His flesh and blood in the Holy Eucharist

THE END

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